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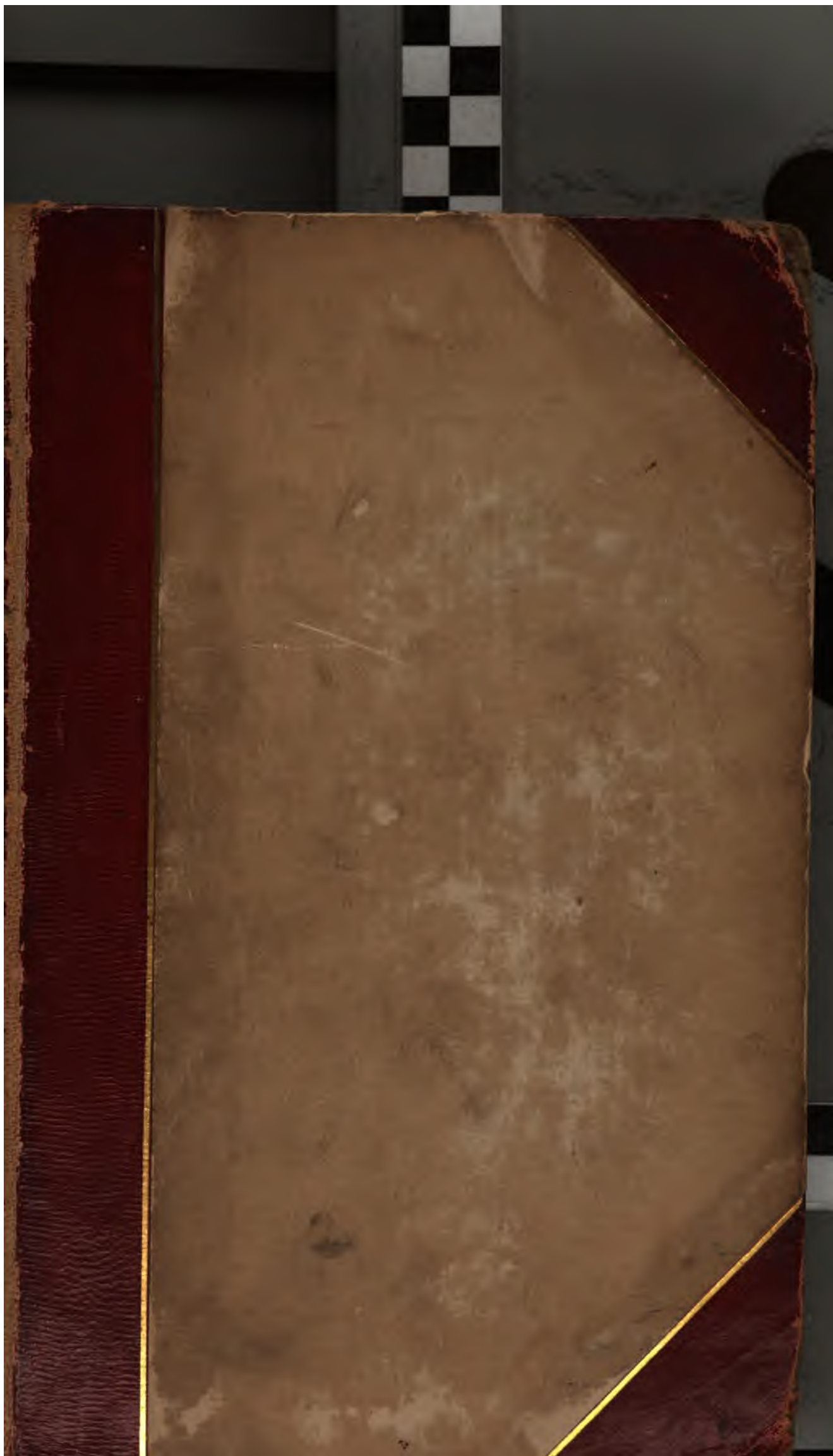
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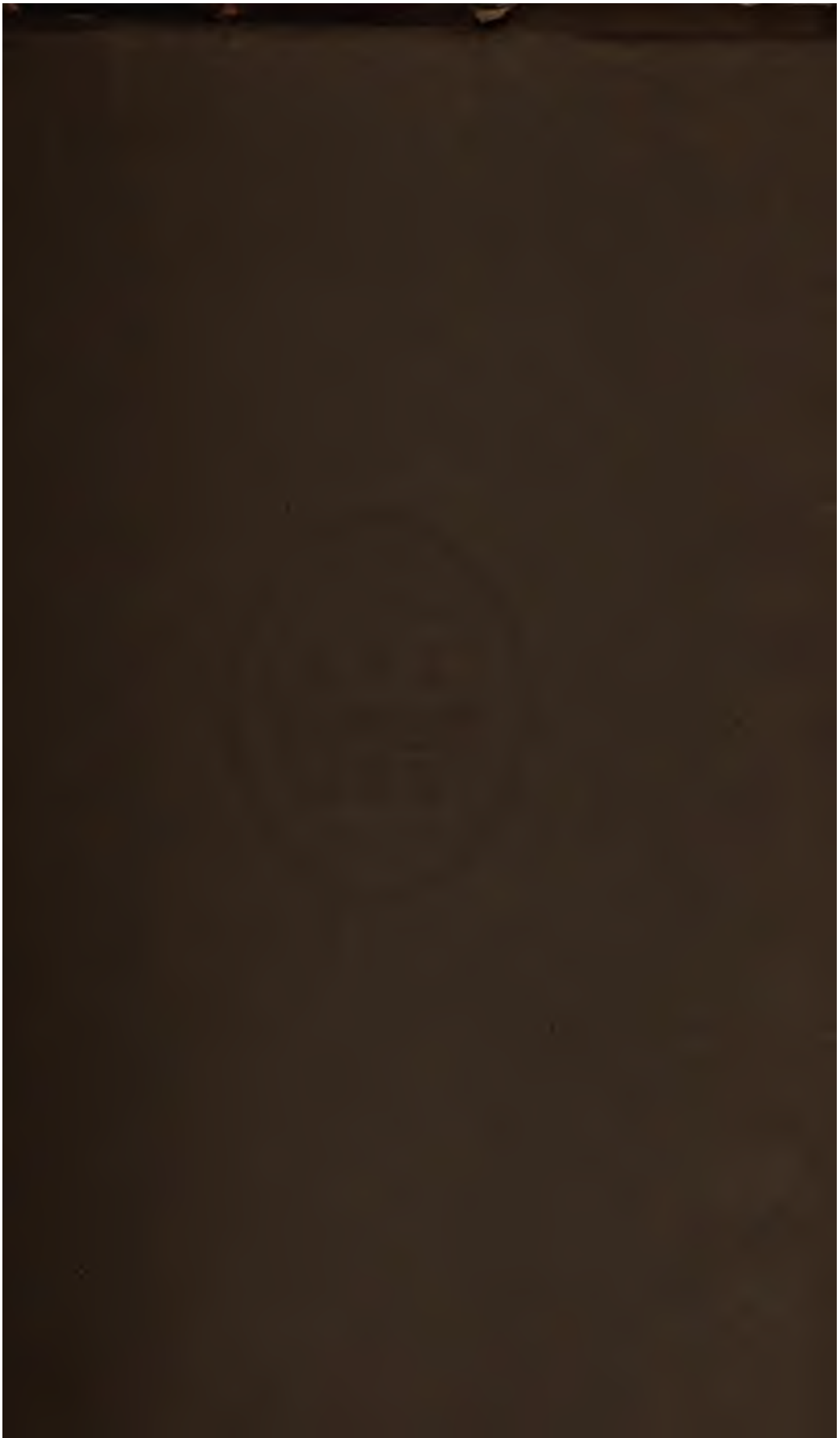
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John Dowdeswell?





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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.



VOL. II.

THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;
OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING
PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,
AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,
FOUND IN THE LATE
EARL OF OXFORD'S LIBRARY,
INTERSPERSED WITH
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL
NOTES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR ROBERT DUTTON, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1809.



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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A TRUE COPY
OF THE
INSTRUMENT OF ASSOCIATION,
THAT THE
PROTESTANTS OF ENGLAND ENTERED INTO
In the Twenty-seventh Year of Queen Elisabeth,
AGAINST A
POPISH CONSPIRACY;

With an Act made upon the same for Security of the Queen's most Royal Person.

Printed for John Everingham, and sold by E. Whitlocke, near Stationers'-hall. 1695.

Quarto, containing eight pages.

FORASMUCH as Almighty God hath ordained kings, queens, and princes, to have dominion and rule over all their subjects, and to preserve them in the possession and observation of the true Christian religion, according to his holy word and commandment: and, in like sort, that all subjects should love, fear, and obey their sovereign princes, being kings or queens, to the utmost of their power; at all times, to withstand, pursue, and suppress, all manner of persons, that shall by any means intend and attempt any thing dangerous or hurtful to the honour, states, or persons of their sovereigns.

Therefore, we whose names are or shall be subscribed to this writing, being natural-born subjects of this realm of England, and having so gracious a lady our Sovereign Elisabeth, by the ordinance of God, our most rightful Queen, reigning over us these many years with great felicity, to our inestimable comfort: and finding lately by divers depositions, confessions, and sundry advertisements, out of foreign parts, from credible persons, well known to her Majesty's council, and to divers others; that, for the furtherance and advancement of some pre-

tended title to the crown, it hath been manifested, that the life of our gracious sovereign lady, Queen Elisabeth, hath been most dangerously exposed to the peril of her person, if Almighty God, her perpetual defender, of his mercy, had not revealed and withstood the same: by whose life we, and all other her Majesty's true and loyal subjects, do enjoy an inestimable benefit of peace in this land; do, for the reasons and causes before alledged, not only acknowledged ourselves most justly bound with our lives and goods for her defence, in her safety, to prosecute, suppress, and withstand, all such pretenders, and all other her enemies, of what nation, condition, and degree whatsoever they shall be, or by what council or title they shall pretend to be her enemies, or to attempt any harm upon her person; but do further think it our bounden duties, for the great benefit of peace and wealth, and godly government, we have more plentifully received these many years, under her Majesty's government, than any of our fore-fathers have done in any longer time of any other progenitors, kings of this realm:

Do declare, and by this writing make manifest, our bounden duties to our said Sovereign Lady for her safety: and, to that end, we, and every of us, first calling to witness the name of Almighty God, do voluntarily and most willingly bind ourselves, every one of us to the other, jointly and severally, in the band of one firm and loyal society; and do hereby vow and promise by the Majesty of Almighty God, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives, and goods, and with our children and servants, we, and every of us, will faithfully serve and humbly obey our said Sovereign Lady Queen Elisabeth, against all states, dignities, and earthly powers whatsoever; and will, as well with our joint and particular forces, during our lives, withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means of revenge, all manner of persons, of what state soever they shall be, and their abettors, that shall attempt any act, council, or consent, to any thing that shall tend to the harm of her Majesty's royal person, and will never desist from all manner of forcible pursuit against such persons, to the utter extermination of them, their counsellors, aiders, and abettors.

And if any such wicked attempt against her most royal person shall be taken in hand and procured, whereby any that have, may, or shall pretend title to come to this crown, by the untimely death of her Majesty, so wickedly procured (which God for his mercy sake forbid) may be avenged: we do not only bind ourselves, both jointly and severally, never to allow, accept, or favour any such pretended successor, by whom, or for whom, any such detestable act shall be attempted or committed, as unworthy of all government in any Christian realm or civil state:

But do also further vow and protest, as we are most bound, and that in the presence of the eternal and everlasting God, to prosecute such person and persons to death with our joint and practical forces, and to ask the utmost revenge upon them, that by any means we or any of us can devise or do, or cause to be devised and done, for their utter overthrow and extirpation.

And, to the better corroboration of this our royal bond and association, we do also testify by this writing, that we do confirm the contents

hereof by our oaths corporally taken upon the Holy Evangelists, with this express condition : that no one of us shall for any respect of persons or causes, or for fear or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the prosecution thereof, during our lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted, and suppressed as perjured persons, and publick enemies to God, our Queen, and our native country. To which punishments and pains we do voluntarily submit ourselves, and every of us, without benefit of any colour and pretence : In witness of all which promises to be inviolably kept, we do to this writing put our hands and seals ; and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others, hereafter, to this society and association.

An Act for Provision to be made for the Surety of the Queen's Majesty's most Royal Person, and the Continuance of the Realm in Peace; enacted in the twenty-seventh Year of the Reign of Queen Elisabeth.

FORASMUCH as the good, felicity, and comfort of the whole estate of this realm consisteth, only next under God, in the surety and preservation of the Queen's most excellent Majesty : and for that it hath manifestly appeared, that sundry wicked plots and means have of late been devised and laid, as well in foreign parts beyond the seas, as also within this realm, to the great endangering of her Highness's most royal person, and to the utter ruin of the whole common-wealth, if by God's merciful providence the same had not been revealed : therefore for preventing of such great perils, as might hereafter otherwise grow, by the like detestable and devilish practices, at the humble suit and earnest petition and desire of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same parliament ; be it enacted and ordained, if, at any time after the end of this present session of parliament, any open invasion or rebellion shall be had or made into or within any of her Majesty's realms and dominions, or any act attempted, tending to the hurt of her Majesty's most royal person, by or for any person that shall or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm after her Majesty's decease : or if any thing shall be compassed or imagined, tending to the hurt of her Majesty's royal person, by any person, or with the privity of any person, that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm : that then, by her Majesty's commission under her great seal, the lords and others of her highness's privy council, and such other lords of parliament, to be named by her Majesty, as with the said privy council shall make up the number of twenty-four at the least, having with them for their assistance in that behalf such of the judges of the courts of record at Westminster, as her Highness shall for that purpose assign and appoint, or the more part of the same council, lords and judges, shall by virtue of this act have authority to examine all and every the offences aforesaid, and all circumstances thereof, and thereupon to give sentence or judgement as, upon good proof, the matter shall appear unto them : and that, after such sentence or judgment given, and de-

claration thereof made and published, by her Majesty's proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons, against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm, or any of her Majesty's dominions, any former law or statute whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: and that thereupon all her Highness's subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her Majesty's direction in that behalf, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom, or by whose means, assent, or privity, any such invasion or rebellion shall be in form aforesaid denounced to have been made, or such wicked act attempted, or other thing compassed or imagined against her Majesty's person, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors.

And if any such detestable act shall be executed against her Highness's most royal person, whereby her Majesty's life shall be taken away, which God of his great mercy forbid, that then every such person, by or for whom any such act shall be executed, and their issues, being any wise assenting or privy to the same, shall, by virtue of this act, be excluded and disabled for ever, to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the said crown of this realm, or of any other her Highness's dominions, any former law or statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And that all the subjects of this realm, and all other her Majesty's dominions, shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom, or by whose means, any such detestable fact shall be, in form hereafter expressed, denounced to have been committed, and also their issues, being any way assenting or privy to the same, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors in that behalf.

And to the end that the intention of this law may be effectually executed, if her Majesty's life shall be taken away, by any violent or unnatural means, which God defend: be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lords and others which shall be of her Majesty's privy council at the time of such her decease, or the more part of the same council, joining unto them, for their better assistance, five other earls, and seven other lords of parliament at the least (foreseeing that none of the said earls, lords, or council be known to be persons that may make any title to the crown) those persons which were chief justices of either bench, master of the rolls, and chief baron of the exchequer, at the time of her Majesty's death, or, in default of the said justices, master of the rolls, and chief baron, some other of those which were justices of some of the courts of record at Westminster, at the time of her Highness's decease, to supply their places, or any twenty-four, or more of them, whereof eight to be lords of parliament, not being of the privy council, shall, to the uttermost of their power and skill, examine the cause and manner of such her Majesty's death, and what persons shall be any way guilty thereof, and all circumstances concerning the same, according to the true meaning of this act, and, thereupon, shall by open parliament publish the same, and without

any delay by all forcible and possible means prosecute to death all such as shall be found to be offenders therein, and all their aiders and abettors : and, for the doing thereof, and for the withstanding and suppressing of all such power and force, as shall any way be levied or stirred in disturbance of the due execution of this law, shall, by virtue of this act, have power and authority not only to raise and use such force, as shall in that behalf be needful and convenient, but also to use all other means and things possible and necessary for the maintenance of the same force, and prosecution of the said offenders. And if any such power and force shall be levied or stirred in disturbance of the due execution of this law, by any person that shall or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm, whereby this law may not in all things be fully executed according to the effect and true meaning of the same : that then every person shall by virtue of this act be therefore excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm, or of any other her Highness's dominions, any former law or statute whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the subjects of all her Majesty's realms and dominions shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and assist the said council and all other the lords and other persons to be adjoined unto them for assistance, as is aforesaid, in all things to be done and executed according to the effect and intention of this law : and that no subject of this realm shall in any wise be impeached in body, lands, or goods, at any time hereafter, for any thing to be done or executed according to the tenor of this law, any law or statute, heretofore made to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And whereas, of late, many of her Majesty's good and faithful subjects have, in the name of God, and with the testimony of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one bond and association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her Majesty's most royal person. Now for the full explaining of all such ambiguities and questions as otherwise might happen to grow, by reason of any sinister or wrong construction, or interpretation to be made or inferred of or upon the words or meaning thereof, be it declared and enacted, by the authority of this present parliament, that the same association, and every article and sentence therein contained, as are concerning the disallowing, excluding, or disabling of any person, that may or shall pretend any title to come to the crown of this realm, as also for the pursuing and taking revenge of any person, for any such wicked act or attempt as is mentioned in the same association, shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and not otherwise, nor against any other person or persons.

*This Association drawn up and signed by the High Court of Parliament
now assembled, on the 24th of February, 1695-6.*

WHEREAS there has been a horrible and detestable conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists, and other wicked and traitorous persons, for assassinating his Majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberty: we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that his present Majesty, King William, is rightful and lawful King of these realms. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by, and assist each other, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his Majesty's most sacred person and government, against the late King James, and all his adherents. And, in case his Majesty come to any violent or untimely death, which God forbid, we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate, and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies, and their adherents; and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown, according to an act made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown.

N. B. In the 13th year of the said Queen were enacted two excellent acts, viz. an act whereby certain offences were made treason; the second against fugitives over the sea.

THE

EXAMINATIONS

OF

HENRY BARROWE, JOHN GRENEWOOD, & JOHN PENRIE,

BEFORE

The High Commissioners, and Lordes of the Council.

Penned by the Prisoners themselves before their Deaths.

There is nothing couered, that shal not be reueiled; neither hid, that shal not be known. Luke xii. 2.

For euery Worke God himself wil bring unto iudgement, with euery secret thing, whither good or euil. Eccles. ii. 14.

Printed 1586. Quarto, Black Letter, containing thirty-two Pages.

THE testimonis and sufferings of the prisoners, whose examinations here ensue, cannot easilie, gentle reader, be forgotten of any, whose harte is touched with care of religion, and seale of the truth. How

weightie the causes were, for which they suffered, may appear partlie by that which foloweth; but, cheefly, by other writings and bookes, by themselves set out heretofore. Here hast thou the maner of the prelates proceeding against them, and how they were convicted of theyr Brownisme, Donatisme, Anabaptistrie, Scisme, Heresie, &c. wherewith they were charged, and for which they were so many yeeres kept in miserable close prisons, and, at last, bereaued of their liues. Sure, whosoever had bene the persons, and whatsoever the errours, it would wel haue become the Lord Archbishops of the Church of England to haue better instructed and informed them, by the word of truth and wholesome doctrine, before they had bene adiudged to prison and death, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25, and iv. 2 Tit. ii. 1. Or, if Pauls counsel could not take effect, yet Pilates example might haue stayed such courses, who examined our Lord Christes accusers, and found them false, and neuer sent him to close prison, for refusing to sweare to accuse himself, Mat. xxvii. Luk. xxiii. Ioh. xviii. Neither yet did the late prelates, in Queene Maries dayes, vse altogether such seueritie; for Bonner himself, with the other tyrants of that time, had often conference and disputation with the martyrs, and sought, by scriptures, to haue ouerthrowen them, if they could. Euill, therefore, haue our bishops provided for their cause and credit, so slightly to deale in matters of such moment, and to proceed to such seuerer tortures, before more open and orderly conviction of the faultes and errours. For now al posterities shal see their practises; and though they have spilt the blood of those men, which vexed them so sore, yet can they not bereaue the world of their testimonie, which, by word and writing, they haue left behinde them. The Lord giue these men, if they belong unto him, to aduert and see their dealings, and to remember the account, which they, ere long, shal be called unto, before him who is ready to iudge both quick and dead. The publishing of these thinges cannot iustly be offensive to any, seeing, first, nothing is here set downe, but that which was then demanded, and answered, as neere as the prisoners could remember. Secondlie, And they, which haue themselves set forth the examinations of martyrs heretofore, may not be greeued now, when theyr owne turne is come, and theyr proceedinges made known likewise; they, which doe wel, need not shunne the light. How euer it be, the church of God, I doubt not, shal reap some profit hereby; for which, how smal so euer it be, let him haue the praise. Amen.

A Brief of the Examination of me Henry Barrowe, the Nineteenth of Nouember, 1586; before the Arch Bishoppe, Arch Deacon, and Dr. Cusins, as neere as my Memorie could cary, being at Lambeth.

THIS 19. being the Lords day, betwene 9 and 10 of the clock in the forenoone, Mr. Hul and I went vnto the Clinke, to visit Mr. Grenewood, and the other brethren there emprisoned; where we had not bene the space of one quarter of an howre, but Mr. Shepherd, the keeper of the prison, came vp, rebuked Mr. Grenewood, and stayed me, saying, he

he had commandement from his Lords Grace so to do. I demanded a sight of his warrant; he answered, that he would doe it, and I might afterward, if I were wronged, bring mine action. So he locked me vp in prison, and forthwith went to his Lords Grace to Lambeth. About one of the clock he returned, and brought with him two pursuantes; I was forthwith put into a boat, and caried to Lambeth. By the way; one of the pursuantes, called Watson, drew out of his bosome a letter from the court of Lambeth unto me, saying, how he had a long time sought me. I told him, his paynes deserved thanks, neither at Gods handes nor mine; I refused his letter, and said, that I obeyed neither it nor him, neither would I read it, shewing how I was vnder the arrest of the keeper of the Clinke, who sate by me. Wel, we arrived at Lambeth, wher, after I had perused the bishope his state, I was brought into his presence chamber, yet not vntil this Watson had prevented me, and shewed his maister what had passed in the boat.

Arch. B. Barrowe, is your name Barrowe?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. It is told me, that yow refuse to receiue or obey our letter, know yow what yow doe? It is from the high comissioners, and this man a pursuant.

Bar. I refused to receive or obey that letter at that time.

Arch. Why so?

Bar. Because I was vnder arrest, and imprisoned without warrant, and against law; and, therefore, now it was too late to bring the letter.

Arch. Why, may not a counsellor commit to prison by his bare commandement? (alleging how the aldermen of London do daily.)

Bar. That is not the question, what a counsellor may doe; but whither this man may doe it without warrant, by the law of the land, (pointing to the keeper of the Clinke.)

Arch. Know yow the law of the land?

Bar. Very litle, yet was I of Grayes Inne some yeares. (Then his two doctours and he derided mine vnskilfulness.) Let this passe, I look for litle help by law against yow: I pray yow, why haue you imprisoned me, and after this manner sent for me?

Arch. That yow shal know vpon your oath; Will you sweare?

Bar. I hold it lawful to sweare, so it be done with due order and circumstances.

Arch. Reach a book, hold it him.

Bar. What shal we doe with this?

Arch. Lay your hand vpon it, Man.

Bar. To what purpose?

Arch. To sweare.

Bar. I vse to sweare by no bookes.

Arch. You shal not sweare by the book, but by God onely.

Bar. So I purpose when I sweare.

Cusins. Did yow neuer take an oath at an assise before the iudges there?

Bar. No.

Cus. But would yow refuse there to lay your hand on a book and sweare?

Bar. Yea.

Cus. Then would your testimony not be taken.

Arch. Why, Man, the book is no part of the oath, it is but a ceremonie.

Bar. A needlesse and wicked ceremonie.

Arch. Why know yow what yow say? Know yow what book it is? It is the Bible.

Bar. I wil sweare by no Bible.

Cus. Scismaticks are clamorous alwayes, it is a perpetual note to know them by.

Arch. Mr. Dr. Cusins saith true, such were the Donatistes alwayes in the counsels, and such art thou, and all other scismaticks such as thou art.

Bar. Say yowr pleasure, God forgieue yow; I am neither scismatick nor clamorous: I answer but yowr demandes, if yow wil, I wil be silent.

Arch. Wel, wil yow lay yowr hand on the Bible and take an oath?

Bar. I vse to ioyne no creatures to the name of God in an oath.

Arch. Neither shal yow, this is but a custome commaunded by law.

Bar. The law ought not to commaund a wicked custome.

Arch. Why, is it not lawful to lay your hand on a book?

Bar. Yea, but not in an oath.

Arch. Wil yow lay your hand in my hand, and sweare?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow lay your hand on that table, and sweare?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wil yow hold vp your hand towards heauen, and sweare?

Bar. That is not amisse, but I wil vse my libertie.

Arch. Why, yow hold it lawful to lay yowr hand on the table and sweare!

Bar. Yea, so it be not commanded, and made of necessitie.

Arch. Why, the booke is the like: It is nothing of the othe, but a thing indifferent.

Bar. If it be nothing of the othe, why doe yow so peremptorie inioyne it? And if it be indifferent, as yow say it is, then doe I wel in not vniing it.

Arch. Nay, yow doe not wel in refusing it, for therein yow shew yowr self disobedient to the higher powers, set over yow by God.

Bar. Euen now yow said, it was a thing indifferent; if it be so, ther is no power can bring me in bondage to my libertie.

Arch. Where finde yow that?

Bar. In S. Paul, 1 Cor. The Arch Bishope, Archdeacon, Dr. Cusins, al denied it; I affirmed it. A litle Testament, in Greek and Latine, was brought me, and a Bible. I looked for the place, but could not finde it: Great fault was in my memorie; for I looked in the x. chapter, neither, indeed, could I bethinke me where to finde it, they so interrupted me.

Arch. Yowr devinitie is like yowr law.

Bar. The word of God is not the worse for my il memorie.

Arch. Yow speak not as yow thinck, for yow are proud.

Bar. I have smal cause to be proud of my memorie, yow see the default of it, but the apostle saith it. Againe they al denied it. Yow then haue no cause to condemne my memorie, seing yow al haue vitterly forgotten this sayeng. Then repeated I the words: Al things are law-

ful for me, but I wil not be brought in bondage to my libertie. Then they recited, Rom. xiv. and 1 Cor. viij. Al thinges are lawful for me, but al thinges are not expedient. I said, I meant not that place.

Arch. I would like it wel, if yow cited your place in Greeke or Latine.

Bar. Why yow vnderstand English: Is not the word of God in English? Then Cussin began to speak of *indefinita propositio*, but, wherevpon, I cannot cal to remembrance. I told him, we were now about the New Testament; it might be, if he had asked me that question when I knew him in Cambridge, I should then haue answered him. He forthwith called to remembrance of what howse I was.

Arch. Were yow then of Cambridge?

Bar. Yea, I knew yow there. He said he was there before I was borne. I said it might be. Then he entred into discourse of his antiquitie. Then he asked me if I had read books, as Calvin, Beza, &c. I answered, that I had read more then ynough; but yet I know not why I am emprisoned.

Arch. It was reported, that yow come not to church, are disobedient to her Maiestie, and say that ther is not a true church in England. What say yow, haue yow, at any time, said thus?

Bar. These are reportes; when yow produce your testimonie, I wil answer.

Arch. But I wil better belecue yow, vpon yowr oath, then them; how say yow, Wil you sweare?

Bar. I wil know what I sweare to, before I sweare.

Arch. First sweare; and then, if any thing be vnlawfully demaunded, yow shal not answer.

Bar. I haue not learned so to sweare, I wil first know, and consider of the matter, before I take an oath. Thus many thinges being alleaged to and fro by vs, the Arch Bishope commaunded Cussin to recorde, that I refused to sweare vpon a book.

Bar. Yea, and set downe also, that I wil not sweare thus at random; but first I wil know and consider of the thinges I sweare vnto, whither they require an oath.

Arch. Wel, when were yow at church?

Bar. That is nothing to yow.

Arch. Yow are a scismatick, a recusant, a seditious person, &c. with many such like.

Bar. Say what yow list of me, I freelie forgiue yow.

Arch. I care not for yowr forgiuenes.

Bar. But, if yow offend me, yow ought to seek it, while yow are in the way with me.

Arch. When were yow at church?

Bar. I haue answered that in an other place, it belongeth not to yow.

Arch. Why, are you indited?

Bar. I am.

Arch. Yet belongeth it to vs; I wil not onely medle with yow, but arraigne yow as an hereticke before me.

Bar. Yow shal doe no more then God wil: Erre I may, but hereticke wil I neuer be.

Arch. Wil yow come to church hereafter?

Bar. Future thinges are in the Lords handes; if I doe not, you haue a law.

Arch. Haue yow spoken these wordes of the Church of England?

Bar. When yow produce your witnesse, I wil answer.

Arch. But, vpon your oath, I will beleeeue yow.

Bar. But I wil not accuse my self. Then began he againe to charge me with scisme, sedition, heresie.

Bar. Yow are lawlesse; I had rather yow produced yowr witnesse.

Arch. Of what occupation are yow?

Bar. A Christian.

Arch. So are we al.

Bar. I deny that.

Arch. But are yow a minister?

Bar. No.

Arch. A schoolmaister?

Bar. No.

Arch. What then, of no trade of life?

Bar. In yowr letter, yow know my trade in the superscription.

Arch. Yow are then a gentleman?

Bar. After the manner of our countrie, a gentleman.

Arch. Scrue yow any man?

Bar. No, I am Gods freeman.

Arch. Haue yow landes?

Bar. No, nor fees.

Arch. How liue yow?

Bar. By Gods goodnes, and my freinds.

Arch. Haue yow a father aliue?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Wher dwelleth he, in Norfolke?

Bar. Yea.

Arch. Where dwel yow, in London?

Bar. No.

Arch. Wel, can yow finde sufficient suretie for your good behaiour?

Bar. Yea, as sufficient as yow can take.

Arch. What, yow cannot haue the Queene?

Bar. Neither can yow take her; she is the iudge of her law, yet, for my good behaiour, I suppose I could get her word.

Arch. Doth she know yow then?

Bar. I know her.

Arch. Els were it pitie of your life.

Bar. Not so.

Arch. Can yow haue any of these, that came with yow, to be bound for yow?

Bar. I know not, I thinke I can.

Arch. What know yow them not?

Bar. I know one of them.

Arch. What is he?

Bar. A gentleman of Graics-yunc.

Arch. What cal yow him?

Bar. Lacie.

Arch. But know yow what bonde yow should enter; yow are bound, hereby, to frequent our churches.

Bar. I vnderstand yow of my good behauiour.

Arch. And is it is this conteyned; and so yow had forfeited your bonde at the first.

Bar. Wel, now I know your minde, I wil enter no such bonde.

Arch. Wil yow enter bonde to appeare on Tuesday next at our court, and so on Thursday, if yow be not called, and be bound not to depart, vntil yow be dismissed by order of our court?

Bar. No.

Arch. Then I wil send yow to prison. Then called he Watson, the pursuant, and Dr. Cussins, a part into a windowe, where he made a warrant to send me to prison.

Bar. Yow shal not touch one haire of my head, without the wil of my heauenly Father.

Arch. Nay, I wil doe this to rectifie yow.

Bar. Consider what yow doe, yow shal one day answer it.

Arch. Yow wil not sweare; yow wil not enter bonde for your appearance.

Bar. I wil put in bonde for my baile in the prison, and for my true imprisonment.

Arch. Nay, that wil not serue the turne. Mr. Doctor, enter these thinges. Then Cussins wrote, that I refused to sweare, and enter bonde.

Bar. I wil send some to yow to conferre.

Arch. That were more requisite before my imprisonment. So the Arch Bishope delivered me to the pursuant, to carie me to the Gatehowse, where I as yet remayne, neither knowing the cause of my imprisonment, neither haue I as yet heard from him.

I was no sooner out of his howse, but I remembred the place in controversie, it is written, 1 Cor. vi. 12. 'Al thinges are lawful for me, but al thinges are not profitable; I may doe al thinges, but I wil not be brought vnder the power of any thing.

'The Lord knoweth to deliver the godly out of tentation, and to reserve the vniust vnto the day of iudgement vnder punishment.'

The 27. of November, 8. daies after I was committed by Cant. to the Gatehowse: I was sent for by one of his seruantes, to make appearance before the high commissioners at Lambeth; whither he and my kespers man Nicholas caried me. There I found a very great traine without, but within a goodlie synode of bishops, deans, civilians, &c. beside such an appearance of well-fedde silken priestes, as I suppose might wel haue becemed the Uaticane; where after to my no smal grief I had heard a scholemaister deny his maister Christ, I was called.

Canterburie, with a grimme and an angrie countenance beholding me, made discourse how I refused to sweare on a book, &c. as fel out in our first meeting; and demaunded whither I were now better advised, and would sweare. I answered, that I would not refuse to sweare vpon due occasion and circumstances.

Cant. Wil yow then now sweare?

Bar. I must first know to what.

Cant. So yow shal afterward.

Bar. I wil not sweare, vnlesse I know before.

Cant. Wel I wil thus far satisfie your humour. London began to interrupt, but Canterburie cut him of, and produced a paper of objections against me, which he delivered to one Beadle to read. It conteyned much matter, and many suggestions against me, disorderly framed according to the malicious humour of mine accuser, as, That I denied God to haue a true church in England; and to prove this, the four principle causes framed in way of argument, as, The worship of God with vs is idolatrie; *ergo*, no true church. They haue an antichristian and idolatrous ministerie; *ergo* no true church, further he saith, that the Reverend Father in God, my Lords Grace of Canterbury, and al the bishops of the land, are antichristes. Further he saith, that all the ministers in the land are theeues and murderers, and secret hypocrites, and that al the preachers of the land are hirelinges. That Mr. Wiggington and Cartwright straine at a gnat, and swallow a camel. Further, he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, &c. and saith, that al catechismes are idolatrous, and not to be vsed. The reasons to these were vntrolie and disorderley set downe accordingly in the bil, which I cannot rehearse.

Lord. How say yow, Mr. Deane of Pauls, here is for yow, yow haue written a catechisme?

Cant. This fellow deales indifferently, he makes vs al alike. Thus far haue I satisfied yow; now yow know what yow shal sweare vnto; how say yow, wil yow sweare now?

Lord. My lordes grace doth not shew this favour to many.

Cant. Fetch a book.

Bar. It is needles.

Cant. Why, wil yow not sweare now?

Bar. An oath is a matter of great importance, and requireth great consideration. But I wil answer yow truly, much of the matter of this bil is true, but the forme is false.

Cant. Goe to, Sirra, answer directlie, wil yow sweare? Reach him a book.

Bar. Ther is more cause to sweare mine accuser: I will not sweare.

Cant. Where is his keeper? You shal not prattle here, away with him; clap him vp close, close, let no man come at him: I will make him tel an other tale, ycr I haue done with him.

Ther was an article against me in the bil, for saying that I thought elders were bisshops, and Philip. i. 1. produced; here by I plainly discouer mine accuser to be Thornelie of Norwich with whom I had communication at Ware, as I rode to London, and never talked with any other about this matter.

The effect, and so neere as my fraile memorie could cary away, the very wordes of such interrogatories and answers as were demanded of, and made by me Henry Barrowe, before certeyne commissioners ther vnto especially appointed by her Maiestie; namely the two lord cheef iustices, the maister of the rolles, the lord cheef baron, and another

baron of the exchequer, I think Baron Gente; together with the Archbishop of Canterburie, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, certaine of their chancellors and civil doctors with their registers and scribes. The 24. of March.

I being brought before the Archbishop of Cant, he made knowne vnto me that they were authorised by her Maiestie to examine me vpon my oath vpon certaine interrogatories, and therefore called for a booke; ther was brought a great Bible in folio faire bound, which the Archbishop refused, and called for an other, which was held to me by one of his men, and I commaunded to lay my hand vpon it.

Bar. To what ende?

Cant. To sweare.

Bar. I haue not learned to sweare by any creatures.

Cant. This is the word of God, the Bible.

Bar. I began to open the book, and meant in deed to haue asked him, if the Apocrypha scripture, and notes which were in it, were the word of God; but *Cant.* belike suspecting some such matter, would not suffer me to look into it; to whom then I answered that that book was not the eternal word of God, that eternal God himself, by whom onely I must sweare, and not by any bookes or bibles.

Cant. So yow shal sweare by God.

Bar. To what purpose then is this booke vrged? I may sweare by nothing besides him, nor by nothing with him.

Winck. How proue yow that?

Bar. It is so commanded in the book of the law, Deut. Chapt. vi. and 13. so expounded by sundrie of the prophets, by Christ himself and his apostles.

Cant. Wel wil yow sweare that yow wil answer nothing but the truth, and the whole truth, to such interrogatories as we shall demaund of yow?

Bar. I haue learned to know the matter before I either sweare or answere.

Cant. Set downe that he will not sweare.

L. C. Just. Yow shal onely sweare to answer the truth, if any vnlawful thing be demaunded of yow, yow need not answere.

Bar. My Lord, euery truth requireth not an oath, ther must great regard and reverence be vsed in an oath, and an oath for confirmation ought to be the ende of al strife: my lord, if I should erre, and deliuer it vpon mine oath for truth, it were a double sinne; likewise if I should eyther not know, not remember, or not vtter the whole truth, I were by such a rash oath forsworne: but by Gods Grace I wil answere nothing but the truth.

Cant. A Christian mans word ought to be as his Oath, we wil proceed with yow without your oath, and taking a paper of interrogatories in his hand, said, what say yow to this? Is it lawful to say the *Pater noster* publickly in the church, or privately, as a prayer or no?

Bar. I know not what yow meane by your *Pater noster*, vnlesse, peradventure, that forme for prayer which our Sauour Christ taught his disciples, commonly called the Lordes Prayer.

Conf. I so meane. Then commanded he the first question to be thus written.

Quest. 1. Whither he thinketh the Lordes Prayer may publickly in the church, or privatly be vsed as a prayer or no? 'When I had expressed my mind, the Archbishop commaunded it should be recorded; but I desired the iudges that I might with my owne hande write my owne answers, which was graunted me.' My answer then to the first question was:

Ans. It is to be vsed to that ende for which it was given by our Sauour Christ to his disciples, as a summarie ground worke or foundation of al faithful prayers, wherby to instruct and assure their consciences, that their petitions are according to the wil and glory of God: but that these prescript words are inioyned, or that Christ or his apostles euer vsed them as or in their prayer, I finde not in the scripture. Moreouer, I see not how it can be vsed as a prayer, seeing that our particuler wantes, and present occasions and necessities, are not therein expressed. And therefore I think it not to be vsed as a prayer. 'Heere the Archbishop cried out for breuitie, and would not suffer me to answer any more questions at large.'

Quest. 2. Whither he thinketh that any leitourgies, or prescript formes of prayer, may be imposed vpon the church; and whither al read and stinted prayers be mere babling in Gods sight.

Ans. I find in the worde of God no such authoritie given to any man, neither such stinted leitourgies prescribed or vsed in the primitiue churches; and therefore hold it high presumption to impose any one deuised Apocrypha praier vpon the church.

Quest. 3. Whither he thinketh that the common praiers, commaunded by the publick authoritie of this land, be idolatrous, superstitious, and popish?

Ans. I thinke that this book of common prayer, publickly inioyned and received in the assemblies of this land, is wel aigh altogether idolatrous, superstitious, and popish.

Quest. 4. Whither he thinketh that the sacramentes, which are publickly administred in the church of England, be true sacramentes or no?

Ans. I thinke that the sacramentes, as they are ministred in these publick assemblies, are not true sacramentes; and seal not the fauour and blessing of God unto them.

Quest. 5. Whither he thinketh that the lawes and gouernment of the church of England, now by authoritie established, be vnlawful and antichristian, or no?

Ans. Because the lawes, decrees, and canons of your church are so many and infinite, I can not iudge of them al, because I know not al; but this I say, that many of them, as also your ecclesiastical courtes and Gouernours, are unlawful and antichristian.

Quest. 6. Whither he thinketh that such as haue bene baptised in the church of England, since Queene Elisabethes reigne, haue bene rightly baptised, or ought to be baptised againe?

Ans. I thinke as before of your sacramentes, that they haue not bene rightly baptised, according to the institution of Christ: yet that

they need not, neither ought to be baptised againe. 'I doubt, least the archbishop hearing my answer of rebaptising, caused it to be left out of the question, and my answer, taking that which might best serue their owne turne, to bring vs into suspicion of error, and hatred. Herevnto many speeches arising of the true and false sacramentes, ministerie, gouernment, as also of the true and false church: I shewed that the false church had also her sacramentes, ministerie, gouernment, though not aright. Then Iudge Anderson caused this question to be made to me:

Quest. 7. Whither the church of England, as it standeth now established, be the true established church of Christ; and whither the people therein be the true and faithful people of God, or no?

Answer. I thinke that these parish assemblies, as they stand generally in England, are not the true established churches of Christ; and that the people, as they now stand in disorder and confusion in them, are not to be held the true and faithful people of Christ. Here the Iudge Anderson took exception 'as the Bishop of London also' at these wordes 'parish assemblies.' I answered the iudge, that I could not for some weightie respectes spare him that word; for I doubted not, but that the Lord had many pretious and elect vessels among them, whom he wil in his good time cal forth, whom it became not me absolutely to iudge, least I should enter into Gods seat: Yet I could not, in the mean time, whiles they stand members of these assemblies, count them faithful. To the Bishope I said, that when they should better consider of mine answer, they should haue lesse cause to finde fault. Much trouble we had before we could agree of the state and wordes of their questions, with putting out and changing, which discourages it is not my purpose here to set downe, so much as the questions and answers agreed vpon and recorded; although for some causes knowne to my selfe, and to some of their consciences, which may hereafter be knowne to al the world, I thought it not impertinent to insert this.

Quest. 8. Whither he thinketh the Queenes Maiestie be supreme Gouvernour of the church; and whither she may make lawes for the church, which are not contrary to the wordes of God, or no?

Answer. I thinke the Queenes Maiestie supreme gouernor of the whole land, and ouer the church also, bodies and goods; but I thinke that no Prince, neither the whole world, neither the church it self, may make any lawes for the church, other than Christ hath already left in his wordes. Yet I thinke it the dutie of euery christian, and principally of the Prince, to enquire out and renue the lawes of God, and stir up al their subiectes to more diligent and careful keeping of the same. As we had much a-doe to come to the state of this question, so the Bishopes shewed themselves euil satisfied with my answer, and said, that the papistes dealt more simply then I did; and surely they very greuously interrupted me with slanders, euilspeeches and blasphemies, during the time of my writing these answers, especially the bishope of London; so that I was even inforced sometime to turne unto him, and shew him of his shameless vntruthes and slanders. The chiefe iustice of Englande here saide, that he thought I answered verry directly and compendiously. Here again, vpon some speech that arisc, the Iudge

Anderson asked me, Whither I thought it lawful to hang a thief or no? I answered, that ther were many kinde of thecues, as sacrilegious thecues, men-stealers, &c. that these ought by the lawes of God to die. Then, he said, he meant ordinary thecues of goodes and chattels. I saide, that God in the law had ordeyned an other kinde of punishment for such; whervpon the Bishope framed this question.

Quest. 9. Whither it be lawful for the prince to alter the iudicial lawe of Moses, according to the state of her countrie and pollicie, or no?

Ans. I ought to be wise in sobriety, and not to answer more then I know. Great doubt and controversie hath bene about this question a long time, but, for my part, I cannot see that any more of the iudicial lawe was or can be abrogated by any mortal man or countrie, vpon what occasion soeuer, then belonged to the ceremonial lawe and worship of the temple, for which we haue receiued other lawes and worship in Christes testament; but that the iudgements, due and set downe by God for the transgression of the moral lawe, cannot be changed or altered, without iniury to the moral lawe and God himself. Yet this, as al my other answers by protestation, that, if any man can better instruct me therein by the word of God, I am alwayes ready to change my minde. Whervpon the cheef iustice of Englande saide, I spake wel; and therefore said, If I were in doubt, mine answer ought not to be taken. I said, I doubted not, but had set downe my minde. Yet the Bishopes, because my answer fitted not their turnes, as I think, commaunded the question and answer to be blotted out.

Quest. 10. Whither he thinketh that any priuate man may take vpon him to reforme, if the Prince wil not, or neglect? 'I asked, whither they meant of a publick reformation of the state, or of a priuate or personal reformation of himself and his family: it was saide, of a publick reformation.'

Ans. I thinke that no man may intermedle with the princes office, without lawful calling therunto; and therefore it is vtterly vnlawful for any priuate man to reforme the state, without his good liking and license, because the Prince shal account for the defaultes of his publick gouernment, and not priuate men, so they be not guiltie with the Prince in his offences, but absteyne and keep themselves pure from doing or consenting to any vnlawful thing commaunded by the Prince, which they must doe, as they tender their owne saluation.

Quest. 11. Whither he thinketh that euery parish, or particuler church, ought to haue a presbyterie?

Ans. The holy gouernment of Christ belongeth not to the prophane or vnbeleeuing, neither can it, without manifest sacrilege, be set ouer these parishes, as they now stande in confusion, no difference made betwixt the faithful and vnbeleeuing, al being indifferently receiued into the body of the church; but ouer euery particuler congregation of Christ ther ought to be an eldership, and euery such congregation ought, to their vttermost power, to endeouour therunto. Now was I dismissed, and committed againe to my keeper, with streight charge that no man might speak to me. During this time, others of my brethren were examined; which being done, I was called for in vnto

them; where Canterburie shewed me the statute of supremacie, and asked me, if I would take an oath according to the same. I saide, that in that forme I could not, neither could I sweare to such successors as I knew not; but to her Maiestie, I acknowledged her authoritie, as I had expressed in my article, and protested my life, in defence of her person, prerogative, and dignitie, loyally against al forreine and domestical enemies, whither spiritual or temporal. The Archbishops saide, that the papistes made a better and more dutiful oath then this. I said it was not true, they denied not, neither defied the Pope; but I was ready to giue and performe as much unto my prince as any true subiect ought to doe. He asked me againe, whither the church of Christ 'if the Prince deny or refuse to neglect abuses' may, without staying for the prince, reforme them? I saide, that it might and ought, though al the Princes of the world should prohibit the same vpon paine of death. He asked me againe, whither the church of Christ might excommunicate the prince, and who should pronounce it; I said, that sin, obstinately stood in, did excommunicate, and that the church ought to have iudgement ready against euery transgression, without respect of persons, and that the pastor of the church ought to pronounce it; and alleaged, that excommunication was giuen vnto the church, as the onely and last remedie for the saluation of the partie in such cases, and that the neglect thereof was both the neglect of Gods iudgements, their dutie, and the Princes saluation; and that they might as wel take away al admonitions and reprehensions from Princes, and so Princes were in a most miserable case.

These, my answers, were not written with mine owne hand, but by the register: and so was I sent againe with more commaundementes, yet to keep me more streightly. I requested at both times a copy of my answers, but the Archbishops denied it me.

Vpon the 18th day of the 3. moneth, I Henry Barrowe, close prisoner in the Fleet, was sent for in al post-hast, by one Ragland, a gentleman of the lord chancellors, to his lordes chamber at the court at White-hall; wher being arrived, I found, in a withdrawing chamber, 12. of the brethren, among a great number of other attendantes, with whom I could not haue any one word: but, after that Ragland had signified my coming, I was forthwith sent for into that chamber, where sate at the boord the Archbishops in his Pontificalibus, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Buckhurst, the Bishops of London in his Pontificalibus: at the lower ende of the chamber stood Dr. Some, Iustice Young, and others.

Being kneeled downe at the ende of the table, the Lord Treasurer began, and asked me my name; which, when I had told him, he asked me, if I had not bene sometime of the court: I answered, that I had sometime frequented the court: he saide, he remembered me not.

L. Treas. Why are yow in prison, Barrowe?

Bar. I am in prison, my lord, vpon the statute made for recusantes.

L. Treas. Why wil yow not goe to church?

Bar. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

L. Treas. Thow art a fantastical fellow, I see, but why not to our churches?

Bar. My lord, the causes are great and many, it were too long to shew them in particuler; but briefly, my lord, I cannot come to your church, because al the profane and wicked of the lande are receiued into the body of your church. 2. Yow haue a false and antichristian ministry set ouer your church. 3. Neither worship yow God aright, but after an idolatrous and superstitious manner. 4. And your church is not gouerned by Christes testament, but by the Romish courtes and canons, &c.

L. Treas. Here is matter ynough indeed; I perceiue thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion.

The Lord Chancellor saide, he neuer heard such stuffe before in al his life.

Bar. As I was about to shew that neither I was an author of this religion, and that it was not new, as they snposed, the Bishope of London interrupted me, and asked me, wherein their worship was idolatrous? The Lord Chauncellor also demaunded the same question.

Bar. Ther is nothing els in that book of your common prayer; being demaunded some particulers, I shewed that their saintes daies, eues, fastes, idol feastes, &c.

Lond. Stay there: why, is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the saintes in the church?

Bar. Not after your manner; it is idolatrie.

Lond. How proue yow that?

Bar. By the i. commaundement.

Lond. Why, that is, thou shalt haue no other Gods but me. What of that?

Bar. The word is, thou shalt haue no other Gods before my face. We are therefore forbidden to giue any part of Gods worship to any creature.

Lond. Why, neither doe we.

Bar. Yes, yow celebrate a day, and sanctifie an eue, and cal them by their names; yow make a feast, and devise a worship vnto them.

L. Treas. Why, may we not cal the day after their names? Is not that in our libertie?

Bar. No, my lord.

L. Treas. How proue yow that?

Bar. In the beginning of the booke it is written, that God himselfe named all the dayes, the first, the second, &c.

L. Treas. Why then we may not call them Sunday, Monday, &c.

Bar. We are otherwise taught to cal them in the booke of God.

L. Treas. Why, thou theyselve callest it the Lordes Day.

Bar. And so the Holy Ghost calleth it in the i. of the Reuelation.

Lond. We haue nothing in our saintes dayes, but that which is taken forth of the scriptures.

Bar. In that yow say true, for yow finde no saintes dayes in the scriptures.

Lond. We finde their histories and deedes in the scriptures.

Bar. But not their dayes and festiuals in the scripture. The Lord Backhurst then smide, I was a proud spirit. The lord treasurer saide, I had a hottie braine; and taking into his hande a book of common

prayer; which lay on the boord, read certaine of the collectes for the saintes, and shewed that the epistles and gospels were part of the scripture; and asked me, what I could mislike therein?

Bar. I mislike al, for we ought not so to vse scriptures or prayers.

Lord. May we not make commemoration of the saintes liues in the church?

Bar. Not after yowr manner, to giue peculi e dayes, eues, worship, feastes vnto them.

L. Treas. But what is there idolatrous?

Bar. Al, for we ought not so to vse the scriptures.

Lord. What, not in commemoration of the saintes?

Bar. As I haue said, not after yowr manner.

L. Treas. But what is euil here?

Bar. All my lord, for, by abusing the scripture, we may make it an idol. The circumstantes make euil thinges, of themselues good, as in the masse book from whence this stuff is fetched, there are sundry good collectes and places of scripture, which their superstitious abuses make abhominable and euil. Likewise comiurers make many good prayers, which the circumstances also make euil.

Here the Lord Buckhurst said I was out of my wittes.

Bar. No, my Lord, I speak the wordes of sobernes and truth, as I could make plaine, if I might be suffered.

L. Treas. Here we pray, that our liues may be such as theirs was, void of couetousnes.

Bar. So ought we to doe, and not to reade, or haue any parte of the scripture, without fruite, and to follow and see that which we finde praised and discommended in them: yet ought we not to vse the scriptures, in this manner, to dayes and times, neither to be thus restreyned or stinted in our prayers, as to be tied to this forme of wordes, place, time, manner, kneele, stand, &c.

L. Buckh. This fellow delighteth to heare himself speak.

(The lord chancellor also spake some what at that time, which I cannot cal to remembrance as yet).

Then the Archbishop also spake many thinges against me, of smal effect, which I haue also forgotten; onely this I remember, he said, I was a strower of errors, and that therefore he committed me.

Bar. In deed, yow committed me halfe a ycare, close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and I neuer, vntil now, vnderstood the cause why, neither as yet know I, what errors they be, shew them, therefore, I pray yow.

The Lord Buckhurst againe said, I was a presumtuuous spirit.

Bar. My Lord, al spirits must be tried and iudged by the word of God; but, if I erre, my lord, it is meet I should be shewed wherin.

L. Chanc. Ther must be streighter lawes, made for such fellows.

Bar. Would to God, ther were, my Lord, our journey should be the shorter.

L. Treas. Yow complained to vs of iniustice, wherein haue yow wrong?

Bar. My lord, in that we are thus imprisoned without due trial.

L. Treas. Why? yow said yow were condemned vpon the statute.

Bar. Vniustly, my lord, that statute was not made for vs.

L. Treas. Ther must be streighter lawes made for yow.

Bar. OY My Lord, speak more comfortablie, we haue sorrowes ynough.

L. Treas. In deed, thow lookest, as if thow hadst a troubled conscience.

Bar. No, I praise God for it: but it is a woeful thing, that our princes swords should thus be drawen against her faithful subiectes.

The lord treasurer answered, that the queenes sword was not as yet drawen against vs.

Then, in a word or two, I complayning of the misery and lingring close imprisonment, which we suffer: the lord treasurer demaunded, if we had had no conference?

The bishop of London answered, that sundrie had bene with vs, as Dr. Some, Grauiat, and others, but we mocked them that came vnto us.

Bar. That is not true, the Lord knoweth. We mock no creature. Neither doe I know, or haue euer seene, to my remembrance, that Grauiat yow speak of. But miserable phisitions are yow al, for Mr. Some, he indeed was with me, but neuer would enter disputation: He said, he came not therfore, but in reasoning manner, to know some what of minde more cleerly. Some was then by the archbishop called, and demaunded, whither we had conference, or no? Some shewed, how that, at our last conference, before Sir A. G, ther arose a question betwixt vs, whither the prince might make a positive law, *de rebus medijs*, of thinges indifferent? I denying it, he asked me, whither she might make a statute for the reforming excesse of apparel? I graunted that she might. He then said it was a doctrine of diuils to forbid meate, by a positue law: he shewed me then, that the princes law did not binde the conscience, and that ther is a difference betwixt *forum ciuile* and *forum conscientia*.

Some to this effect. Mr. Young then vacalledt came, and accused me of vareuerend speeches, vsed against his lords grace, at my first conference with Some, in my chamber; so they were dismissed.

Then I beseeched the lords, to graunt a publicke conference, that it might appeare to al men, what we held, and where we erred.

The archbishop in great choller said, we should haue no publick conference, we had published to much already, and therfore he now committed vs close prisoners.

Bar. But contrary to law.

The lord treasurer said, it might be vpon such occasions done by law; and asked whither I had any learning?

Cant. and Lond. with one consent answered together, that I had no learning.

Bar. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant, I haue no learning to boast of: but this I know, that yow are voide of al true learning and godlines.

L. Buckh. See the spirit of this man.

Then requested I conference againe, and that in writing: which was againe by Canterburie very peremptorie denyed. He said that he had matter to talke before him for an heretike.

Bar. That shal yow neuer do: yow know my former answer to that matter: wel erre, I may, but hereticke, by the grace of God, wil I neuer be.

L. Beck. That is wel said.

The lord treasurer then taking vp a paper of Somes abstract questions, which lay among the bishops euidence against me, read this: that I held it vnlawful, to enacte a lawe that the ministers shal liue by tithes, or the people pay them, and demanded of me, whither I held tithes vnlawful?

Bar. My lord, they are abrogated and vnlawful.

L. Treas. Why, thow wouldst haue the minister liue of somewhat, wherof should he liue?

Bar. *Ex pura eleemosyna*, of clere almes as Christ in his Testament hath ordeyned, and as he and his apostles.

L. Treas. But how if the people wil not giue?

Bar. Such are not the people of God.

L. Treas. But what shal the minister doe in the meane time?

Bar. Not stand a minister to such, neither take the goods of the prophane.

L. Treas. Where canst thou shew me now in the scriptures, that the ministers now ought not to liue vpon tithes?

Bar. I took the Bible and turned to these two places, Heb. vij. 12. Gal. vj. 6; in the one, where tithes are abrogate, in the other, that an other provision is made for them. London began the cauill at the wordes, (pure and cleere almes). Canterburie, at the place in the Hebrews, saying, that the authors intent was to proue an abrogation of the preisthod.

Bar. Why, the wordes of the text are these: if the preisthod be changed, then of necessitie must ther be a change of the law: and yow cannot deny but that tithes were a part of that law; alleging Num. xvij.

L. Treas. What, wouldst thou haue him, to haue al my goodes?

Bar. No, my lord, but I would haue yow to withhold none of your goodes from helping him: neither rich nor pore are exempted from this duty.

Furder I shewed, that, if the minister had thinges necessarie, as food and rayment, he ought to hold him self contented: neither ought the church to giue him more. Then had we some talke concerning the word Preist: the lord treasurer said, that the ministers now were not to be called preistes.

Bar. If they receiue tithes, they are preistes. Moreouer they be called preistes in the law.

Lond. Why, what is the word, presbyter, I pray yow?

Bar. An elder.

Lond. What in age onely?

Bar. No, Timothie was a young man.

Lond. Presbyter is Latine for a preist.

Bar. It is no Latine word, but deriued, and signifieth the same which the Greek word doth, which is an elder.

Lond. What makest thou a preist?

Bar. Him that doth offer sacrifices, for so it is written euery where in

the law. As we were thus reasoning, the lord chancellor asked me, if I knew not those two men (pointing to Canterburie and London).

Bar. Yes, my lord, I haue cause to know them.

L. Chanc. But what is not this the bishop of London?

Bar. I know him for no bishop, my lord.

L. Chanc. What is he then?

Bar. His name is Elmar, my lord. (The lord pardon my fault, that I laid him not open for a wolfe, a bloody persecutor and apostata. But, by this time, the wardens man plucked me vp.)

L. Chanc. What is that man? (pointing to Canterburie.)

Bar. The Lord gaue me the spirit of boldnes, so that I answered: he is a monster, a miserable compound, I know not what to make him; he is neither ecclesiastical nor ciuil, euen that second beast spoken of in the Reuelation.

L. Treas. Wher is that place, shew it?

Bar. So I turned to the xiiij Chap. and began at the 11th verse, and read a litle. Then I turned to 2 Thes. ij. But the beast arose for anger, gnashing his teeth, and said, wil yow suffer him, my lords? So I was pluckt vp by the wardens man from my knees, and caried away. As I was departing, I desired the lord treasurer, that I might haue the libertie of the aire, but had no answer; and I prayed the Lord to blasse their honours. So, I was led forth by an other way, then I came in, that I might not see the brethren, nor they me. This is the effect, so neere as my euil memorie could cary away, the very wordes that were used to me, and by me in that place. The Lord pardon my vnworthines, and vnsanctified hart and mouth, which can bring no glory to the Lord, or benefite to his church; but rather reproch to the one, and affliction to the other. But the Lord knoweth how to deliuer the godly out of tentation, and to reserue the vniust vntil the day of iudgement vader punishment. The lord treasurer admonished me, and told me that I took the Lords name often in vaine: I haue forgotten vpon what occasion he spake it. But I beseech the Lord, that I may not forget this his good admonition, but may set a more careful watch before my lippes: for sure, no doubt, I am greatly guiltie that way, and neuer vse holy name, with that reuerence I ought.

The Answers of Iohn Grenewood, at London Pallace, before the two Lord Cheif Iustices of Englands, the Maister of the Rolles, the Lord Cheif Baron, together with the Arch Bishop of Canterburie, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, with others, to certaine Interrogatories, as foloweth.

Quest. What is your name?

Ans. Iohn Grenewood.

Quest. Lay yowr hand vpon the book, yow must take an oath.

Ans. I wil sweare by the name of God, if ther be any need, but not by, or vpon a book.

Quest. We wil then examine yow without an oath. Are yow a minister?

Answ. No, I was one after your orders.

Quest. Who disgraded yow?

Answ. I disgraded my self through Gods mercy by repentance. (Then, after many wordes, they brought forth a paper, conteyning certaine articles in manner of questions, as foloweth.)

Quest. Is it lawful to vse the Lordes Prayer publickly or privately as a prayer, or no?

Answ. It is a doctrine to direct al our prayers by: but, seing it conteyneth the doctrine of the holy scripture, no man can vse the same, as a private or publick prayer, because he hath not present need to aske al the petitions therin conteyned, at one time: neither can comprehend them with feeling and faith.

Quest. Is it lawful or no? I wil heare no prattling.

Answ. It is not lawful, for any thing I can see by the scripture, for ther is no commaundement to say the very wordes ouer: and Christ and his apostles prayed in other words, according to their present necessitie.

Quest. Is it lawful to vse any stinted prayers either publickly or privately in prayer?

Answ. They are Apocrypha, and may not be vsed in the publick assemblie: The word, and the graces of Gods spirit, are onely to be vsed there.

Quest. Answer directly, Is it lawful to vse them publickly or privately?

Answ. Paul saith, in Rom. viij. 'The Spirit of God maketh request for vs;' and, 'That we know not what to aske, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities.'

Quest. Answer directly.

Answ. It is not lawful to vse stinted prayers, invented by man, either publickly or privately, for any thing I can see by the scriptures.

Quest. What say yow then to the book of Common Prayer? Is it superstitious, Popish, and idolatrous, yea or no?

Answ. I beseech yow, that I may not be vrged by your law; I haue thus long bene close prisoner, and therefore desire yow to shew me wherefore, and not now to entangle me by your law.

Quest. Is it not your law now, as well as ours? It is the Queenes law; yow are a good subiect.

Answ. I am obedient, as a true subiect; but I took it we had reasoned of your popish canons.

Quest. Is not the Common Prayer Booke established by the Queenes law?

L. Cheif. Iust. Tel us what yow thinke of the Booke of Common Prayer; yow shal haue libertie to cal back what yow wil againe.

Answ. If it were in free conference, as it hath bene often desired by vs, I would so doe.

Winck. Haue yow not vsed these wordes a yere agoe, That it was Popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?

Ans. Yes, I thinke I haue; for it was taken out of the Popes portuis.

Quest. Why would yow not answer so before?

Ans. Because, I see, yow goe about to bring me with in the compasse of the law.

Judge Anderson. What say yow now to it?

Ans. That ther ar many errors in it, and the forme therof is disagreeable to the scriptures.

Arch. Is it contrary to the scriptures?

Ans. It must needs be contrary, if it be disagreeable.

Winck. Whither hold yow it idolatrous, superstitious, and Popish?

Ans. I haue answered what I thinke of it; I hold it full of errors, and the forme therof disagreeable to the scriptures.

Quest. What say yow for mariage? Did not yow marie one Boman and his wife in the Fleet?

Ans. No; neither is mariage a part of the ministers office,

Quest. Who did vse prayer?

Ans. I thinke, I did at that time vse prayer.

Quest. Who ioyned their handes together?

Ans. I know no such thing; they did publickly acknowledge their consent before the assemblie.

Stawp. I wil make them doe penance for it.

Ans. Ther be some had more need shew open repentance, then they.

Bish. They may make such mariages vnder a hedge; and it hath bene a long receiued order, to be married by the minister.

Ans. No; ther were many faithful witnesses of their consentes; and, if it were not lawful, we haue many examples of the ancient fathers, who, by your iudgement, did amisse.

Quest. What say yow to the church of England? Is it a true established church of God?

Ans. The whole common wealth is not a church.

Judge Anders. But doe yow know any true established church in the land?

Ans. If I did, I would not accuse them vnto yow.

Quest. But what say yow, is not the whole land, as it standeth now ordered, a true established church?

Ans. No, not as the assemblies are generally ordered; if it please yow, I wil shew yow the reasons.

L. Chief. Iust. No, yow shal haue time ynough hereafter to shew the reasons; it is not now to be stood vpon.

Quest. What doe yow say to the church of England, as it is now guided by bishopps? Is it antichristian?

Ans. By such bishopps and lawes, as it is now guided, it is not according to the scriptures.

Winck. Thou hast scriptures often in thy mouth; is it then antichristian?

Ans. Yea, I hold it contrarie to Christes word.

Quest. What say yow to the sacramentes then? Are they true sacramentes?

Ans. No; they are neither rightly administered according to Christes

institution, neither haue promise of grace, because yow keep not the couenant.

Quest. Speak plainly: are they true sacramentes, or no?

Ans. No; if yow haue no true church, yow can haue no true sacramentes.

Quest. How say yow: are we baptised?

Ans. Yea, yow haue the outward signe, which is the washing, but no true sacrament.

Quest. How can that be?

Ans. Very wel. Then I thought to haue shewed reasons, but I could not be suffred.

Quest. Is it lawful baptisme?

Ans. Yea.

Quest. Need we, then, to be baptised againe, if we had that Ministerie and gouernment, yow speak of?

Ans. No.

Quest. Should we be baptised at al?

Ans. Yea; or els, if we contemne it, we deny the profession of grace.

Quest. Do yow hold it lawful to baptise children?

Ans. Yea; I am no anabaptist, I thanke God.

Quest. How far differ yow?

Ans. So far as truth from errors.

Quest. Yow haue a boy vnbaptised; how old is he?

Ans. A yeare and a halfe.

Quest. What is his name?

Ans. Abel.

Quest. Who gaue him that name?

Ans. My self, being father.

Quest. Why hath he not bene baptised?

Ans. Because that I haue bene in prison, and cannot tel where to goe to a reformed church, wher I might haue him baptised according to Gods ordinance.

Quest. Will yow goe to church to St. Brides?

Ans. I know no such church.

Quest. Will yow goe to Pauls?

Ans. No.

Quest. Do yow not hold a parish the church?

Ans. If al the people were faithful, hauing Gods law and ordinances practised amongst them, I doe,

Quest. Then yow hold, that the parish doe not make it a church?

Ans. No; but the profession which the people make.

Quest. Doe yow hold, that the church ought to be gouerned by a presbyterie?

Ans. Yea; euery congregation of Christ ought to be gouerned by that presbyterie which Christ hath appointed.

Quest. What are these officers?

Ans. Pastor, teacher, elder, &c.

Quest. And by no other?

Ans. No, by no other then Christe hath appointed.

Quest. May this people and presbyterie reforme such thinges as be amisse, without the prince?

Ans. They ought to practise God's lawes, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Quest. What if the prince forbid them?

Ans. They must doe that, which God commaundeth, neuertheless.

Quest. If the prince doe offend, whither may the prebyterie excommunicate the prince, or no?

Ans. The whole church may excommunicate any member of that congregation, if the partie continue obstinate in open transgression.

Quest. Whither may the prince be excommunicate?

Ans. Ther is no exception of person; and I doubt not, but her Maiestie would be ruled by the word; for it is not the men, but the word of God, which bindeth and looseth sinne.

Quest. Whither may the prince make lawes in the government of the church, or no?

Ans. The scripture hath set downe sufficient lawes for the worship of God, and government of the church, to which no man may adde, or diminish.

Quest. What say yow to the princes supremacie? Is her Maiestie supreme head of the church ouer all causes, as wel ecclesiastical, as temporal?

Ans. A supreme magistrate ouer al persons, to punish the euil, and defend the good.

Quest. Ouer al causes? &c.

Ans. No; Christ is onely head of his church, and his lawes may no man alter.

Quest. The Pope giueth thus much to the prince.

Ans. No, that he doth not; he setteth himself aboue princes, and exempteth his preisthod from the magistrates sword.

Quest. What say yow to the oath of the Queenes supremacie? Will yow answer to it?

Ans. If these ecclesiastical orders be meant such, as be agreeable vnto the scriptures, I wil, for I deny al forreigne power.

Quest. It is meant the order and government, with al the lawes in the church, as it is now established.

Ans. Then I wil not answer to approue therof.

A breif Summe of the Examination of Iohn Penrie, by the Right Worshipful Mr. Fanshaw, and Mr. Iustice Young, the Tenth of the fourth Month April, 1593.

Fanshaw. It is strange vnto me, that yow hold such opininions, Penrie, as none of the learned of this age, or any of the martyrs of former times mainteyned. Can yow shew any writers, either old or new, that haue bene of your iudgment?

Penrie. I hold nothing, but what I wil be bound to proue out of the written word of God; and wil shew, in regard of the special pointes controuerted, to haue bene mainteyned by the holy martyrs of this land, who first assailed the Babylonish Romane kingdome; as, namely,

by Mr. Wicliffe, Mr. Brute, Mr. Purvey, Mr. White, &c. with many other the famous witnesses and martyrs of Christ in former times; and by Mr. Tindal, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Latimer, &c. the lordes most blessed witnesses of this latter age. I speak nothing here of the doctrine and practise of the reformed churches in other countries, whom I haue wholly of my side, in controuersies of greatest moment.

Fan. But doe the martyrs teach yow, that there is no church of Christ in England?

Pen. If yow mean by a church, as the most doe, that publick profession, wherby men doe professe saluation to be had by the death and righteousnes of Iesus Christ, I am free from denying any church of Christ to be in this land; for I know the doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the natures and offices of the Lord Iesus, free iustification by him, both the sacraments, &c. published by her Maiesties authoritie, and commaunded by her lawes, to be the Lordes blessed and vndoubted truthes, without the knowledge and profession wherof no saluation is to be had.

Fan. Seing yow acknowledge, that her Maiestie hath established the truth in so many weightie pointes, seing she hath commaunded the true sacramentes to be administred; what mislike yow in our church? And why wil yow not be partaker of these truthes and sacramentes with us?

Pen. I mislike, 1. The false ecclesiastical offices. 2. The manner of caling vnto the offices. 3. A great parte of the workes, wherin these false officers are employed. 4. The maintenance, or livinges, wherby they are mainteyned in their offices; al which I wil be bound to proue, by the Lordes helpe, to be deriued, not from Iesus Christ, but from the kingdome of antichrist, his great enemie. And, therefore, forasmuch as I cannot be partaker of the former holy thinges of God, but I must be subiect vnto the power of antichrist in these officers, and knowen by those markes, wherby his subiectes are noted; therefore I am enforced and bound to seek the comfort of the word and sacramentes wher I may haue them without the submitting of my self vnto any ecclesiastical power in religion, saue onely vnto that which is deriued from Christ Iesus the Lord, 'in whom al fulnes of power dwelth,' Col. i. 19. and from whom al those must deriue their power and office, vnto whom the saintes of God are to submitte their consciences to be wrought vpon in religion.

Againe, seing the forenamed four enormities of this church are markes which properly belong vnto the kingdome of the beast, viz. of the Romane antichrist, we dare not haue any communion and fellowship with them, nor be knowen by them, least we should be partakers of those most fearful and most dreadful iudgementes, which are denounced by the Spirit of God against al those, that haue communion with any of the irreligious inuentions of that beast, Reuel. xiv. 9. 10.

These are the thinges, together with the want of Christes true order, which I especially mislike, and the special causes why I dare not ioyne with the assemblies of this land: 1. The false offices, wherby these assemblies are guided, and by whom the whole worship is performed in them. 2. Their manner of caling. 3. A great parte of the

devised workes, wherein these officers are conversant. 4. The livinges consecrated sometimes vnto idols for the most part, wherby they are susteyned in their offices.

Fan. What offices meane yow?

Pen. I meane the offices of lord arch bishopes and bishopes, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deanes, canons, prebendaries, preistes, deacons, &c. al which properly belong to no other bodie, either ecclesiastical or ciuil, but onely vnto the Romish church, where they were first invented, where they now are, and by whom they were left in this lande, when the head of that body, the pope, and some other of his members, were cast out by her Maiestie and our soueraigne lord, her noble father.

The church of Christ is perfect without them, in al her offices; the ciuil state is absolute without them, for they are ecclesiastical; heathen idolatrie hath them not, and requireth them not; onely the kingdome of antichrist can in no wise be whole and entire without them, wherof, as I say, they are visible and knowne members. Now, if it be not lawful for me, or any other member of Christ, to be subject vnto the orders and ceremonies of the old law, as, circumcision, &c. which sometimes were the Lordes owne blessed ordinances, how can it be but sin vnto vs, to be subject to the constitutions of antichrist, the maine aduersarie of the Lord Iesus? The Lord hath not deliuered vs from the yoke of his owne law, that we should be in bondage vnto the inventions and order of antichristes kingdome and offices.

Fan. Belike yow would haue no o'her offices in the church now in the time of peace and prosperitie, then were in the apostles dayes vader persecution?

Pen. Ther is great reason we should not; for if the order, left by Moses in the church, was not to be altered, to be diminished or added vnto, except it were by special commaundement from the Lord, (1. Chron. xxviii. 19.) then may not any man or angel, but vpon the same warrant, adde any thing vnto that holy forme, which the Sonne of God left for the ordering of his owne howse; for as the apostle saith, Hebr. iii. 3. 'He (yea and his ordinances) are worthy of more honour then Moses his were.' And 'he that addeth vnto the wordes of this book,' that is, to the true order of the church, and pure worship of God conteyned therein, the 'Lord God wil adde vnto him of the plagues that are written in this book,' saith the Spirit of God.' Revel. xxii. 19.

Fan. Yow allow of M. Luther, I am sure, what office had he?

Pen. He was first a moncke, and so a member (by his office) of the kingdome of antichrist, euen a good while after the Lord had vsed him as a notable instrument to ouerthrow that kingdome; afterward he was vtterly disgraded and depriued of al offices, so that as the Spirit of God saith, Reuel. xiii. 17. he could neither buy nor sel by vertue of any libertie or freedome that he had within the kingdome of the beast. And by this means, in the Lords great favour, he caried not in this regarde any of the beastes markes, he was not of his name, nor of the number of his name; he denied himself to belong to that kingdome of Satan, and that malignant church vtterly refused him to be any of her

body and members. Since his excommunication and degradation by the Romish church, he nameth himself Ecclesiasten, in a book of his so intituled, that is, a preacher of Christes blessed truth and gospel. Now whither he preached by vertue of a lawful office whervnto he was called in the church of Christ, or whither he taught by vertue of his giftes, and the opportunitie which he had to manifest the truth, hauing neither time nor leisure, nor yet thinking it needful (it may be) to consider by what office he did it, I know not; of this I am assured, that he was one of the famous and glorious witnesses of the Lord Iesus, raised vp to testifie on his behalfe, against the abominations of the kingdom of antichrist; and I am assured that, by his tongue and pen, the Lord appeared gloriouslie in the power of his gospel, to the consumation of that man of sin. 2. Thes. ii. 8. Of his office I iudge the best, as of a matter vnknowne vnto me, that is, I thinke him to haue had a pastoral office in the church of Wittemberg; whither he had or not, his example is no law for the church to walke by, it is Christ Iesus alone that we must heare and folow, according to his wil and word must we frame our walking; and if it be an angel from heauen that will draw vs to swarue from the same, we dare not giue eare vnto him. Gal. i. 8, 9.

Fan. And what office had yow in yowr church, which meet in woods and I know not where?

Pen. I haue no office in that pore congregation; and as for our meetings either in woods or any where els, we haue the example of our Sauour Christ, of his church and seruantes in al ages, for our warrant; it is against our willes that we goe into woods, or secret places; as we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, so our desire is to professe the same openly; we are ready before men and angels, to shew and to iustifie our meetings and behauiour in them, desiring earnestly that we may haue peace and quietnes to serue our God euen before al men, that they may be witnesses of our vpriight walking towards our God and al the world, especially towards our prince and countrie. We know that meeting in woods, in caves, in mountaines, &c. is a part of the crosse and baseness of the gospel, wherat it is easy for the natural man to stumble; but we are gladly partakers of this mean estate for the Lords sacred veritie, and the question should not be so much where we meet, as what we doe in our meetings, whither our meetings and doings be warranted by the word or not, and what inforced us to meet in these places.

Fan. We wil speake of your vnlawful assemblies afterwards; but what caling haue yow to preach, were yow neuer made minister according to the order of this land?

Pen. I might, if I had bene willing, haue bene made either deacon or preist, but I thanke the Lorde I euer disliked those Popish orders; and if I had taken them, I would vtterly refuse them, and not stand by them at any hand. I haue taught publickly in the church of Scotland, being therunto desired earnestly, and caled by the order of that church; charge I neuer had any, therefore I neuer bare office either there or in any other church.

Fan. Did not yow preach in these your secret meetings; what war-

rant have yow so to doe, if yow haue no publick office in your church?

Pen. Whither I did or not, I doe not tel yow for the present: but this I say, that if the same poore congregation desired to haue the use of my smal giftes for the instruction and consolation thereof, I would, being thervnto prepared, most willingly bestow my poore talent to their mutual edification and mine.

Fan. And may yow teach in the church publickly, hauing no publick office therein?

Pen. I may, because I am a member therof, and requested thervnto by the church, and iudged to be indued in some measure with giftes meet for the handling of the Lordes sacred Word. The body of Christ, that is, euery particuler congregation of the church, ought to haue the use of al the giftes, that are in any member therof; and the member cannot deny vnto the body the use of those graces wherwith it is furnished, except it wil break the lawes and order of the body, and become vnnatural vnto the same. Rom. xii. 1. Cor. xii.

Fan. Then euery one, that wil, may preach the word in your assemblie?

Pen. Not so, for we hold it merely unlawful, yea tending to the anabaptistical inversion of al good order in the church, for any man to intermedle with the Lords holy truth, beyond the boundes of his giftes; or yet for him that is indued with gifts, to preach or teach in the church, except he be desired, and caled thervnto by the body.

Fan. But may any preach that hath not an office in the church so to doe?

Pen. Yea, that he may, and the word of God bindeth him to preach, whosoever he be that intendeth to become a pastor or teacher in the church of Christ, before he take his office upon him and bindeth the church to take the trial of his giftes before they giue him his office, least otherwise he should not be meet for it, or at the least, that handes should not be suddenly laid vpon him. 1. Tim. iii. 10, and v. 23.

Fan. What office hath he al this while?

Pen. No other office then euery member of the body hath, who are bound to haue their seuerall operation in the body according to that measure of grace which they deriue from their head the Lord Iesus, by the power of his spirit working in them, Rom. xii. 3, 4. The word calethe these by the name of prophets, not such as doe foretel things to come, but those who are furnished with graces meet for the interpretation and application of the word vnto the edification and comfort of the church, as the apostle teacheth us expressly, 1 Corin. xiv. and therefore mistake not the word prophet or prophesie, as though we leaned vnto any inward reuelations or motions, besides the written word.

Fan. I know wel ynough what yow meane, and wil not mistake your wordes, for the scripture vseth them in that sence.

Pen. Now it should be no new thing vnto yow, to heare that they may preach who haue no office in the church, seeing this is so common a thing in the colleges and vniuersities of this land.

Fan. Yea, that is in the scholes.

Pen. If that exercise, wherof yow and I meane I am surē, be in your confession warrantable in the scholes and colleges, it is much more in the church and congregation; for the Lord, in his word, hath set downe the rules how the church and assemblies of his saincts should haue the vse and exercise of his holy word, and not that it should be brought to humane scholes, whither it neuer came into the Lordes minde to command 'that euer it should enter. Let the artes, tongues, and other humane knowledge be taught in scholes, and let the holy truth and exercises of religion be deriued from the church of Christ, which the apostle for this purpose caleth the pillar and ground of truth.

Fan. Wel, then yow beare no office in this your church, yow wil not tel vs whither euer yow taught amongst them or not, but yow would, yow say, if they required yow.

Pen. True.

Fan. But how came it to passe that yow were not made an officer amongst them?

Pen. Surely I was desired to take a charge, and to continue with them; but I would not, because it hath bene my purpose alwayes to imploy my smal talent in my poore countrie of Wales, wher I know that the poore people perish for want of knowledge; and this was the onely cause of my coming out of that country, wher I was, and might haue stayed privately al my life, euen because I saw my self bound in conscience to labour for the caling of my poore kinred and countrymen, vnto the knowledge of their saluation in Christ, purposing indeed, before I had gone thither, to haue offred my self vnto her Maiestie, or some of their honours, that it might be made knowne vnto her highnes, what I hold in religion, and how cleere I am of those greeuous crimes of sedition, and disturbing of her Maiesties peaceable gouernment, wherwith I am wrongfully charged.

Fan. Why, yow labour to draw her Maiesties subiectes from their obedience vnto her lawes, and from this church of England, to heare yow, and such as yow are, teaching in woods.

Pen. Nay, I perswade al men vnto the obedience of my prince, and her lawes; onely I dissuade al the world from yeeeking obedience and submission vnto the ordinances of the kingdome of antichrist, and would perswade them to be subiect to Christ Iesus, and his blessed lawes; and I know this enterprise to be so far from being repugnant vnto her Maiesties lawes, as I assure my self, that the same is warranted therby. Her Maiestie hath graunted, in establishing and confirming the great charter of England wherunto, as I take it, the Kinges and Queenes of this land are sworne, when they come to their crowne) that the church of God, vnder her, should haue al her rights and liberties inuolable for euer. Let the benefite of this lawe be graunted vnto me, and others of my brethren, and it shal be found, that we haue done nothing, but what is warrantable by her lawes.

Fan. What, is it meet that subiects should charge their princes to keep couenant with them, and enter to scanne what oathes they haue taken for this purpose? Where finde yow this warranted by scripture?

Pen. The subiects are in a most lamentable case, if they may not allege their princes lawes for their actions, yea, and shew what their

princes haue promised vnto the Lord, and to them, when the same may be for declaration of their innocencie; and it is the crowne and honour of princes, to be knowne not onely to hold, but euen to be in couenant with their subiects; that they will maintaine and preserue them from violence and wrong: nay, heathen princes haue thought themselues honoured, when their meane subiects haue charged them verry earnestly with the covenants wherby they were bound vnto their people. The lawes of this land ar so ful this way, as no man, conuersant in them, can be ignorant, that our princes haue preferred the observing of those equal covenants, wherby they are tied vnto their people, before the accomplishing of their owne priuate affections, yea, and commandements in some cases. Hence it is, that the iudges of this land are bound by lawe to administer iustice and equitie vnto the poore subiects, notwithstanding that the princes letters be directed to them to the contrary. And, as to the law of God, al kinges and princes are bound therby, to be so far from thinking themselues tied by no bands vnto their subiects, as they are plainly forbidden euen to be lifted up in minde aboue their brethren (Deut. xvii. 20.) for so the word, in that place, calleth their subiects and servants. The kinges of Iudah, who had the greatest privileges and prerogatiue, both ecclesiastical and ciuil, ouer their people, that euer any kinges or princes can haue, because they were types and figures of that great king of kings, the Lord Iesus; entred into couenant, notwithstanding, with their people, euen particularly, besides the general former law, wherby they were bound vnto them. Yea, the prophet Ieremie, being in no lesse daunger and disgrace, with al estates, then I and my brethren are at this present, required his soueraigne Lord and King Zedekiah, to promise that he would doe him no violence and wrong, nor yet suffer others to doe the same, for telling him the truth of the word, in the thinges wherin the king required, to be resolved at his handes; the which thing Zedekiah yelded vnto, and that by an oath and couenant of the Lord, Ier. xxxviii. 15, 16. wherby it appeareth, that it is not without great warrant of the word, that princes should enter couenant with their subiects, and that subiects should require promise and oath to be kept with them, otherwise, wherto serueth the couenant? But, alas, I enter not to scanne her Maiesties oath, I onely tel yow what her lawes alow me and my poore brethren. And I am assured, if her Maiestie knew the equitie and vprightnes of our cause, we should not receiue this hard measure which we now susteine. We, and our cause, are neuer brought before her but in the odious weeds of sedition, rebellion, schisme, heresie, &c. and, therefore, it is no mervaille to see the edge of hersword turned against vs.

Fan. Hath not her Maiestie, by her lawes, established these offices, and this order that is now in the Church of England?

Pca. Her lawes haue, I graunt, of ouersight, as taking them for the right offices and order, which appertaine vnto the church of Christ; the which, because we evidently see that they are not, therefore flie we vnto her former promise and act, wherby she graunteth vs the inioying of al the privileges of the church of Christ.

Fan. Why then goe ye about to pul downe bishopes?

Pen. Alas, far be it from vs, that euer we should intend any such actions; we onely put her Maiestie, and the state, in mind of the wrath of God that is likely to come vpon this land, for the vpholding of many Romish inuentions. We labor to save our owne sowles, and al those that wil be warned by vs, in auoiding al corruptions in religion, and practising the whole wil of our God, as neere as we can. Further then this we haue no caling to goe, and therefore dare not so much as once in thought conceiue of any thing that we should doe, in the altering or pulling downe of any thing established by her lawes.

Fan. Why then meet yow in woods, and such suspicious and secret places, if yow purpose no insurrection for the pulling downe of bishopes?

Pen. I haue told yow the reason before; our meetings are for the pure and true worship of God, and ther is not so much as a word or thought of bishopes in our assemblies, except it be in praying for them, that the Lord would shew mercy and fauour vnto them, which we wish, as to our owne sowles. Our meetings are secret, as I told yow, because we cannot, without disturbance, haue them more open. Our earnest desire and prayer vnto our God and our gouernours, is, that we might haue them open, and not be inforced to withdraw our selues from the sight of any creature. Of the Lordes pure worship in the congregation of his people, are we bound to be partakers, and that in woods, in mountaines, in caues, &c. as I told yow, rather then not at al.

Fan. Then yow are privy vnto no practise or intent of any sedition, or commotion, against her Maiestie and the state, for the pulling downe of bishopes?

Pen. No, I thanke God, nor euer was; and I protest before heauen and earth, that, if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same, to the vttermost of mine abilitie, in al persons, of what religion soeuer they were.

Young. But what meant yow, Penry, when yow told me at my howse, That I should liue to see the day, wherein ther should not be a Lorde Bishop left in England?

Pen. You doe me great iniury, Sir, but I am contente to beare it. This was it that I said vnto yow, namely, That I gainsaid nothing in this whole cause, but what I could proue, out of the word of God, to be the remnants of the Popish antichristian kingdome; which religion, I said, the Lord hath promised vtterlie to ouerthrow and consume; in so much as yow, said I, may liue, though yow be already of great yeares (for my self, I may be cut of by vntimely death) to see al the offices, calings, works, and liuings, deriued from, or belonging, at any time, vnto the kingdome of Antichrist, vtterly ouerthrowne in this land; for the Lorde hath promised, that that man of sin, that body of the antichristian religion, shal be so consumed by the breath of his mouth, and the brightness of his appearing in the power of his gospel, before his second coming, (2 Thes. ii.) as that false synagoge shal haue no power in any of her officers or partes, either to be lifted vp ouer the truth and saincts of God, viz. ouer any thing that is caled holy, or yet to oppose her self, as a bloody aduersarie vnto those truthe and servants of Christ, who refuse to be in spiritual bondage and slavery to her. This I shewed yow to be verified in the type, Babylon of the Chaldeans, according to the word of

the Lorde, spoken by Isaiahs and Ieremiah, and the casting of the stone into Euphrates, by Sheraiah, at Ieremees commandement (Isa. xiii. 19, 20. Ier. l. 40. and li. 61, 64.) and this I shewed to be decreed by the Lorde of Hostes, against the true body, the antichristian Babel, vnder the New Testament, for so we are taught by the Spirit of God, that she shal be consumed and be no more; that her chapmen shal in this life bewaile, and the saints of God reioice at her vtter ouerthrow, and at the spoile and decay of her merchandise, Revelat. xviii. The comparing of the act done by Sheraiah against the type, and what followed thereupon, with that of the angel against the true Babylon, I declared most fully to confirme my speech; for Sheraiah, throwing the stone into Euphrates, said, 'Thus shal Babel be drowned, and rise no more;' and so it came to passe, the angel, in the Reuelation, casting the great stone into the sea, saith, 'With such violence shal the great city Babylon be cast, and shal be found no more;' and so it wil be accomplished I am sure. This was my speech vnto yow, Mr. Young, and I beseech yow, yea and charge yow, as yow shal answer in that great day, not to misreport my speeches, but to relate them as they are vttered by me.

Young. I conceiued some great matter of your speech, I tell yow.

Pen. Yow did me the greater wrong therein: I pray yow hereafter to conceiue of my wordes, according to my meaning, and their natural signification.

Fan. Yow say, that these offices and livings derived, in your conceit, from the body of Antichrist, shal be ouerthrowne by the Lord; we would know how you meane that this wil be accomplished?

Pen. I haue already shewed yow, that this worke shal be done by the appearing of Iesus Christ, in the shining brightnes of his gospel, thro' the efficacie wherof, the Lord shal so lay them open, as he wil put into the hartes of princes and states, wherein they are now mainteined, to abolish their offices, calings, and works utterly from among men, and to imploy their livings unto the holy civil vses of the princes and states wherein they are. After this sort did the Lord consume the Popes primacie, office, and maintenance, which he had in this land; and after this manner did he consume by his gospel the cardinals, priors, abbots, moncks, friers, and nunnes, out of this land; and after this, or some other way seeming best to wisdom, shall he (I doubt not) consume the rest of that body of iniquitie, now remayning wheresoeuer. The worke, I am assured, shal be accomplished, because the Lord hath said it in his written word: The maner how, or the time when, it shal be performed, I leave to Him who ruleth all thinges according to the counsel of his owne wil, and whose wayes and iudgements are past finding out.

Fan. and Young. What yow doe or purpose to do in these your assemblies, we cannot tel; but this is sure, that the Papists seeme to be so encouraged by this dealing of yours, that ther were neuer so many in this land since her Maiesties reigne, as are at this present; and they themselves say, that your separating from vs is a great stombling-block unto them, wherby also they take occasion to doe the like.

Pen. What we doe in our meetings, and what our purposes are, I haue told you simply, as in the presence of the Lord; and we are ready, by the grace of God, to approue our actions and purposes to be in al

good conscience both towards the Lord and our Prince, and toward all men: If the number of the idolatrous ignorant Papists be increased, it is no wonderful case, by reason of the small teaching that the poore people of the land haue; and their increase is in the iust iudgement of God, in that so many remnants of Popery are left vnbanished in the land, but specially because these baits are retained here, wherby the Pope is continually drawn to send ouer his Iesuits and Seminaries, wherby also they are most easily and willingly induced to come and pervert her Maiesties subiects from their obedience unto the Lord and his lievetenant, and to bestow their native Prince and countrie into the hands of aliens and strangers.

Fan. What are those baits that yow meane?

Pen. I meane, the former Popish offices and their livings, wherof I spake, as the offices and livings of archbishops, lord bishops, deanes, archdeacons, canons, priests, &c. the continuance wherof, and of the Popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the Pope, and his sworne subiects, in daily hope of replanting the throne of iniquitie againe in this land, wherof I trust in the Lord that they shal be vtterly disappointed. The traitorous Iesuits, and seminary priests, hoping to possesse these execrable livings and offices againe, are also therby allured readily to become most vnnatural traitors against their natural prince and countrie; and the Papists at home are by this means kept stil in remembrance of that Romish Egypt, and in continual expectation of their long-desired day; whereas if these offices and livings were once removed (the devised works and calings would fall with them) the Pope and his traffiquers would be vtterly void of all hope, to set vp the standerd of the man of sin againe in this noble kingdome, here being not so much as an office, or one penny of maintenance, left for any of his members: The Iesuits and priests would haue no allurements to make them rebelles against their Prince, and the other seduced Papists at home would easily forget their idolatrie, ther being here neither office, nor any other monument of that antichristian religion left, to put them in mind of that Babel; and so the Lord would accomplish that which the apostle saitho shal be fulfilled, euen the vtter consuming of the man of sin in this land, (2 Thes. ii.) And therfor the reteining of these offices and livings are not onely ioyned with the great dishonour of God, and the offence of his saints, but turned in the iust iudgement of the Lord to be a snare of the peace of this noble kingdome, yea, and of the prosperitie and welfare of her Maiesties most royal person (whom the Lord blesse, body and soule, from all dangers both at home and abroad) as it is wel knowne by other many Popish treacheries intended against her. I marvaile not that the Papists dislike our separation, and yow may be assured, that, if they knew what may bring us into danger or discredit us with her Maiestie, with any of our superiors, the honorable and worshipful magistrats, under her Highnes, or any els of our countrymen, they wil be sure to vtter the same, though it were in their owne consciences neuer so untrue. For they know, that, of all the men vnder heauen, we are the greatest enemies vnto their religion; we leaue the same neither branch nor root, but would haue all the world to be as clear of that spiritual contagion, as it was the same day wherin the Lord Iesus went up on

high, and led captiuitie captiue. Their reason of their separation, drawn from our example, is like their religion. We dare not ioyne with the assemblies of the land, notwithstanding that we know many of the truthes of Iesus Christ to be professed therein, because in the offices, and many of the workes remayning in them, we should haue communion with the religion of the Roman Antichrist, in many of the workes and inuentions therof: They, on the other side, wil not ioyne with the public worship of the land, because therby they should haue ouer-much communion with the doctrine of Christ, and ouer-little with the poisoned inuentions ordeined by Satan in the Romish synagogue, and who moved them to their treason and disobedience, before we took this course. Is their reason any thing tolerable, that, because we indeuour to worship the Lord purely, they should take example therby, to giue themselues wholly to the worship of Satan?

Fan. But why refuse yow conference, that yow may be reformed in those things wherein yow erre?

Pen. I refuse none: I am most willing readily to yeeld unto any, as Mr. Young hath it to testify vnder my hand; onely my desire and request is, that I may haue some equal conditions graunted vnto me and my poore brethren in it, the which yet, if I cannot obtaine, I am ready to yeeld unto any conference, though neuer so vnequal; yea, I am desirous of any conference that her Maicsty, and their honors, may be truly informed of that which I and my brethren do hold, and of the warrant that we haue therof from the word of the Lord. Onely I craue, that my iudgement, my reasons, my answers, may be reported in my owne words, and herof I beseech your worships to beare witnes with me. Lastly, I beseech yow to consider, that it is to no purpose that her Maiesties subjects should bestowe ther time in learning, in the study and meditation of the word of God, in the reading of the writings and doinges of the learned men, and holy martyrs that haue bene in former ages, especially the writings published by her Maiesties authoritie, if they may not, without danger, professe and hold those truthes which they learne out of them; and that in such sort, as they are able to conuince al the world that wil stand against them by no other weapons then by the word of God. Consider also, I pray you, what a lamentable case it is, that we may ioyne with the Romish church in the inuentions therof, without al danger, and cannot, but with extreme peril, be permitted in iudgement and practise to dissent from the same, wher it swarveth from the true way. And, as yow finde these considerations to carry some weight with them, so I beseech yow be a meanes unto her Maiestie, and their honors, that my case may be weighed in euen ballance. Imprisonments, inditements, yea, death itself, are no meet weapons to conuince mens consciences,

ORDERS

SET DOWN BY

THE DUKE OF MEDINA,

Lord General of the King's Fleet,

TO BE

OBSERVED IN THE VOYAGE TOWARDS ENGLAND.

BY T. P.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Gilbert, dwelling in Fleet-Street, near to the Sign of the Castle, 1588.

The wonderful deliverance, which England commemorates on the following occasion, is still more remarkable, from the due consideration of the following pamphlet; where the reader may observe, that not only the strength, and exceeding great warlike preparations, but the political and military orders, to preserve good harmony among the soldiers and sailors, and due obedience from both to their respective commanders; and to avoid all confusion, in case of a storm, or other disastrous accident, shew that our enemies had taken all the precautions that human prudence could conceive, to accomplish their intrigues, and to ruin our establishment in church and state. Therefore, I have inserted these orders, thereby to encourage us in the like dangers, and to shew, that, when God is on our side, neither the power, nor the policy of man, is able to do us harm.

Don Alonso Peres de Guzman, the good Duke of Medina Sidonia, Count of Nebla, Marquis of Casheshe in Africa, Lord of the City Saint Lucar, Captain General of the Ocean Sea, of the Coast of Andalusia, and of this Army of his Majesty, and Knight of the honourable Order of the Golden Fleece.

I DO ordain and command, that the general masters of the field, all captains, officers of the camp, and of the sea, pilots, masters, soldiers, mariners, and officers, and whatsoever other people for the land or sea service cometh in this army, all the time that it endureth, shall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, viz.

First, and before all things, it is to be understood by all the above-named, from the highest to the lowest: That the principal foundation and cause, that have moved the King his Majesty to make and continue this journey, hath been, and is, to serve God, and to return unto his church a great many of contrite souls, that are oppressed by the hereticks, enemies to our holy catholick faith, which have them subjects to their sects, and unhappiness: And for that every one may put his eyes upon this mark, as we are bound, I do command, and much desire every

one, to give charge unto the inferiors, and those under their charge, to embark themselves, being shriven*, and having received the sacrament with competent contrition for their sins: By the which contrition, and zeal to do God such great service, he will carry and guide us to his great glory: Which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

In like manner, I do charge and command you, to have particular care, that no soldier, mariner, or other, that serveth in this army, do blaspheme, or rage against God, or our Lady †, or any of the saints, upon pain that he shall therefor sharply be corrected, and very well chastened, as it shall seem best unto us: And for other oaths of less quality, the governors, in the same ships they go in, shall procure to remedy all: They shall punish them in taking away their allowance of wine, or otherwise, as they shall think good. And for that the most occasions come by play, you shall publickly prohibit it, especially the games that are forbidden: And, that none do play in the night, by no means.

And to avoid inconveniences that might ensue in this army and force of his Majesty, if that the here written were not put for remedy, by these presents, I do command, that, particularly and generally, all quarrels, angers, defiances, and injuries, that are, and have been, before this day, and until the publication hereof, of all persons, as well by sea as land, of greater or less qualities, be suppressed and suspended, so that none goeth in this army for the time that this voyage continueth and lasteth, although they be old quarrels: Yet, for my express commandment, shall break this truce and forbearance of arms, directly, or indirectly, upon pain of disobedience, and incurring into high treason, and die therefor.

In like manner I do give charge, that aboard the ships there be not any one thing offered to the disgrace of any man.

Declaring herewithal, that there cannot be any disgrace imputed to any man for any thing that shall be offered, nor yet be a reproach, whatsoever happeneth a-board any ship.

And for that it is known, that great inconveniences and offence groweth unto God, by consenting that common women, and such like, go in like arrais:

I do ordain and command, that there be none embarked nor carried in the army: And if that any will carry them, I do command the captains, and masters of the ships, not to consent thereto: Who so doth, or dissembleth therewith, shall be grievously punished.

The company of every ship, one every morning, at the break of every day, according to the custom, shall give the Good Morrow ‡ by the main-mast, and at night the Ave Maria †: And some days the Salve Regina †: Or, at least, the Saturdays with a Littany.

And forasmuch as it importeth for the preservation and good success of this army, that there be between the soldiers and mariners much confirmed friendship, and such amity, that there be not any difference, nor other occasions of murmuring, I command it to be published, that no body do carry any dagger, nor thwart one another, or give any occa-

* Confessed his sins to a priest. † The Virgin Mary. ‡ A custom still observed in Spain, and some other Popish countries, by tolling a bell three strokes thrice, in all, nine strokes.

sions, but that all do obey the superior officers: And if any scandal or offence come, he that was the beginner, shall straightly be punished.

When the galleon Saint Marten, wherein myself go, admiral of this fleet, doth make a sign with a piece of ordnance, it shall be a sign of departure for the whole fleet, that, sounding their trumpets, shall follow without losing time, and without coming foul of each other, and cutting sail, shall do the like: Having great care of the sands and catchops, carrying their boats and skiffs ready for any thing that may happen.

Being from the land a sea-board, every ship shall come to leeward, saluting the admiral, to know what he will command: And demand the word, without going a-head the admiral, either in the day or in the night, but to have great care to his sailing.

Every afternoon, they shall repair to their admirals, to take the word, and to know if there be any thing to do.

And for that so many great ships, and so great may be, cannot come every day without boarding one another: To avoid the danger that may follow, the general of each squadron shall have particular care, to take the word in time, to give it unto the ships under their charge.

The admiral shall be saluted with trumpets, of them that have them: If not, with their whistles: And the people to hallow one after another, and, answering them, shall salute again: And, if it be towards night, to demand the word, and, taking it, shall salute one another in time, and depart, to give room to others that follow.

If it happeneth some days, that the wind will not suffer to take the word of the admiral, or admirals, they shall have, for every day in the week, the words following:

Sunday,	<i>Jesus.</i>
Monday,	<i>The holy Ghost.</i>
Tuesday,	<i>The holy Trinity.</i>
Wednesday,	<i>Saint James.</i>
Thursday,	<i>The Angels.</i>
Friday,	<i>All Saints.</i>
Saturday,	<i>Our Lady.</i>

And for that it importeth, that all the armies do go close together, I do command, that the general, and wings, with great care, do procure to carry the squadrons, as nigh, and in as good order, as is possible: And the ship and pinnaces, of the charge of Don Antonio de Hartado de Mendosa, keep next unto the admiral, except six: Whereof, two shall follow the admiral Don Pedro de Valdezi, and two the admiral of Martin Bretendona; the other two, the admiral of Joan Gomes de Medina: The which shall be appointed presently, and have great care to repart themselves, without the one thwarting the other: And the squadron of the hulks shall go always in the midst.

That no ship of the navy, nor any that goeth with them, shall depart, without my license: And I do command upon pain of death, and loss of goods, that if by chance, with a storm, any be driven to depart * before they come to the Cape Finister, that then they follow their course

* Between Lisbon and Cape Finister.

to the said Cape, where they shall have my order what to do; or else they shall sail to the Groyne, where they shall have it.

In departing from the Groyne, they shall set their course for Silley, and procure to make the southside of it, having great care of their sounding: And if by chance in this course any ship, or ships, do lose the fleet, they shall not return into Spain, in any manner, upon pain of death, and the loss of goods, and taken for traytors, but follow the course, and make to the southward of the said island. And if any such do think the navy to be a-stern of him, he shall detain himself in the same height, playing up and down, and not to depart from his course.

And if it be thought, that the navy is a-head, then shall you seek them in Mont's-bay, which is betwixt the Land's end and the Lizard, there shall you have the whole navy, or intelligence what he shall do; and yet for all this, if he do not meet with the navy, yet shall he find pinnaces, with order what shall be done.

In the night, there shall be great vigilance for the admiral, to see if he change her course, or make about. Before he goeth about, he will shoot off a piece; and, being about, will put forth another light, upon the poop a-part from the lanthorn; who that doth see it, shall answer with another light.

When he doth take away bonnets, or shorten the sails, he shall shew lights, one in the poop, and other two shrowed high.

When that for any occasion he shall strike all sails, he shall shew three lights, one in the top, another in the shrouds, and the third in the fore-castle; and the rest shall shew it, with putting forth a light, each upon his poop.

If any ship have any occasion to strike all her sails in the night, he shall shoot off a great piece, and put out a lanthorn all night, and those that are nighest unto him shall shew lights, for that other may procure it, and shall take in the sails till day: And, if necessity be great, shall shoot off another piece, and those, that do see it, shall answer with other two lights, making the like board.

When the admiral will have any communication, he will make a sign, putting a flag in the after misen near the lanthorn, and so they shall repair unto him to know what he would have. If (which God for his mercy permit not) there happen any ship to take fire, the next unto her shall make from her, sending first their boats and skiffs, to succour and help, and so shall all the rest.

They shall have particular care, to put forth their fire in every ship, before the sun go down.

In taking of their allowance of victuals, the soldiers shall let them that have the charge thereof, to deliver it, so that the said soldiers shall not go down to take it, nor choose it perforce, as in times they have done; and, for this cause, shall be present the serjeant, or corporal, of the company or companies, where they are, for avoiding disorder, and that timely they have their portions; so that before night every body may have supped.

That no ship, nor other vessel of this navy, nor of any of those, that goeth subject under my jurisdiction, shall not be so bold to enter into

any harborough; anchor, nor go a shore, without the admiral doth it first, or with my special leave, upon pain of punishment hereof.

The colonels of the field, captains, lieutenants, ensigns and officers, must have particular care, that the soldiers have always their armour clean, ready, and in order, for time of necessity, causing them to make them clean, twice every week, and using themselves with them in such sort, that they may be expert at the time of need.

And for that, in the way, order shall be given, in what form every man shall put himself, if we do fight, I do command, that particular care be had, advising the gunners to have half butts with water and vinegar, as is accustomed, with bonnets, and old sails, and wet mantles to defend fire, that as often is thrown, as to have the like care to have shot made in good quantity, and that powder and match be ready for ship and soldiers of the store, by weight, measure, and length; according to the order, that every ship hath to deliver unto him, that hath the charge thereof, according to use and custom.

Also I order and command, that there be a care, that all soldiers have their room clean, and unpestered of chests, and other things, without consenting in any case to have cards; and, if there be any, to be taken away presently: Neither permit them to the mariners; and, if the soldiers have any, let me be advertised, that I may command them to be taken away.

And, for that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation, it is convenient, that their lodgings be in the upper works of the poop, and fore-castle, otherwise the soldiers will trouble them in the voyage.

The artillery must stand in very good order, and reparted amongst the gunners, being all charged with their balls, and nigh unto every piece his locker, wherein to put his shot and necessities, and to have great care to the cartridges of every piece, for not changing, or not taking fire; and that the ladles and sponges be ready at hand.

Every ship shall carry two boats lading of stones, to throw to profit, in the time of fight, on the deck, fore-castle, or tops, according to his burden; and shall carry two half pipes, to fill them with water in the day of battle, and repart them amongst the ordnance or other places, as shall be thought necessary and nigh unto them, old clothes, or coverings which with wetting may destroy any kind of fire.

That the wild-fire be reparted to the people most expert, that we have for the use thereof, at due time; for that, if it be not overseen, giving charge thereof to those that do understand it, and such, as we know, can tell how to use it, otherwise it may happen to great danger.

By the commandment that no ship shall go a head the admiral, at the least in the night, none shall tarry a stern the vice-admiral, and every one to have a care to the trimming of his sails, according to the charge he hath, and the sailing of his ship; for the much that it importeth that all our navy do go close as possible as they may, and in this the captains, masters, and pilots must have such great care, as of them is hoped.

These my instructions are delivered unto every ship, and have their copy, firm'd by my hand, and registered by my secretary, the which shall

be read by every purser of every ship publickly, to come to the note of all soldiers and mariners, whereby they may not pretend ignorance: And to the said pursers I ordain and command, that, thrice in the week, they be bound to read these my instructions publickly, and that they take witness of the fulfilling hereof, upon pain of him, that doth the contrary, shall receive punishment to the example of others.

All the above said, we command to be manifested, and be kept without any breach for the service of his Majesty, none to break them, or any part thereof, in no manner, upon pain they shall be severely punished, every one according to his estate and offence; all others reserved to our discretion. Made in the gallion Saint Marten, at the road of Belline*, the twenty-eighth of May, 1588.

CERTAIN ADVERTISEMENTS

OUT OF IRELAND,

CONCERNING

THE LOSSES AND DISTRESSES HAPPENED TO

THE SPANISH NAVY,

UPON THE WEST COASTS OF IRELAND†,

In their Voyage intended from the Northern Isles beyond Scotland‡, toward Spain§.

Imprinted at London, by J. Vautrollier, for Richard Field, 1588.

By the foregoing accounts, it is visible, that the whole power of Spain, and its Popish allies, was sent against us. But as the greatness of any armament does appear more intrinsically, by the certain proofs of its losses; I shall, for the greater satisfaction of the reader, subjoin the following testimonies. Yet, before I conclude this wonderful history, let me observe, that this invincible Armada, which had been some years a preparing, with immense labour and cost, was, by God's arm, overthrown within a month, and chased away with the loss of many, both men and ships; whereas the English lost but one ship, and about one hundred men only.

In this distress, they were past all hopes of returning by the way they had entered the Channel, and forced to secure a retreat through the dangerous and unknown coasts of Scotland, Orkades, and Ireland, which completed their utter ruin. This is not only testified by the ensuing informations, but confirmed by very late discoveries made of their wrecks on those coasts.

Upon this occasion, a universal joy overspread every true-born English countenance; and, after publick thanks to God, the state endeavoured to perpetuate

* A village, three miles below Lisbon.

† Where some were killed by the Wild Irish, and others by the Deputy's command; lest, coming on shore, they should join with the rebels against the state; and the remainder, taking to their wrecks and boats, were mostly drowned. ‡ Seven hundred men were saved alive wrecked on this coast, whom the King of Scotland, by the Queen's consent, sent, at the Duke of Parma's request, after one year's imprisonment, into Flanders. § Without glory.

its happiness to posterity, by a medal, representing a navy flying away, with the inscription, 'venit, vidit, fugit'; and by another, bearing ships on fire, and a navy routed, with this inscription, 'dux femina facti'; ascribing the first invention of fire-ships to the Queen herself. For, as my Historian expressly avoucheth, "By her commandment, the Admiral tooke eight of the worst ships, and dressed them with wild-fire, pitch, and rosie, and filled them full of brimstone, and some other matter fit for fire; and these, being set on fire were, secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, as they lay at anchor. Which so surprised the enemy, that each ship, striving to secure itself from the danger, broke loose, and threw them all into confusion, and so separated the whole fleet, that they never more united to any purpose." And certainly, had not that gracious Queen been fired with divine zeal, she could never have so effectually provided a means to destroy that part of the enemies fleet by fire, of which God was determined to destroy the other part by water. Well then may we say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes. Ps. cxviii.

UPON Saturday, the seventh of September, the bark which was in peril of wreck in the bay of Trayley, of between forty and fifty tons, did render themselves, in which there were twenty-four men, whereof two were the Duke's own servants, and two little boys.

On Tuesday the tenth of this September, there was a frigate cast off, as it seemeth, by this name, which, as Sir William Herbert saith, wrecked upon the coast of Desmond.

On the same Tuesday, there wrecked, in the sound of the Bleskeys, a ship, called Our Lady of Rosary, of one-thousand tons. In this ship was drowned the Prince of Ascule, the King's base son, one Don Pedro, Don Diego, and Don Francisco, with seven other gentlemen of account, that accompanied the Prince. There was drowned in her also Michael Oquendo, a principal sea-man, chief governor of the ship; Ville Franca, of Saint Sebastians, captain of the same ship; Matuta, captain of the infantry of that ship; Captain Suares, a Portuguese; Garrionerie, Ropecho de la Vega, Montenese, and one Francisco Castilian, captains; one John Ryse, an Irish captain, Francis Roch, an Irishman, and about five-hundred persons, whereof one-hundred were gentlemen, but not of that reckoning as the former were; and only one John Anthonio de Monona, a Genoese, being the pilot's son of that ship, saved.

The same Tuesday, it was advertised to the vice-president of Munster, that there were lost, upon the coast of Thomond, two great ships, out of which there were drowned about seven-hundred persons, and taken prisoners about one-hundred and fifty.

About that Tuesday also, as appeareth by a letter written to Stephen White, of Limerick, the twelfth of this September, there was cast, upon the sands of Ballicrabihi, a ship of nine-hundred tons; thirteen of the gentlemen of that ship, as he writeth, are taken; and so writeth, that he heard the rest of that ship, being above four-hundred, have fought, for their defence, being much distressed, to intrench themselves.

He writeth, also, of another ship which was cast away at the isle of

Clare in Irriſe, and that ſeventy-eight of the men of that ſhip are drowned and ſlain.

He writeth alſo, that there was, about the ſame time, another great ſhip caſt away in Tirawley, and that there are three noblemen, a biſhop, and a friar, and ſixty-nine other men taken by William Bourk, of Ardneric, and all the reſidue of that ſhip are ſlain and drowned; inſomuch, as he writeth, that one Mcleghlen Mac Cabb, a Galloglaſs, killed eighty of them with his Galloglaſs ax. Wednesday the eleventh of this September, ſeven of thoſe ſhips, that then remained within the Shannon, departed out of that road with an eaſterly wind, and, before their going forth, they ſet on fire one other very great ſhip of their company, which was one-thouſand tons at leaſt.

It was informed from the vice-president at Cork, upon this ſeventeenth of September laſt, that two other great ſhips of that fleet ſhould be loſt upon the coaſt of Connaught.

The admiral, called John Martin de Ricalde, came into the ſound of Bleskeys, with one other great ſhip, and a bark, about the ſixth day of this September, and remaineth there with one other ſhip, of four-hundred tons, and a bark which came in ſince that time, if they be not diſperſed or loſt, by the great tempeſt that was the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of this month: for the ſtate of the admiral, at his coming in, was thus: the ſhip had been ſhot through fourteen or fifteen times, her main-maſt ſo beaten with ſhot, as ſhe durſt not bear her full ſail, and now not ſixty mariners left in her, and many of them ſo ſick, that they lie down, and the reſidue ſo weak, that they were not able to do any good ſervice; and there are daily caſt over the board, out of that ſhip, five or ſix of the company.

After this was printed thus far, as every day bringeth more certainty in particulars of the loſs of the Spaniards in Ireland, theſe reports, which follow, came from Ireland, being the examinations of ſeveral perſons there taken and ſaved.

John Anthonio de Monona, an Italian, ſon to Francisco de Monona, pilot of the ſhip, called, Sancta Marie de la Roſe, of a thouſand tons, caſt away in the ſound of Bleskey, September 2, 1588.

EXAMINED, the eleventh of September, ſaith, that he, and the reſt, parted from the Engliſh fleet, as he thinketh, about the coaſt of Scotland, and at that time they wanted, of their whole fleet, four gallies, ſeven ſhips, and one galliaſs, which was the captain galliaſs; and there were then dead by fight, and by ſickneſs, eight-thouſand men, at the leaſt. Where he left the Duke*, he knoweth not; but it was in the north ſeas, about eighteen days ſithence; he ſaw then no land, and therefore can name no place; but they ſepered by tempeſt, the Duke kept his courſe to the ſea: we drew towards land to find Cape Clare, ſo did divers other ſhips, which, he thinks, to amount to

* Of Medina Sidonia, the Chief Commander.

the number of forty ships: with the Duke there went twenty-five ships.

Hither he came round about Scotland; he thinks the Duke is, by this time, near Spain; the Duke's desire was, after his stay before Calais, to go to Flanders, but by reason of the contrariety of the winds, the shallowness of the water (his ships being great) he could not arrive there.

Besides the ships beforementioned, he remembereth, that two ships were sunk upon the coast of Scotland, by reason of shots received from the English ships; the one called Saint Matthew, of five-hundred tons, wherein were drowned four-hundred and fifty men; the other ship, a Biscayan of Saint Sebastians, of four-hundred tons, wherein were drowned three-hundred and fifty men; and the ship wherein he was, called Saint Mary Rose, of one-thousand tons, wherein, of five-hundred, there escaped but himself; in which ship, of principal men, there were drowned these principal men following: the Prince of Asculé, base son to the King of Spain, Captain Matuta, Captain Convalle, a Portuguese, Rupecho de la Vego, of Castile, Suryvero of Castile, Montanese of Castile, Villa Franca, of Saint Sebastians, captain of the said ship: the general of all the fleet of Guipusque, called Don Michael d'Oquendo, twenty other knights and adventurers upon their own charges.

He saith, that the fleet was in great want of fresh water; and being examined, what ordnance, wines, or other matters of moment were in the ship here cast away, saith, there were fifty great brass pieces, all cannons for the field, twenty-five pieces of brass and cast iron belonging to the ship; there are also in her fifty tons of sack. In silver, there are in her fifty-thousand ducats; in gold, as much more, much rich apparel and plate, and cups of gold.

He saith also, that the Duke of Medina appointed all the fleet to resort and meet at the Groyne, and none of them, upon pain of death, not to depart there hence, afore they should know his farther pleasure.

The Examination of Emanuel Fremosa, a Portuguese, September 12, 1588.

HE saith he was in the ship, called St. John, of the port of Portugal, of one thousand one-hundred tons. In which, Don John Martin de Ricalde is, who is admiral of the whole fleet, and is next under the duke, who is general; in which ship, at their coming forth, there were eight-hundred soldiers, and, for mariners, sixty Portuguese, and forty Biscayans; this is the greatest ship of the whole navy.

He saith, they were in all, at their coming forth, a hundred and thirty-five sail, whereof four were galliasses, four gallies, and nine of them were victuallers.

They came from the Groyne, on the fifteenth day, next after Midsummer last past, by their account.

· · · He saith, they were directed to the Duke of Parma, and by him to be employed for England, at such time as Parma should appoint.

· He saith, after their departure, from the Groyne, about eight days, the fleet came to the Lizard.

He saith, about that place, the general struck sail, whereupon, they all struck sail all night, and the next morning they saw the English fleet, whereupon they hoisted their sails.

He saith, they were before informed, that the English fleet was in Plymouth and Dartmouth.

He saith on the north-east of the Lizard, the first fight began between the fleets, and, in that fight, their ship lost fifteen men.

He saith, that there were other fights, within four or five days after, along the coasts, in which the ship, that this examinant was in, lost twenty-five men; what were lost in these fights, out of the other ships, he cannot tell; and, in these fights, they lost two ships, in the one of which Don Pedro was, and one other that was burned.

They anchored at Calais, expecting the Duke of Parma; where, thro' the firing of the English ships*, they were driven to leave their anchors, and to depart, so as each of the ships lost two anchors at that place; the next morning, the fight began about eight of the clock in the morning, and continued, eight hours, along the channel to the north; all which time, the English fleet pressed the Spanish fleet, in such sort as if they had offered to board the Spanish fleet; they saw their admiral so fearful, that he thinketh they had all yielded.

· He saith, that, in the said fight, the Spanish fleet lost one galliass, which ran a shore about Calais; two galleons of Lisbon, which were sunk, being the King's; and one Biscayan ship sunk, of between four and five-hundred tons, and one other ship sunk also; after which fight, the general took account of the whole navy, and found that they were left about a hundred and twenty sails of the whole fleet, as was delivered by those that came from the top; but of his own sight he saw not passing eighty-five sail, or thereabout, but what was become of the rest he cannot tell.

He saith, that there were also in that fight three great Venetian ships, which were in danger of sinking, being sore beaten, and shot through in many places, but were, for that time, helped by the carpenters, and as he hath heard, for that they were not able to keep the seas, took themselves towards the coast of Flanders, but what is become of them he cannot tell.

He saith, they were pursued by some of the English fleet, about five days after this fight, northward, out of the sight of any land, and, as he thinketh, of the north-part of Scotland.

He saith, that, about four days after the English fleet left them, the whole fleet remaining being towards one hundred and twenty sail, as it was said, came to an island, as he thinketh, of the north part of Scotland, where they stayed not, nor had relief; but at this place the general called all the ships together, giving them in charge, that they should, with the best they could; haste them to the first place they could get

* Viz. The eight Fire-Ships. See the Introduction to this tract.

to, of the coast of Spain, or Portugal, for that they were in such great distress, through their great want of victuals, and otherwise. He saith they came forth the worse furnished thereof, for that they expected to be relieved of those things more amply by the Duke of Parma; he saith, that out of this ship there died four or five every day, of hunger and thirst, and yet this ship was one that was best furnished for victuals, which he knoweth, for out of some of the other ships some people were sent to be relieved in this ship.

After this, for ten days, the whole fleet remaining held together, holding their course the best they could towards Spain.

He saith, that at the same time, which is now about twenty days or more past, they were severed by a great storm, which held from four of the clock in the afternoon of one day, to ten of the clock in the morning the next day; in which storm the admiral came away with seven and twenty sail, which this examinant did tell, and that one of them was a galliass of eight and twenty oars on a side; what is become of the rest of the navy he cannot tell.

He saith also, that, about ten days past, they had another great storm with a mist, by which storm, they were again severed, so as, of those twenty-seven sail, there came into the coast, by Dingle Cushe, but the admiral, and another ship of four-hundred tons, and a bark of about forty tons; and what is become of the rest of the twenty-seven sail, he cannot tell, but of one great hulk, of four-hundred tons, which was so spoiled, as she cast towards the shore, about twenty leagues from Dingle Cushe, he knoweth not who was captain of this hulk; he saith, that of all sorts, there be now remaining in the admiral near about five-hundred, of which there be twenty-five Biscayans, seventy Portuguese, which are mariners, the master being very sick, and one of the pilots.

He saith, there be eighty soldiers, and twenty of the mariners in the admiral, very sick, and do lie down and die daily; and the rest, he saith, be all very weak, and the captain very sad and weak; he saith, this admiral hath in her fifty-four brass pieces, and about four-score quintals of powder.

He saith, they were so near the coast, before they found it, that, by means of the strong westerly wind, they were not able to double out from it.

There are in the admiral left but twenty five pipes of wine, and very little bread and no water, but what they brought out of Spain, which stinketh marvellously, and their flesh meat they cannot eat, their drought is so great.

He saith, no part of the navy, to his knowledge ever touched upon any land, until such time as they came to this coast at Dingle Cushe, nor hath had any water, victuals, or other relief, from any coast, or place, sithence the English fleet left them.

He saith, that, when they lay before Calais, there came a pinnace to their fleet, from the Duke of Parma, who told them the Duke could not be ready for them, until the Friday following; but, by reason of this fight of the English fleet with them, they were not able to tarry there so long.

He saith, that the admiral's purpose is, upon the first wind that serveth, to pass away for Spain.

He saith also, that it is a common bruit amongst the soldiers, if they may once get home again, they will not meddle again with the English.

He saith, there be of principal men, in the admiral's ship Don John de Lina a Spaniard, who is chief captain of the soldiers of that ship; Don Gomes a Spaniard, another captain; Don Sebastian a Portugal gentleman, an adventurer, and a marquess an Italian, who is also an adventurer, and one other Portugal gentleman whom he knoweth not, but that they are principal men, that have crosses on their garments*; other mean gentlemen there be also in the same ship: he saith, all the soldiers in this ship were Spaniards; he saith there are in the small bark, that is with them, about five and twenty persons; how many are in the hulk, that is there, he knoweth not.

He saith, he thinketh that the duke is past towards Spain, for that he was some twelve leagues more westerly than the admiral was, in the first storm.

He saith, that the great galleon, which came from the Duke of Florence, was never seen sithence they were in the fight at Calais: he saith, the people of the galliasses were most spoiled by the English fleet.

The Examination of Emanuel Francisco, a Portuguese, September 12, 1588.

EMANUEL Francisco, a Portuguese, saith, in all things, as the former examinant, till the fight at Calais; in which fight, he saith, he knoweth there was lost a galliass, that ran a-shore at Calais; two galleons of the King's, the one called St. Philip, of the burden of seven-hundred, and the other called St. Matthew of eight-hundred; a Biscayan ship of about five-hundred; and a Castilian ship of about four-hundred tons, all sunk. This he knoweth, for that some of the men of those ships were divided into the admiral's ship, in which this examinant was.

He saith, after this fight ended, it was delivered by him, at the top, that there were one-hundred and twenty sail left, of the Spanish fleet; and saith, that those were very sore beaten, and the admiral was many times shot through, and one shot in their mast, and their deck at the prow spoiled, and doth confess, that they were in great fear of the English fleet, and doubted much of boarding.

He saith, the admiral's mast is so weak by reason of the shot in it, as they dare not abide any storm, nor bear such sail, as otherwise he might do; and for the rest he agreeth, in every thing, with the former examinant, saving that he saw not, or understood of any pinnace, that came from the Duke of Parma, nor doth remember that he saw above

* Knights of the Cruzado, or Sancto Christo.

twenty sail with the admiral, after the first storm; and saith, that those in the ship, that he is in, do say that they will rather go into the ground themselves, than come in such a journey again for England; and saith, the best that be in the admiral's ship are scarce able to stand; and that if they tarry where they are any time, they will all perish, as he thinketh; and for himself he would not pass into Portugal again, if he might choose, for that he would not be constrained to such another journey.

The Examination of John de le Conido, of Lekit in Biscay, Mariner, September 12, 1588.

JOHN de le Conido, of Lekit in Biscay, mariner, saith he was in the ship that the admiral is in, and that he told the navy, after the fight ended at Calais, and that there were then remaining not passing a hundred and ten, or a hundred and twelve of the whole Spanish navy; and saith, that a leak fell upon one of the galliasses about fifteen days past, which he taketh to be fallen upon the north coast of this land; he saith, he doth not remember, that there were above twenty sail left in the company of the admiral, after the first great storm, which fell on them about thirty days sithence; he saith, the duke did give them express commandment, that they should not go on land in any place, without his order; he confesseth, that the navy, that remained after the last fight, were marvellously beaten and shot through, and their tackle much cut and spoiled with the shot, and, for the rest of the matter, agreeth with the former examinant, in every point in effect, and saith, there was an English pilot with the Duke. He saith, that the Scot, that is taken, was taken in the north part, after the English fleet parted from them, in a ship of fifty tons, in which were about seven men, which the fleet hath carried with them, both the ship and people, six of which Scots were a-board the admiral, whercof one is he that is taken.

He saith, after the English fleet parted from them, the Spanish fleet cast out all the horses and mules into the sea, to save their water, which were carried in certain hulks provided for that purpose.

The Re-examination of John Anthonio, of Genoa, Mariner, September 15, 1588.

HE saith his father and himself with others came into Lisbon in a ship of Genoa, about a year sithence, where they were embarked by the King of Spain, that ship was of about four hundred tons.

He saith his father after this was appointed pilot in the ship called our Lady of the Rosary, of the burden of a thousand tons, being the King's: he saith the prince of Ascole the King's base son came in the company of the duke in the duke's ship, called the Galleon of St. Martin, of a thousand tons, but at Calais, when the English navy came near

them, this prince went to the shore, and, before his return, the duke was driven to cut off his anchors, and to depart, whereby the Prince could not recover that ship, but came into the said ship called our Lady of the Rosary, and with him there came in also one Don Pedro, Don Francisco, and seven other gentlemen of account, that accompanied the Prince. He saith the captain of this ship was Villa Franca, of St. Sebastians, and Matuta was captain of the infantry of that ship. There were also in her captain Suarez, a Portuguese, and one Garri-nero, a Castilian captain, Lopicho de la Vega, a Castilian captain, Captain Montanese, a Castilian, and one Captain Francisco, a Castilian; and Michael d'Oquendo, who was general of this ship. There was also in her one Irish captain, called John Rise, of about thirty years of age, and another Irishman called Francis Roche. The Prince was of about eight and twenty years of age. He saith, there were other gentlemen adventurers in the ship, but not of that reckoning as the former were. He saith there were in all seven-hundred men in this ship at their coming forth; he saith there were above five-hundred in this ship at such time as she sunk, the rest perished by fight and by sickness. He saith this ship was shot through four times, and one of the shot was between the wind and the water, whereof they thought she would have sunk, and the most of her tackle was spoiled with shot; this ship struck against the rocks in the sound of the Bleskies, a league and a half from the land, upon Tuesday last at noon, and all in the ship perished, saving this examinant, who saved himself upon two or three planks that were loose; the gentlemen thinking to save themselves by the boat, it was so fast tied as they could not get her loose, whereby they perished; he saith, as soon as the ship struck against the rock, one of the captains slew this examinant's father, saying he did it by treason. He saith there came in their company a Portugal ship of about four-hundred, who, coming into the same sound, cast anchor near where they found the admiral of the fleet at anchor, called St. John, in which Don Martin de Ricalde the admiral was; he saith that, about two and twenty days past, the duke departed from them, and about five and twenty ships in his company, and about forty ships were with the admiral, but this ship was not able to follow the admiral, by reason her sails were broken, and for the rest of the navy that remained, they were so dispersed, as he cannot tell what is become of them. He saith the duke, being better watered than the others were, held more westerly into the seas, and willed the admiral with his company, being in worse estate for water, to see if he could touch with any coast, to get fresh water; sithence which they have been severed by the nights and by tempest; he saith this ship nor any other of the ships touched upon any land, nor had any release of water or victuals at any place, sithence they parted, but from two Scots, which they took upon the coast of Scotland, whose fish and victuals the duke took, but paid them for it.

He saith, their ships were so beaten, and the wind so contrary, and the shoals upon the coast of Flanders so dangerous, as the pilot, that was in the duke's ship, directed them this course northward as their safest way. He saith, that, in one of the days in which the fight was between both the navies, the duke, seeing the English fleet so hardly to

pursue them, willed his fleet, seeing no other remedy, to address themselves to fight. He saith, that in that day of the fight at Calais, they lost four thousand men in fight, one thousand were drowned in four ships; he saith, the master of the cavalry of the Tercii of Naples and Sicily was slain in this fight, by a great piece that broke his thigh, his name he remembered not; at which time also the master of the camp of the horsemen, and the master of the camp of the footmen, were both slain, but their names he remembereth not. He saith, the four galliasses were of Naples. He saith, the four gallies left the fleet, before they came to the English, by well near forty leagues. He saith, the Florentine ship is gone with the duke. He saith, there were fourteen Venetian ships in this fleet; two of the said are drowned, what is become of the rest he knoweth not, they served the King only by arrest. He saith, there be three Englishmen pilots in the duke's ship.

He saith, this ship that is drowned hath in her three chests full of money. He doth not know what moved the duke to command, that the whole navy that remained should repair to the Groyne, and not depart without his direction, upon pain of death.

*The Examination of John Antonio de Moneko, thirty miles from Genna,
September 17, 1588.*

He saith, the Prince of Ascule was a slender made man, and of a reasonable stature, of twenty-eight years of age, his hair of a brown colour stroked upwards, of a high forehead, a very little beard, marquésotted, whitely-faced with some little red on the cheeks; he was drowned in apparel of white sattin for his doublet and breeches, after the Spanish fashion cut, with russet-silk stockings. When this prince came into their ship at Calais, he was apparelled in black raised velvet, laid on with broad gold lace. He saith, that this prince's men, for the most part, were in the ship that this examinant was in, from their coming out of Spain; and, when they were at Calais, the prince passed in a little felucca with six others from ship to ship, to give orders to them, and some said he went to the shore at that time.

He saith, it was thought to be about sixty leagues west from the northwest part of Ireland, that the duke departed from the rest of the company. He saith, they parted by a tempest growing in the night, and that, about six days after, a Portugal galleon overtaking this ship told unto those of this ship, that there were twenty-five ships of the whole navy passed away with the duke, and that the rest, then remaining of the whole navy, were dispersed by this tempest, some eight in one company, and four in another; and thus dispersedly passed on the seas. But how many ships remained after their departure from the coast of Scotland, of the whole navy, this examinant cannot tell. He saith, that after this first tempest, which was about twenty-five days now past, growing of a south-west wind, they had sundry tempests, before they were lost, with variable winds, sometimes one way, and sometimes another.

The Re-examination of Emanuel Fremosa, September 17, 1588.

EMANUEL Fremosa, mariner, examined the same day, saith that the day next before the great tempest, in which the duke was severed from them, being a very calm day, himself counted the navy then remaining, which then were but seventy-eight sail in all; when they were farthest off in the north, they were at sixty-two degrees northward, and were then about four-score leagues and somewhat more from any land, and at the north-west part of Scotland, Cape Clare being then from them south and by west; and this was about four or five days before the said great tempest; and, from that time until the same tempest, they had the wind most west, and west south-west, and sometimes west north-west, but that not very long; he saith that it was known to very few of the navy that the Prince, the King's base son, was in this navy, until they came unto Calais, where this prince, about the time of the fight, was said to take himself into a little boat upon the coast of Calais; but before that he kept himself as private in the duke's own ship, as it was said, and not noted or spoken of in the navy until then. But he saith, there was a great prince, an Italian, that was a chief man in a great Argosy, very well furnished, who, before their coming to the English coast, did very often banquet the duke and the other great men of the navy. This Argosy was called the Ratte. He saith, he did not perceive if this ship were in this fleet the day before the said tempest or not, but he saith, this being a famous ship, it was often demanded, if she were in their company, and it was answered, that she was. He saith, the chiefest of the treasure, that served for the pay, was, as he heard, in the galliass that drove on the shore at Calais, and in a ship of Sevil, made in Galicia, called the Gallega, of about seven-hundred tons, in which Don Pedro de Valdez was, which was taken on the south coast.

The Examination of Pierre Carre, a Fleming.

HE saith, that in the ship that he came hither in, called St. John, a gallcon of nine-hundred tons, besides John Martin de Ricalde, there are five captains, Don John de Lunc, Don Gomes de Galanczar, Don Pedro de Madri, the Count of Parades, Don Felice, and there is also an Italian Marquess of Piedmont, called the Marquess of Faruara.

He saith also, that the admiral, after such time as the fight was at Calais, came not out of his bed, until this day sen'night in the morning that they ran upon the shore. He saith, his admiral is of Biscay, either of Bilbao or Allerede, and of sixty-two years of age, and a man of service. He saith, that there were in this navy of the old soldiers of Naples, under the conduct of Don Alonso de Sono, and of the old soldiers of Sicily, under the conduct of Don Diego de Piementelli, whose ship was lost near Calais. There was also Don Alonso de Leva, master of the camp of the cavalry of Milan. He saith, there is a

bastard son of King Philip, of twenty-eight years of age in this fleet in the ship with the duke, called the Prince of Asculé in Italy, who passed from them in a pinnace about Calais, as he took it.

By other advertisements of the fourteenth of September, it is certified to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, from the earl of Tyrone, being at his castle of Dongannon, that, upon intelligence brought to him of the landing of certain Spaniards in the north of Ireland, he sent two English captains with their bands towards them, to the number of one hundred and fifty; who found them at Sir John Odoghertie's town, called Illagh, and there, discovering their number to be above six hundred, did that night incamp within a musket-shot of them, and, about midnight, did skirmish with them for the space of two hours, in which skirmish the Spanish lieutenant of the field and twenty more of the Spaniards were slain, besides many that were hurt.

The next day following they did offer skirmish again to the Spaniards, whereupon they all yielded, and so, as prisoners, were carried to Dongannon to the Earl, who meant to send them to the Lord Deputy, being judged to be men of good value, and one thought to be a man that hath had some great charge and conduct of men for many years, whereof the Lord Deputy will give knowledge, as soon as they shall be brought to Dublin.

There may be some errors in the Spanish names in English, because the same are written by way of interpretation, but there is no error in the numbering of the persons that are either dead or alive. Sept. 26, 1588.

Ships and men sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the Coast of Ireland, in the month of September, 1588.

In Tyrconnel	In Loughfoyle	1 ship	—	1100	{ men, of that ship and others that escaped.
	In Sligo Haven	3 great ships		1500	
	In Tirawley	- 1 ship	—	400	
	In Clare Island	1 ship	—	300	
In Connaught	In Finglass	- 1 ship	—	400	
	In Oflarty	- 1 ship	—	200	
	In Irrise	- 2 ships	—		{ the men fled into other vessels.
	In Galway Bay	1 ship	—	70	
	In the Shannon	2 ships	—	600	
	In Traylie	- 1 ship	—	24	
	In Dingle	- 1 ship	—	500	
	In Desmond	- 1 ship	—	300	
In Munster	In the Shannon	1 ship burnt			{ the men embarked in another ship.
Total 17 ships				5394 men.	

Before the Loss of the aforesaid seventeen Ships in Ireland, there perished, in July and August, fifteen other great Ships in the Fight betwixt the English and Spanish Navies in the narrow seas of England.

First gallies	—	4ships	1622 men	
Near Ediston, by Plymouth,	}	1	—	0000
at the first conflict				
The same time was distressed	}	1	—	422
and taken Don Pedro de				
Valde's ship	}	1	—	289
At the same time by fire a				
great Biscay ship	}	1	—	686
Before Calais, spoiled the prin-				
cipal gallies of Naples	}	1	—	000
In the conflict was sunk a great				
Biscayan	}			
The Galleon St. Philip		1	—	532
St. Matthew	}	1	—	397
A Biscayan wrecked before	}	1	—	000
Ostend				
The day after the fight there	}	2	—	843
sunk two Venetians				
A great Biscayan forced by two	}	1	—	000
of the Queen's ships to perish				
at Newhaven	}			
Total		15ships	4791 men	
The above loss		17	—	5394

Total of both these losses 32 — 10185 men, whereof there are

Besides many ships not
yet heard of, thought
to be lost.

prisoners in England
and Zealand at least
1000, besides a great
multitude of men not
here accounted, that
were slain in the fight,
and that have died of
famine, as by the exa-
minations aforesaid ap-
peareth.

(60)

THE COPY OF
A LETTER SENT OUT OF ENGLAND

TO
DON BERNARDIN MENDOZA,

AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE FOR THE KING OF SPAIN,

DECLARING THE
STATE OF ENGLAND,

Contrary to the Opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his Partisans,
Spaniards and others ;

Found in the chamber of one Richard Leigh, a Seminary Priest, who was lately
executed for high-treason ;

WITH AN APPENDIX.

Imprinted at London, by J. Vautrollier, for Richard Field. MDLXXXVIII.

In this letter we not only find a confirmation of the foregoing history ; but we also learn the sentiments of our enemies concerning the most likely methods to enslave us, and the only means to preserve our present establishment.

The Author, a Papist, and in the Spanish interest, informs the King of Spain, that the hopes of a foreign invasion did not only depend on a large army to be transported, but on a strong party ready in England to join the foreign forces at their landing.

He advises to act more politically than by excommunication of the prince, and the Pope's usurped power to absolve subjects from their allegiance, and to dispose of kingdoms by violence, blood, slaughter, and conquest ; as also to conceal their intentions, till the time came of striking the blow effectually. For, says he, when these things were published without reserve, the Queen endeavoured to strengthen her kingdom. The militia of the inland-towns provided for their own safety, and the places on the coast, where a landing might be suspected, were well guarded. Besides, every nobleman, knight, and gentleman of fortune immediately took the alarm, and thought it time to provide for their own and the publick safety, by arming their servants and dependents.

He shews the error of the Popish states, who confide on the numbers of those that profess popery in England ; and clears the laws of the land from the imputation of punishing any priest, or Jesuit, or other recusant for his religion only.

He blames and explodes those lying accounts published in France, of victories gained over us when we at the same time have intirely routed the enemy ; yet this, as well as many other of their stale politicks, is constantly practised in the same place. And then dissuades them from the like attempt, and proposes the best means to maintain popery in England.

MY Lord Ambassador, though at the time of my last large writing to you of the state of this country, and of our long desired expectation of succours promised, I did not think to have had such a sorrowful occasion of any second writing, as now I have, of a lamentable change

of matters of estate here: yet I cannot forbear (though it be with as many sighs as lines) to advertise you of the truth of our miserable condition, as now to me and others of our party the same appeareth to be; that by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present now in despair, your lordship, who have had the principal managing, hitherto, of all our causes of long time, both here and there in France, betwixt the Catholick King, assisted with the potentates of the holy league, and all our countrymen which have professed obedience to the church of Rome, may now fall into some new and better consideration, how our state, both for our selves at home, and our brethren abroad, now at this present fallen, as it were, into utter despair, may be revived and restored to some new hope, with better assurance of success, than hath happened hitherto. For which purpose I have thought it necessary to advertise you in what terms this country now standeth, far otherwise than, of late, both we at home, and others abroad, did make account of.

You know, how we have depended in firm hope of a change of the state of this country, by the means of the devout and earnest incitations of the Pope's Holiness, and the Catholick King, and of other potentates of the holy league *, to take upon them the invasion and conquest of this realm; and, by your assurances and firm promises, we were now of a long season past persuaded, that the Catholick King had taken upon him the same glorious act, and thereof, from year to year, we looked for the execution, being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our hope, and sundry times solicited by your earnest requests, and persuasions, to encourage our party at home not to waver, as many were disposed, by sight of continual delays, but to be ready to join with the outward forces that should come for this invasion. Nevertheless, the delays and prolongations of times appointed for the coming of the King's forces, especially by sea, have been so many, as, until this last spring, we were in despair; at what time you advertised us with great assurance, that all the King's preparations, which had been in making ready these three or four years together, were now in full perfection, and without fail would this summer come into our seas with such mighty strength, as no navy of England, or of Christendom, could resist or abide their force; and for more surety, and for avoiding of all doubts, to make the intended conquest sure, the same should also have joined to it the mighty army, which the Duke of Parma † had made ready, and kept in readiness in the Low Countries all this year past, wherewith he should land, and so, both by sea and land, this realm should be invaded, and a speedy conquest made thereof, to the which were always added sundry reasons; whereupon was gathered, that, neither by sea nor by land, there would be any great resistance found here, but a strong party in this realm to join with the foreign force. For otherwise than with such helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know, it was always doubted, that no foreign force could

* So called by the Papists, because combined to destroy all Protestants.

† The King of Spain's General.

prevail against this realm, being, as it is, caviroed by sea, and notably replenished with more mighty and stronger people than any country in christendom. But with the hope of the landing of these great armies, and our assistance in taking part, we here continued all this year past in assured hope of a full victory, until this last month. But, alas! and with a deadly sorrow, we must all, at home and abroad, lament our sudden fall, from an immeasurable high joy, to an unmeasurable deep despair; and that so hastily fallen out, as, I may say, we have seen in the space of eight or nine days, in this last month of July, which was from the appearance of the catholick great navy upon the coast of England, until it was forced to fly from the coast of Flanders near Calais, towards the unknown parts of the cold north, all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth but upon an imagined conquest, utterly overthrown, and, as it were, with an earthquake, all our castles of comfort brought to the ground, which now, it seemeth, were builded but in the air, or upon waves of the sea; for they are all perished, all vanished away from our thoughts.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best think of such a work, so long time in framing, to be so suddenly overthrown, as by no reason could proceed of men, or of any earthly power, but only of God. And if so it be (as no body can otherwise impute this late change and fall from our expected fortune, but to God Almighty) then surely our case is either dangerous or doubtful how to judge thereof, whether we have been these many years in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good and wise men, which of long time have secretly continued in most earnest devotion to the Pope's authority, begin now to stagger in their minds, and to conceive that this way of reformation intended by the Pope's holiness is not allowable in the sight of God, by leaving the ancient course of the church by excommunication, which was the exercise of the spiritual sword, and in place thereof to take the temporal sword, and put it into a monarch's hand to invade this realm with force and arms, yea to destroy the queen thereof, and all her people addicted to her; which are in very truth now seen, by great proof this year, to be in a sort infinite, and invincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by blood, by slaughter, and by conquest, agreeth not with Christ's doctrine, nor the doctrine of St. Peter, or St. Paul. And to tell your lordship truly, I find presently a great number of wise and devout people, though they continue in their former religion, yet do they secretly condemn this intended reformation by blood and force. Inasmuch that I heard a good divine alledge a text out of St. Gregory in these words, * *Quid de Episcopis, qui Verberibus timeri volunt, Canones dicunt, bené Paternitas vestra novit, Pastores sumus non Percussores, Nota enim est Prædicatio quæ Verberibus exigit fidem.* This sentence I obtained of him, because it seemeth to be charitably written. But, leaving this authority among doctors, I must needs say that, in very truth, no one thing hath done at this time more hurt to the action, than the untimely hasty publishing abroad

* What say the Canons of those Bishops, who would force themselves to be feared, you know right well: we are shepherds, and not strikers. For it is a new way of preaching, that would convert us by blood and force.

in this realm, before this army of Spain was ready to come forth to the seas, of sundry things written and put in print, and sent into this realm, to notify to the people, that all the realm should be invaded and conquered, that the Queen should be destroyed, all the nobility, and men of reputation, of honour, and wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the invasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and lands bestowed upon the conquerors: Things universally so odiously taken, as the hearts of all sorts of people were inflamed; some with ire, some with fear, but all sorts, almost without exception, resolved to venture their lives for the withstanding of all manner of conquest, wherewith every body can say this realm was not threatened these five-hundred years and more.

These reports were brought to this realm, with good credit, not in secret, but in publick writings and printings, and took deep root in all kinds of people of this land; and indeed was of the more credit, first, by reason of a new bull, lately published at Rome, by the Pope's holiness, which I have seen, with more severity than other of his predecessors, whereby the queen here was accused, and pronounced to be deprived of her crown, and the invasion and conquest of the realm committed, by the Pope, to the Catholick King, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the crown to himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the Pope and he should name. And, secondly, there followed a large explanation of this bull, by sending hither a number of English books printed in Antwerp, even when the navy of Spain was daily looked for, the original whereof was written by the reverend father Cardinal Allen, in April last, called in his own writing the Cardinal of England; which book was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, yea (say the adversaries) so arrogantly, falsely, and slanderously, against the person of the Queen, against her father King Henry the Eighth, against all her nobility and council, as in very truth I was heartily sorry to perceive so many good men of our own religion offended therewith, in that there should be found in one accounted a father of the church, who was also born a subject of this crown (though by the adversaries reported to be very basely born) such foul, vile, irreverent, and violent speeches, such ireful and bloody threatenings, of a Queen, of a nobility, yea of the whole people of his own nation.

Sorry, and most sorry, I am to report the general evil conceit of those unordinate and unadvised proceedings of this cardinal, of whose rash choice to such a place, the world speaketh strangely, as though he came to it, through corruption of the Pope's sister, without liking of the college of cardinals, where, otherwise, the blessed intention of our holy father, and the desire also of the said cardinal, might, without such fatal bloody premonitions and threatenings of future invasions and conquests by the Catholick King's noble forces, have taken better place.

There was also, to add the more credit to these terrible prognostications, such kind of other books printed in Spain, and translated into French, (as it is said by your lordship) containing particular long de-

scriptions and catalogues of Armadas of Castile, of Andalusia, of Biscay, of Guipusque, of Portugal, of Naples, of Sicily, of Ragusa, and other countries of the Levant, with a mass of all kinds of provisions, beyond measure, for the said Armadas, sufficient, in estimation, to be able to make conquest of many kingdoms or countries. And one great argument is published by the adversaries to stir up the minds of the nobility of England, against the Spaniards, which is very maliciously invented, to shew the intention of the conquest not only of England, but of the whole isle of Britain; moving all men especially to mark by the description of the Armada, that there are especially named such a number of noblemen, as princes, marquisses, condes and dons that are called Adventurers, without any office or pay, and such another number also of men with great titles of honour, and many of them named captains and alferes*, without office, but yet in sold†, and therefore called enter-tendidos‡, as all those, being for no service in the Armada, may be well presumed (say they) to have come to have possessed the rooms of all the noblemen in England and Scotland: And this fiction hath taken more place than it is worth. And, though these armies were, indeed, exceeding great and mighty, yet they were so amplified, beyond all measure, in these books, as in no preparation of Christendom, in former times, against the Saracens or Turks could be greater. By this means, this Queen and her realm, being thus forewarned and terrified, took occasion with the aid of her people, being not only firmly (as she was persuaded) devoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to stir up their whole forces for their defence, against such prognosticated conquests, as, in a very short time, all her whole realm, and every corner were speedily furnished with armed people on horseback, and on foot, and those continually trained, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age ever was before, in this realm. Here was no sparing of money to provide horse, armour, weapon, powder, and all necessities, no nor want of provision of pioneers, carriages, and victuals, in every county of the realm, without exception, to attend upon the armies. And to this general furniture every man voluntarily offered, very many, their service personally, without wages; others money for armour and weapons, and to wage soldiers; a matter strange, and never the like heard of, in this realm or elsewhere: And this general reason moved all men to large contributions, that to withstand a conquest, where all should be lost, there was no time to spare a portion.

The numbers made ready in the realm I cannot affirm, of mine owne knowledge; but I have heard it reported, when I was grieved to think the same to be so true, that there was, through England, no quarter, east, west, north, and south, but all concurred, in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm: And, that some one country was able to make a sufficient army of twenty-thousand men, fit to fight, and fifteen thousand of them well armed and weaponed; and in some countries the number of forty-thousand able men.

The maritime countries from Cornwall, all along the southside of

* Ensigns.

† Part of the corps.

‡ Volunteers.

England to Kent; and from Kent eastward, by Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk to Lincolnshire, (which countries, with their havens, were well described unto you, in perfect plots, when Francis Throgmorton first did treat with your Lordship about the same) were so furnished with men of war, both of themselves, and with resort of aid from their next shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any foreign forces, but there were, within eight and forty hours, to come to the place above twenty-thousand fighting men on horseback, and on foot, with field ordnance, victuals, pioneers and carriages, and all those governed by the principal noblemen of the countries, and reduced under captains of knowledge.

And one thing, I heard of, that was very politickly ordered and executed, at this time, as of many late years was not used: That, as the leaders and officers of the particular bands were men of experience in the wars, so, to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knights of all countries, to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth; whereby all the forces, so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to stick to their lords and chieftains, and the chieftains to trust to their own tenants. And to remember one strange speech, that I heard spoken, may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a truth, that one gentleman, in Kent, had a band of one hundred and fifty footmen, which were worth, in goods, above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, besides their lands: Such men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their goods, and, by likelihood at this time, many other bands were made of such principal men, both of wealth and strength. Of these things, I am sorry to have cause to write in this sort: Because you may see how heretofore you have been deceived with advertisements of many, which had no proof to know the truth thereof, and so I confess myself in some things to have erred, namely, in imagining that, whensoever any foreign power should be seen ready to land in any part of this realm, there would have been found but a small number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Queen, but that the same would have been very unable for the wars, untrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons: And that also the noblemen and gentlemen that were in this realm of our religion, whereof, you know, we made account when you were here in England of very many, although many of them be dead since that time, but at this time there are not so many tens, as we accounted hundreds, whom we thought would have shewed themselves like men of courage for our common cause, and would have suddenly surprised the houses, families, and strength of the hereticks and adversaries.

But now, such is our calamity, that it hath pleased God, as I think, for our sins, or else for confounding of our bold opinions, and presumptions, of our own strength, to put in the hearts of all persons here one like mind, and courage to withstand the intended invasion, as well in such as we accounted Catholics, as also in the Hereticks; so has it appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be seen betwixt the Catholick and the Heretick. But in

this case to withstand the threatened conquest, yea, to defend the person of the Queen, there appeared such a sympathy, concourse, and consent of all sorts of persons, without respect of religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight, against all strangers, as it were with one heart and one body. And, though some few principal gentlemen, of whom heretofore you have had the names in such catalogues of Catholicicks, as you have been acquainted withal, were lately, upon the report of the coming out of the army to the seas, sent to the Isle of Ely, there to remain restrained of their former liberty, during the expectation of this intended invasion; yet it hath appeared, that they were not so restrained for any doubt, that they would, with their powers, have assisted our army, but only thereby to make it known to all our friends and countrymen in Spain, and Flanders; yea, even to yourself (for so I heard it spoken, as accounting you to have been the most principal author and persuader of this action) that there should be no hope to have any of them, or of their friends, to assist these great armies. And, in very truth, I see now, who-soever of our friends in Spain, or in Flanders, or elsewhere, made any such account of any aid against the Queen, or against her party here, they should have been deceived, if the army had offered to have landed. For I myself have heard, that the best of those, that were sent to Ely, did make offers, yea, by their letters to the council here, signed with their hands, that they would adventure their lives, in defence of the Queen, whom they named their undoubted Sovereign Lady and Queen, against all foreign forces, though the same were sent from the Pope, or by his commandment: Yea, divers of them did offer, that in this quarrel, of invading the realm with strangers, they would present their own bodies, in the foremost ranks, with their countrymen against all strangers. Whereupon I heard also, by a secret friend of mine in the court, that it was once in some towardness of resolution amongst the counsellors, that they should have been returned, and put to their former liberty. But the heat of the war being kindled, with the knowledge of the King's Armada, being at that time come to the Groyne, and the Duke of Parma's readiness with so great an army and shipping in Flanders, daily looked for to land in England, yea to come to London, and a general murmur of the people, against such recusants of reputation, was the cause of the staying of these gentlemen at Ely, notwithstanding their offers of their service to the Queen; and so they do remain in the bishop's palace there, with fruition of large walks about the same, altogether without any imprisonment, other than that they are not suffered to depart into the town or country; and yet, for their religion, I think surely they do, and will, remain constant to the obedience of the Church of Rome; for the which, nevertheless, they are not impeached to any danger of their lives, but only charged with a penalty of money, because they will not come to the churches; whereby, by the law, a portion of their revenue is allotted to the Queen, and the rest left to the maintenance of them, their wives, and children.

By which kind of proceedings our adversaries here do pretend, that both these gentlemen, and all other of their qualities, are favourably used, that they are not pursued to death for their religion, as, they say, it was used in Queen Mary's time, and as it is daily used (as they say)

most rigorously and barbarously in Spain, against the Englishmen that come thither, only in trade of merchandize. And yet, I and others sometimes, privately speaking with such our adversaries, as we think are not maliciously bent to have men prosecuted to death, only for their religion (for to say the truth, and as the proverb is, 'not to bely the devil,' very many of our contraries are, in that point, not uncharitable) we do object to them the executions, by cruel torments and deaths, of very many, both here about London, and other parts of the realm, whom we account as martyrs, in that they do witness, by their death, their obedience to the Pope, and the Catholick Church of Rome.

To which, these our adversaries, pretending some small drops of charity, do answer us, that no execution hath been of any, to their knowledge, for their religion, or for profession thereof; but, for that they, which have been executed, have been found to have wandered in the realm secretly, and in a disguised manner, which the adversaries scornfully term as ruffians, with feathers, and all ornaments of light-coloured apparel, like to the fashion of courtiers, and do use many means to entice all people, with whom they dare adventure to speak, not only to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of Rome, but to induce them by vows and oaths to renounce their obedience to the Queen; to deny her to be their Sovereign, and themselves to be discharged of their allegiance; and to repute all magistrates under her to be unlawful, and in conscience not to be obeyed, with many more such matters (which I nevertheless count to be very vain calumniationes) tending to make the facts of all such holy priests, as are sent with commission to win men's souls, to be direct treasons against the Queen, and the state of the realm.

These defenders of these judgments and executions, contend, and do most earnestly maintain, that all such priests, jesuits, seminaries, and others, so persuading the people against the Queen, the laws, the government, and state of the realm, and all others, that are so persuaded by them, are manifest traitors; and so they say, that their indictments, and all process of law, extended and pursued against them, do manifestly declare the same. Wherein these our adversaries do sometimes, for maintenance of their arguments, shew the very copies of their indictments and judgments, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their religion, but that they have attempted to persuade the Queen's subjects to forsake their allegiance, and consequently to be rebels to their Queen and Sovereign.

In this sort, these men, for their advantage, do at all times, with these and many like earnest arguments, maintain their proceedings against the holy priests and jesuits, that have suffered death for their consciences, as just and necessary. And though, where I and others may reply, without peril to ourselves (as surely in some small companies we may, using modest words) we object the confession of the catholick faith, by the parties, at their death, and that with great constancy, which our adversaries cannot deny, so as it may seem they die for their religion, yet is it on the other part against us alledged, and maintained, that they are neither indicted, condemned, nor executed, for their religion; or for offering of themselves to die for their religion, but only for their former treasons in conspiring against the Queen, and state of the realm; no otherwise, than

of late time Babington and all his complices, who were condemned for their attempt to have raised war in the realm, and to have murdered the Queen, and to have set up the Queen of Scots, all which the said Babington and all his complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, only for those their great treasons; and yet divers of them, at the place of their execution, did make confession of their catholick faith, with offer to die for the same, and yet (say our adversaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that Babington and his complices were put to death for religion, but for their treasons.

And, for further maintenance of the coloured arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithful, and catholick brethren, are often troubled how to answer them, it is alledged, that the great number of gentlemen, and gentlewomen, yea, some of honourable calling, and of other meaner degrees, are known manifestly to be of a contrary religion to the laws of the realm, both near the court and far off, and yet they are never pursued by any form of law, to put their lives in danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their opinions in religion, whereby to bring them in any danger. Only such as are presented or complained of, by the parishioners where they dwell, for never coming to any church, by the space of certain months in a whole year, are thereof indicted, and afterward being called to answer thereto, if they can shew no such lawful excuse, as the law hath provided, they are then condemned to pay a penalty, out of their goods and lands, if they have any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet, by inquisition, any of them examined of their faith. But yet, say these defenders, if they shew themselves, by their open deeds and facts, to be reconciled from their allegiance and obedience to the Queen, and that they will therein persist, then they are therewith charged, and punished according to the laws, therefore provided.

These arguments in their defence I do not repeat as allowing of them, but yet surely they do move me, and some others that are wise, to think, that, indeed, the rashness of divers coming secretly into the realm, and professing themselves to be priests, many of them being both very young, unlearned, and of light behaviour, hath done great harm to the goodness of our common cause; and if they, and such others, could have temperately and secretly instructed the people, and used more circumspection in their own living and behaviour, there would have been a greater increase of numbers, persuaded in conscience to have joined with us in our profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lord, that, you may confer with our countrymen, that have access unto you, and that they also may deal with the fathers of the jesuits, that more care and choice be had of such Englishmen, as are hereafter to be sent into England, and not to send every young man, that hath more boldness, than learning and temperance, for such a function.

In the former part of this my declaration to you, of the universal concurrence of all men of value, wealth, and strength, in the body of the realm, to serve and defend the Queen and the realm, I forgot to report unto you the great numbers of ships of the subjects of the realm; as of London, and other port-towns, and cities, that voluntarily, this year, were armed, able to make a full navy of themselves for an army, and all at the proper costs of the burgesses, for certain months, with men, victuals,

and munition, which did join with the Queen's own navy, all this summer; a thing never in any former age heard of, otherwise than, that such ships were always hired, waged, and victualled by the Kings of the realm; which argued, to the grief of me and some others, a most vehement and unaccustomed affection and devotion in the cities and port-towns, such, as they shewed themselves therein ready to fight, as it had been, *pro aris & focis*; i. e. For their religion and liberties.

Of the number and strength of the Queen's own ships of war, I think you have been sufficiently informed many times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true report of the state of them this present summer, what I have credibly heard thereof; because I have been very sorry to hear how you and others have been therein abused; and that not only in this matter of the Queen's ships, but in some other things also of late, whereof some part hath been here by very many, maliciously, and in common speeches, imputed to your own invention and publication: Whereof, in a few words, I will make some digression, before I shall shew the estate of the Queen's navy.

In this summer past, there was printed in Paris, by your direction (as it was reported) a notable untruth, which I did see, and read: That the King of Scots had besieged Berwick, and had won it by assault, and possessed it quietly: Whereof no part was true, nor any cause to imagine the same, though I wish it had so been: But not for any good will that I now bear to the King, but for the trouble to this Queen. For, in truth, there is no good for us to be hoped for from the King of Scots, howsoever the Scottish bishops in France have sought to make you believe otherwise, who is rooted in the Calvinist religion, as there is never hope that he can be recovered to the Church of Rome: And so I think you are of late duly informed, and by his violent actions against divers Catholics, and against all that favour the Spaniards, may certainly appear.

And, likewise, another great untruth was lately printed (as your enemies say) by your direction also, in Paris, that now in July last, when the Spanish fleet and English had met and fought, betwixt France and England, the Spaniards had then a great victory, wherein they had sunk the Lord Admiral of England, with sixteen of the Queen's great ships, into the bottom of the sea, and that all the rest were driven to fly with the Vice-Admiral Francis Drake. Upon these two so notable untruths, which the adversaries spitefully called Don Bernardin Mendoza's *Mendacia**, many who honour you were right sorry, that you should give so hasty credit, to publish the same (as your enemies say) you did: Though I have to my power, for clearing of your honour, given it out, that these, and such like, have proceeded of the lightness of the French, who commonly print more lyes than truths, in such doubtful times, and not of you, whose honour and wisdom I thought would not be justly touched with so great untruths and lyes: Considering always, a small time will discover things that are in facts reported untruly, and bringeth the authors to discredit and infamy. There hath been a speech also reported here, to have proceeded from you in France, that hath caused a great misliking of you in Scotland; which is, that you should, in open assem-

* i. e. Don Bernardin Mendoza's lies.

bly, and in a bravery say, that the young King of Scots, (whom you called, in your language, a boy) had deceived the King your master: But, if the King's navy might prosper against England, the King of Scots should lose his crown: And of this the King of Scots hath been advertised out of France, and useth very evil language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leave this digression, and to return to let you know the truth of the state of the Queen's navy this summer: The same was in the beginning of the year, when the bruit was brought of the readiness of the King's Armada in Lisbon, and of the army by land, upon the sea coasts in Flanders, with their shipping, divided into three companies: The greatest under the charge of Charles Lord Howard, High Admiral of England, whose father, grandfather, uncles, great uncles, and others of his house, being of the noble house of the Dukes of Norfolk, had also been High Admirals afore him, whereof both France and Scotland have had proof.

Another company were appointed to remain with the Lord Henry Seymour, second son to the Duke of Somerset, that was Protector in King Edward's time, and brother to the now Earl of Hertford: And these companies, for a time, continued in the narrow seas, betwixt England and Flanders, under the charge of the said High Admiral, to attend on the Duke of Parma's actions.

A third company were armed in the West Part of England, towards Spain, under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake; a man by name and fame known too well to all Spain, and the King's Indies, and of great reputation in England: And this was compounded, partly of some of the Queen's own ships, and partly of the ships of the West Parts.

But, after that it was certainly understood, that the great navy of Spain was ready to come out from Lisbon, and that the same thereof was blown abroad in Christendom, to be invincible, and so published by books in print; the Queen and all her council, I am sure (whatsoever good countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainly for a dangerous fight upon the seas, and after that, for a landing and invasion. Whereupon, the Lord Admiral was commanded to sail with the greatest ships, to the West of England, towards Spain, to join with Drake, whom he made Vice-Admiral, and to continue in the seas betwixt France and England, to stop the landing of the navy of Spain. And, with the Lord Admiral, went in certain of the Queen's ships, the Lord Thomas Howard, second son to the last Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Sheffield, son to the Admiral's sister, who is wife to the Queen's ambassador in France, with a great number of knights of great livelode: And at that time the Lord Henry Seymour was left with a good number of ships in the narrow seas, upon the coast of Flanders, to attend on the Duke of Parma.

Whilst these two navies were thus divided, I confess to you, that I, and others of our part, secretly made full account that none of all these English ships durst abide the sight of the Armada of Spain: Or, if they would abide any fight, yet they should all be sunk at the first encounter. For such constant opinion we had conceived, by the reports of the world, that the greatness and number of the ships, and the army

of Spain, being the chosen vessels of all the King's dominions, was so excessive monstrous, beyond all the navies that ever had been seen in Christendom (not excepting the Armada at Lepanto) that no power could abide in their way. But how far deceived we were therein, a very short time, even the first day, did manifestly, to the great dishonour of Spain, discover. For when the catholick army came to the coast of England, which, indeed, the English confess, did seem far greater than they looked for, and that they were astonished at the sight of them: Yet the Lord Admiral and Drake, having but only fifty of the English ships out of the haven of Plymouth, where the rest remained for a new revictualling, without tarrying for the rest of the navy that was in Plymouth, they did offer present fight, and furiously pursued the whole navy of Spain, being above one-hundred and sixty ships: So as the same with the furious and continual shot of the English one whole day, fled without any returning. And after, the English navy, being increased to an hundred great and small, renewed their fight with terrible great shot all the whole day, gaining always the wind of the Spanish navy. And as I am sorry to remember the particularities, which the English have largely written to their own praise: So to speak all in one word, for nine days together, they still forced them to fly, and destroyed, sunk, and took, in three days fight, divers of the greatest ships: Out of which, especially out of the principal great ship of Andalusia, and out of the Admiranta* of Guipusque; and thirdly, out of the principal great galliass of Naples, great numbers were brought (beside many more killed and drowned) to London, and to sundry other ports of the realm, to the great dishonour of Spain: Amongst which prisoners were a great number of captains, both for land and sea. And besides that, which deeply blemisheth the honour of Spain, and vexed me at my heart, to consider the inequality of fortune, it is vaunted by our adversaries, that, in all the time of these fights so many days, the Spaniards did never take, or sink, any English ship or boat, or break any mast, or took any one man prisoner. A matter, that, indeed, these Spaniards, which are taken, do marvel at greatly, and chafe thereat: So as some of them, in their anguish of mind, let not to say, that, in all these fights, Christ shewed himself a Lutheran†.

And though such speeches be unadvised, and not to be regarded, yet surely it is most manifest, that in all this voyage, from the coming of the navy out of Lisbon, even to this hour, God did shew no favour to ours any one day, as he did continually to these Lutherans: Which, perchance, may be done for our good, to correct us, as putting our trust wholly in our worldly strength, and to the confusion hereafter of the Lutherans, by puffing them up, being his enemies, with prosperity for a time, to be afterwards the cause of their ruin. And amongst other things reported, to the dishonour of the Duke of Medina, who, it is said, was lodged in the bottom of his ship for his safety, and to a great touch to the commanders of the Spanish navy, that they never would turn their ships, nor stay them, to defend any of their own ships that were forced

* Admiral's ship.

† Note, that all the foreign Papists scarce know any other distinction in the reformed churches, than Lutheran and Calvinist, and generally suppose the Church of England to be a Lutheran church.

to tarry behind, but suffered divers to perish, as are good witnesses thereof the three great vessels, one wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was taken; another galleon of Guipusque, that was spoiled by fire; and the noble galliass, wherein Hugo de Moncada was slain: of which lack of care, by the Duke of Medina, these Spaniards, that are taken, give very evil report. The like is said in Zeland, by the Spaniards there, that were saved with Diego de Pimentelli, though the galleon, wherein he was, being beaten with the English shot, and not succoured by the navy of Spain, did there perish in their coming to Flushing, and so also did another likewise perish for lack of succour, before Ostend.

And now I must needs think that you are stricken with some grief of mind, or rather with some anger towards me, to hear from me so much of those adverse things, although they are too true: and, therefore, I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better contentation, to understand what opinions we that are here have, being thus frustrate of our expected delivery, by the defeat of this enterprise: whether we do comfort ourselves with a conceit that this action may be, by any probability, once again renewed this next year, for the recovery of our lost hope this year, famously spoken of by the number of eighty-eight, and so verified, to the loss of all catholicks. Wherein, surely, for our own parts, as by secret conference, I find, with many with whom I have secretly, of late, upon this unfortunate accident, conferred, we cannot judge of any likelihood of good success for any long time: and if there should any be hoped for, surely the sea-forces of the Catholick King must of necessity be more increased, and better also governed than they were this year. For this we here do consider, that this enterprise of invasion and conquest, was always principally grounded upon many probable opinions of the evil state of the realm*.

First, of the weakness of the English navy; for so, you know, you were divers ways this last year advertised from hence; and so, also, many of us here did conceive the same: wherein we see, by all this year's service with these ships, we did all notably err.

Next, of a supposed evil contentment of a number of people in this land to serve the Queen, and her government, against her enemies.

Lastly, and most principally, of a great, strong party that would be found here in the favour of us for the catholick religion, that should take arms against the Queen, upon the first sight of the catholick navy on the coasts of England. Of all which opinions, settled in good men's minds, in manner of judgments, we know that none in the world did more constantly assure the King thereof, than you: which, as the matters have evil succeeded, may, I fear, bring you in danger of his indignation, although I know you meant very well therein.

And as these three opinions have all failed this year, so I assure you, though some of ours on that side the seas may persist in their former opinions against the experience lately seen (as it is likely they may be forced to do, to maintain themselves in credit, for continuing their

* This ought to be well remarked; and it is upon these suppositions, that the enemy did first attack us.

necessary relief from the Pope, and the King, having no other means to keep them from starving or begging) yet, because I would not have you further deceived by them, who have not been present in the realm; to see such contrary proofs against all their conceits, as I and others have done: I will shew you a great number of manifest arguments, though I am sorry at my heart to remember them, whereby you, in your wisdom (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certain, that these former opinions, for comfort to be had from hence, will prove the next year as strong against us, and, in some part, more strong than they proved this year, if any account should be made thereof.

First, for the navy of England, which hath this year, to the sight of the world, proved to be of great force and value, for those seas, and able to overmatch, in their manner of fight, double to their number; of the great galleons, carracks, galliasses, or gallies, it is certain that it will be greatly increased this next year: for, I know, that, within these few days, bargains are already made, and imprest of money delivered, and certain sent into the Eastlands, for great store of all maritime provisions. And, as for the increase of the number of good ships for the Queen's proper use, there is already a great quantity of timber ready, and order given to fell more in November and December next, in the countries near both to the sea, and to the Thames, to build a number of ships of war, equal to those whose service was seen this year, to have overmatched the great Armadas and castles of Spain and Italy. And, furthermore, to join with the navy of England, this year following, not only the Hollanders and Zelanders, but also ships of Denmark, and other parts of Estland, will certainly be had in great numbers, whereof there was none at all required this year past, to join with the navy of England; only certain Hollanders and Zelanders offered their service (according as they are bound) in the end of this summer, since the conflict near Calais, to join with some of the English navy in the narrow seas, to defend the issuing of the Duke of Parma out of the ports of Flanders: and in that service, at this time, there are above forty and six good ships of war, with the Vice Admiral Justinian, of Nassau, a man that agreeth too well with the English nation, and is a sworn enemy to all Spaniards, and catholics: and as it is reported, for certain, there are threescore more coming out of North-Holland to the seas, for the same purpose: so as it is to be doubted, that this realm, this next year, will be double as strong as it was this last year.

As to the second branch of our hope depending upon opinion of some great discontentment of sundry persons against the Queen, the proof of the contrary so appeared this year, both of her actions, to maintain the liking of all her people, and of the general earnest devotion shewed to her by all estates, noble and mean, rich and poor, as I think no prince christened ever had greater cause of comfort in her people; which I may judge to breed a pride in her. And, to recompense the same, she did most notably shew herself in this time; even when most danger was threatened, in all her actions towards her people, as careful for their weal, and for the safety of her realm,

without any special or patticular provision, or regard to her own person, as ever any prince could do. First, to let her people understand what care she had to make her realm strong against invasion, she politically, yea most carefully, by her own frequent directions, caused her whole realm to be put in arms; she took account thereof herself by monthly certificates, from such as were made her lieutenants, in every shire of her realm; she caused armour, powder, weapons, to be sent to all countries, and ordnance to all maritime countries: there were also sundry armies described, to defend every coast of the sea, and as I heard it reported, by some that did know the secrets of the court, was importunate with her council to leave no day unoccupied, to bring these services to effect; and yet she did still continue her commissioners, in the Low Countries, to treat of peace, which, surely, she desired to have obtained, so that she might have had the same, with certain conditions. So as to content her people, she did both treat and desire peace, and did not, in the mean time, neglect to make her realm strong for defence, if peace could not be gotten. But in the end, when her demands were wholly refused (whereof we and all catholicks were most glad) and that she understood very certainly, that the army of the duke of Parma should come first to destroy the city of London, she revoked her commissioners, approached London in person, and did lie, as it were, in the suburbs of the same, whereby they of the city took great comfort, having daily in shew and muster of their own ten-thousand men armed and trained of very able men of the city, and in readiness thirty-thousand more, able to fight.

She caused also an army to be brought to incamp, near the seaside upon the river of Thames, betwixt the sea and the city, twenty miles beneath the city; and after the army was come thither, she would not by any advice be stayed, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her own magnanimity of heart (as she said, she would so do, though she was a woman) she went to that army lying betwixt the city and the sea, under the charge of the Earl of Leicester, placing herself, betwixt the enemy and her city, and there viewed her army, and passed through it divers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned again, and dined in the army: and first, saw the people as they were, by their countries, lodged and quartered in their several camps, which she viewed from place to place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into battles, ready as it were, to fight with any enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied only but with the general, and three or four others attending on her: but, yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword carried before her, by the Earl of Ormond.

There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath been seen, in a camp and army, considering she was a Queen; and all tended to shew a marvellous concord, in a mutual love, betwixt a Queen and her subjects; and of reverence, and obedience of subjects, to a sovereign; all which she acquitted with very princely thanks, and good speeches. I could enlarge this description, with many more particularities of mine own sight, for thither I

went, as many others did; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person, and princely behaviour; and in praying for her life and safety, and cursing of all her enemies, both traytors, and all papists, with earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety.

And, besides such particular acclamations, the whole army, in every quarter, did devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers psalms, put into form of prayers in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this queen doth discontent her people, nor her people do shew any discontentation, in any thing that they be commanded to do, for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined. She had also an army of about forty-thousand footmen, and of six-thousand horsemen, under the charge of the Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlain, as lieutenant of that army, made ready from the inland parts of the realm, to be about her own person, without disarming the maritime countries; so as many marched out of sundry countries, towards her, at the very time that she was in the camp: some came to the suburbs, and towns, near London, whom she remanded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand, and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward on their own charges (as they said) to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the realm. But, though the greatest number of the said soldiers were compelled to return, yet the captains, leaders, and the principal knights and gentlemen came to the court, to offer their service; and those were graciously accepted of her, with many thanks, and are now for the more part returned with a full determination, and firm promise to continue their bands in such readiness, as, upon a few hours warning, they will assuredly return with them in good array.

Beside these foresaid arguments to disprove the opinion of discontentment of the people, which heretofore hath been thought a great furtherance to this honourable action, I will also remember you some other more notable actions, to prove both contentation and readiness, in all the nobility of the realm at this time, that were not tied to abide in their countries by reason of their offices, as lieutenants and governors there, for martial services. For, as soon as it was heard that the Queen was come near London, and that the armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all invasions, and reports brought from the sea-coasts of the appearance of the Spanish navy, all the noblemen in the realm, from east and west, from north and south, excepting only such great lords as had special governments in the countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the Queen, bringing with them, according to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their power, goodly bands of horsemen, both lances, light-horsemen, and such other as are termed Carabines or Arquebusers*, lodging their bands round about London, and maintain-

* Troopers.

ing them in pay at their own charges all the time, until the navy of Spain was certainly known to be passed beyond Scotland. And of these noblemen, many shewed their bands of their horsemen, before the Queen, even in the fields afore her own gate, to the great marvel of men of good judgment (as I heard reported) for that the number of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no parcel of the numbers of horsemen limited in every country, and put into bands with the armies described, it was thought, before they were seen, that there had not been so many spare horses of such valour in the whole realm, excepting the north part of England, towards Scotland, whose forces consist chiefly of horsemen.

The first that shewed his bands to the Queen, was that noble, virtuous, honourable man, the Viscount Montague, who, howsoever men do judge of him for opinion in religion, yet, to tell you the truth, he is reported always to have professed, as now also at this time he did profess and protest solemnly, both to the Queen, and to all her court, in open assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly and in age, with a full resolution to live and die in defence of the Queen, and of his country, against all invaders, whether it were pope, king, or potentate whatsoever; and, in that quarrel, he would hazard his life, his children, his lands and goods. And, to shew his mind agreeably thereto, he came personally himself before the Queen, with his band of horsemen, being almost two-hundred; the same being led by his own sons, and with them a young child, very comely seated on horse-back, being the heir of his house, that is, the eldest son to his son and heir: A matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend the same, to see a grandfather, father, and son, at one time on horseback, afore a Queen, for her service; though, in truth, I was sorry to see our adversaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceal it from your lordship's knowledge, because I think this nobleman is known unto you, having been used as an ambassador to the catholick King many years past by this Queen (as I have heard) to require confirmation of the treaties of amity, betwixt both their fathers. And of this nobleman's conditions, I think, there be some others, of whom there is no account to be made, that they will give favour to any attempt against the Queen, or to any invasion of the realm.

There were also many, at the same time, that made shews of great numbers of serviceable horses, whercof, though it be no comfort for you to hear, yet it is good that you be not abused for lack of knowledge, how the present state is here; that you may better judge hereafter, what may be done to recover this late loss and dishonour. At this time the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Windsor, with some knights and gentlemen with them, shewed their bands, as the Lord Montague had done; and, after them, the lord chancellor shewed goodly bands of horsemen and footmen at his own house, very many and strong. And, within one or two days after, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, the Lord Compton, and, in the end of the day, the Earl of Leicester, and the Lord Rich, besides sundry knights of the realm, shewed every of them several strong bands of horsemen, to the great liking of the Queen, and of all the people that were there, being

many thousands. And, within two days after that, the Earl of Essex, being master of the Queen's horse, with certain principal gentlemen, his servants, friends, and followers, shewed before the Queen above three-hundred horses of all service, and a great number of carbines, and a fair band of footmen, all musqueteers.

This shew exceed in number any other particular band, and the Earl himself, with a great number of lances, horsed and armed, did run very many courses, and especially with the Earl of Cumberland, as they call it, the 'course of the field' which I had never seen before; and did also himself, and his company, tourney on horseback a very long time, and caused also his carbines, and his footmen, to make many skirmishes there, to the great liking of the Queen, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement speeches against all English papists, calling them all traytors, wishing also, that the Spaniards had been there in that field with treble the number, to make proof of the value of Englishmen; all which I heard to my great grief, with many curses against all their countrymen, saying, that they, as arrant traytors to their native country, had villainously sold, as far as in them did lie, the liberty of their own country to Spaniards and other papists. It behoved me not there to have contraried any of them, for surely, if I had, their rancour was so stirred up, by the comfort of these fair shews of horsemen, as they would there in the field in their rage have killed me, and cut me in a thousand pieces.

Besides these lords above-named, there were brought to the town other fair bands, by the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Hertford, the Lord Audley, Lord Morley, Lord Dacres, Lord Lomly, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Sturton, Lord Darcy, Lord Sands, Lord Mordaunt, and by every one that were of the privy council; so as, by estimation, there were about London, at that time, above five-thousand horses ready to serve the Queen, besides all the horsemen that were raised in all other countries for the armies and the sea coasts. And besides these, I heard in a very good place, where I was silent, that there were, by account, twice as many in readiness, with the noblemen that were absent, attending on their charges in their several lieutenantancies. As the Marquis of Winchester, one counted to be the strongest man of his own furniture for horse and armour, who is lieutenant of Hampshire, with the Earl of Sussex, captain of Portsmouth, and lieutenant also of Dorsetshire. Next to him is in account the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl marshal of England, lieutenant of a great number of counties, and of great power of his own, both for horsemen and footmen, besides the power of the Lord Talbot his son. The Earl of Darby also, though he was in Flanders, from whence he came lately, yet his son, the Lord Strange, lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, in his absence, is said to have raised a great power of horsemen. And to shew the popular affection to this earl in his country, I heard it for certain reported, that, when the earl continued longer in Flanders than they liked, and doubting of his return, for that they supposed the Duke of Parma would stay him, and the other commissioners there, the people of his country, in a generality, did amongst themselves determine, that

the Lord Strange, the earl's son, and all the manhood of Lancashire and Cheshire, would go over the seas and fetch the earl home. A matter for no purpose to be spoken of, but to note the force of the love which the people do bear to the earl, who, with his son, is firmly bent against the pope.

The Earl of Bath also, lieutenant of Devonshire, had, as is said, great forces of his own ready to have impeached the landing of any strangers in Devonshire. The Earl of Pembroke also, being lieutenant of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and lord president of all Wales, was ready to have come to the Queen with three-hundred horse-men, and five-hundred footmen, all of his own retinue, leaving all the countries under his charge fully furnished.

I omit here to speak of the bands of horsemen, belonging to the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, which, though they were ready to have been shewed at the same time, yet the earls, hearing of the Spanish army approaching, went voluntarily to the sea-side in all haste, and came to the Queen's navy before the fight afore Calais. Where they, being in several of the Queen's ships, did, with their own persons, valiant services against the King's Armada: and, to shew the great readiness in a generality of sundry others at the same time, to adventure their lives in the said service, there went to the sea at the same time divers gentlemen of good reputation, who voluntarily, without any charge, and without knowledge of the Queen, put themselves into the Queen's navy in sundry ships, wherein they served at the fight before Calais; of which number, being very great, I remember that the names of some of them were these: Mr. Henry Brook, son and heir to the Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Cecil, son and heir to the lord treasurer, Sir William Hatton, heir to the lord chancellor, Sir Horatio Pallavicino, a knight of Genoa, master Robert Cary, son to the Lord Hunsdon, Sir Charles Blunt, brother to the Lord Montjoy. But much speech is of two gentlemen of the court that went to the navy at the same time, whose names are Thomas Gerard, and William Hervy, to me not known, but now here about London spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of a ship-boat, to scale the great galliass, wherein Moncada was, and entered the same only with their rapiers; a matter commonly spoken, that never the like was hazarded before, considering the height of the galliass compared to a ship-boat.

And yet, to make it more manifest, how earnest all sorts of noblemen, and gentlemen, were to adventure their lives in this service, it is reported that the Earl of Oxford, who is one of the most antient earls of this land, went also to the sea to serve in the Queen's army. There went also, for the same purpose, a second son of the lord treasurer, called, as I can remember, Robert Cecil: there went also, about that time, to the sea, the Lord Dudley, an antient baron of the realm, and Sir Walter Ralcigh, a gentleman of the Queen's privy chamber, and in his company, a great number of young gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the names of the heir of Sir Thomas Cecil, called William Cecil, of Edward Darcy, Arthur George, and such others; with the rehearsal of whom I do not comfort myself, but only to show you, how far we have been

deceived, to think that we should have had a party here for us, when, as we see both by land and sea, all sorts of men were so ready of their own charges, without either commandment or entertainment, to adventure their lives in defence of the Queen and the realm.

And for the Earl of Huntingdon's forces, being lieutenant general in the north, it is reported, that he hath put in readiness for an army in Yorkshire, and other countries commonly limited to serve against Scotland, to the number of forty-thousand well-armed footmen, and near hand ten-thousand horsemen, to come to him, if any occasion of invasion should be in the north parts, to whom are joined with their forces three lords in the north, the Lord Scroop, Lord Darcy, and Lord Evers.

There are also divers other lords that are lieutenants of countries, that have in readiness of their proper charges good numbers of horsemen: as the Earl of Kent, lieutenant of Bedfordshire, the Lord Hunsdon, lord chamberlain, Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Cobham, Lieutenant of Kent, the Lord Gray of Buckinghamshire, the Lord North of Cambridgeshire, Lord Chandos of Gloucestershire, Lord St. John of Huntingdonshire, Lord Buckhurst of Sussex; and so, by this particular recital not unmeet for your knowledge, it is to be noted what disposition the nobility of the realm had, at this time, to have withstood all invasion. And, if perchance you shall peruse your ordinary catalogue of the great lords of the realm, you shall find, that these are the substance of all the great Lords, saving three young earls, within age, Rutland, Southampton, and Bedford; all three brought up in perverse religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of the Earl of Arundel, who is in the tower, for attempting to have fled out of the realm, by provocation of him that now is Cardinal Allen; who, howsoever he may be affected to the catholick religion, yet I hear most certainly that he offereth his life in defence of the Queen against all the world.

And where account was made to have a party in this realm, which by these former relations appear could not be possible, the whole nobility being assured to the Queen, and the force of the people not violently bent that way; in this very time was offered to the Queen as great a party for her, to come to her service, and defence of the realm, as, out of all christendom, she should not have to all respects a stronger: which was the King of Scots, who, hearing of the intended invasion of the realm, sent a gentlemen to the Queen, with his letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the power that he had to defend her and her realm; and, if she so would, he would come in his own person, and hazard his own life, to defend this realm against all invaders, for religion, or any other pretence whatsoever. So by this you may see, what account may be made of any vain promises, made in the name of this king. And, because you shall perceive that I have good means to have intelligence of any other forces of the realm for defence thereof, it is most certain, as I hear, and I have seen a list or roll of a great number both of horsemen and footmen, which the bishops of the realm have of their own charges, with the contribution of the clergy, raised up in bands of horsemen and footmen, which are

to be led by noble gentlemen at the Queen's nomination; and these bands must be vainly termed, *Milites Sacri*; i. e. holy knights.

As to the last point of the three foundations of the principal hope conceived, whereupon the invasion was chiefly ground and taken in hand, which was most certainly and generally believed, that there should be found here in the realm a strong party of catholicks, against the Queen, to join and assist the invaders, upon the appearing of the Spanish navy; by my former relations of the general, great, and fervent love of the people towards the Queen, and of the great offers of service now made by the whole nobility of the realm, this their foundation may appear to have been wrong laid, only by vain imaginations, as it were, upon a quicksand, or rather as flying in the air. And yet it appeareth very truly that no small account was made herof by the King of Spain, and by his principal ministers; for there is nothing at this present more universally, with one lamentable voice, spoken of, by all the multitude of the Spaniards, now here prisoners, yea by the chiefest of them, than that they now evidently see, that the King their master was with such informations greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say, there was no man of value in all this army, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so delivered for comfort of all that served therein, before they were shipped, that they should not be afraid of any resistance to land in England, for that there was good assurance given to the King, that they should find a strong army of catholicks ready in their favour, as soon as ever their navy should be seen upon the sea coast, and so they all here say they were encouraged to come to this journey; otherwise, many of them swear they would never have come of ship-board; so unlikely, they say, it was, and against all reason, to invade a realm, with opinion to conquer it, without both some title of right, and a party also, but especially without a good sure party.

And, therefore, now finding this report very false, many of these prisoners do by name curse you, as being the King's ambassador; as him, they say, who, upon the opinion of the knowledge which you had gotten in England, was therein more credited than any other, and had these many years together tempted the King, their master, upon hope, and other such like persuasions, to attempt such a matter as this was; being utterly in all wisdom to have been condemned, without some certainty of this latter part, especially to have had a strong party here. They also curse all such Englishmen as have fled out of this country, whom they spare not to call arrant traitors, for offering the sale of their country to the Pope and the King of Spain. And these prisoners add also, that they were borne in hand; that this country was so open to march in, and so weak to withstand any force, and the people so miserable, as they thought the conquest thereof had been of no more difficulty than the overcoming of a number of naked Indians was at the beginning of the conquest thereof by King Ferdinand.

And now, for strength of this country and people: many of these prisoners having been brought from the sea-coasts hither to London; whereby they have observed the country and the people, do speak mar-

vellously thereof, counting the same invincible, otherwise than by treason of some great party within the realm. But whether all these speeches, which are commonly reported of them, proceed from their hearts, or that they speak thus to please the English, because they are well used by them, who also are easily deceived with flattery, I know not; but sure I am they do thus speak daily, with outward shew of great passions against such as have been persuaders to the King for this journey. Divers of them also which are of good judgment, and have heard of such of the English banished men as have been in Spain, and have known some of them there (as of long time Sir Francis Englefield, and of late, the Lord Paget and his brother) have curiously inquired, of what power they were and credit here, to have a party. They also inquired of the Earl of Westmoreland; although of him they confess he is a man but of small government. But our adversaries here have so abased these and all the rest, to have been of no credit to carry any numbers of men, but by the Queen's authority, when they were at their best; as their prisoners wonder how the King could be so deceived to give them pensions, otherwise than for charity, because of their religion. But they confess they have often heard in Spain, how the King was once notably deceived, when one Thomas Stukeley, a private Englishman, who fled out of Ireland for debt and other lewd actions into Spain, not being worth one penny, his debts being paid, and but the second son of a mean gentleman, pretended, and was believed in Spain (by so intitling himself) to be a duke, a marquis, and an earl of Ireland, and so was a long time entertained, as a man that could do great service against the Queen of England; until, at length, the King understood his falshood, and banished him Sout of pain. And after, repairing to Rome, was by the Pope also maintained for a time, until he was discovered even by some good catholicks, that could not endure the Pope's Holiness to be so grossly mocked; of whom, some of the prisoners, using merry speeches, how both the Emperor Charles, and afterwards this King and the Pope, were so notably deceived by this Stukeley, do conclude merrily, that they think some of these English, that have thus abused the King, have followed Stukeley's steps. And, in very truth, I and many others have been very often ashamed to hear so broad speeches of the King and of the Pope, yea, of the Emperor Charles, whom such a companion, as Stukeley was, could so notably deceive; and it was the more to be marvelled, how he could deceive the Catholick King, considering he was known to many of his council, at the King's being in England, to have been but a vaunting beggar, and a ruffian, and, afterwards, a pirate against the Spaniards.

Now, my lord ambassador, by these my large relations of the evil things past, and of the opinions of such as I have lately dealt withal, with mine own conceit also, which I do not vainly imagine, your Lordship may see, in the first part, our present calamity, and miserable estate: in the second part, the state of this Queen, her realm, her people, their minds, their strength, so far contrary to the expectation of the Pope's Holiness, the King Catholick, and especially of you (my Lord) and all others that have been in hand these many years with this action, as I know not what course shall, or may be thought meet to take,

seeing it is seen by experience, that by force; our cause cannot be relieved. Neither will any change amend the matter, when this Queen shall end her days, as all princes are mortal. For both the universality of the people, through the realm, are so firmly and desperately bent against our religion, as nothing can prevail against their united forces: and whosoever shall by right succeed to this crown, after the Queen (who is likely to live as long as any king in christendom) if the crown should come to the King of Scots, or to any other of the blood royal, as there are very many, within this realm, descended both of the royal houses of York and Lancaster, there is no account to be made, but every one of them, that now live at this day, are known to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authority of the Pope, as any of the most earnest protestants or hereticks in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present, I know no other way, but to commit the cause to Almighty God, and to all the saints in heaven, with our continual prayers; and in earth, to the holy counsels of the Pope, and his cardinals, with our supplications to relieve the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send into the realm discreet, holy, and learned men, that may only, in secret manner, without intermeddling in matters of estate, by teaching us, confirm us in our faith, and gain, with charitable instruction, others that are not rooted in heresy.

And for relief of such as are forced to pay yearly great sums of money out of their revenue, because they forbear to come to the church, it were to be charitably considered, whether there might not be some dispensation from the Pope's holiness, for some few years, to tolerate their coming to the church, without changing of their faith: considering a great number do stand therein, not for any thing, as they say, used in this church, that is directly contrary to God's law, but for that the rites and prayers, though they are collected out of the body of the scripture, are not allowed by the catholick church, and the head thereof, which is the Pope's holiness: and for that cause justly, all true catholicks account this church to be schismatical: by which remedy of toleration, a great number of such, as will be perpetually catholicks, might enjoy their livings and liberty; and, in process of time, the catholick religion, by God's goodness, might, with more surety be increased, to the honour of God, than ever it can be by any force whatsoever. For so did all Christian religion, at the first begin, and spread itself over the world; not by force, but only by teaching, and example of holiness in the teachers, against all human forces. And so I will end my long letter, with the sentence which King David used four times in one of his psalms. *Et clamaverunt ad dominum in tribulatione eorum, & de angustia eorum liberavit eos**: and so must we make that for our foundation to lay our hope upon, for all other hopes are vain and false.

At London, the of August, 1588.

* And they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them out of their distress.

 THE APPENDIX.

AFTER that I had made an end of this my letter, which I found, by perusal thereof, to have been at more length than I looked for, although the matters therein contained, did draw me thereto, and that I had made choice of a friend of mine, who had more knowledge in the French tongue than I, to turn the same into French: my mishap was, that when he had done some part thereof, he fell sick of a burning fever, whereby my letter remained with him, upon hope of recovery, for ten or twelve days: and seeing no hope thereof, I intreated another very trusty and sound catholick, having perfect knowledge in the French tongue, who took upon him to put it into French, wherein was also longer time spent: so as my letter being written in the midst of August, I am forced to end it in September. And, thereupon, I thought good, whilst my former letter was in translating, to add some things happened in the mean time, meet for your knowledge.

About the seventh of August, the Lord Admiral returned with the navy, having followed the Spanish navy, as they reported, as far as the 55th degree northwards; the Spanish navy taking a course either to the furthest parts of Norway, or to the Orcades, beyond Scotland; which, if they did, then it was here judged that they would go about Scotland and Ireland: but if they should go to Norway, then it might be, that if they could recover provisions of masts, whereof the English navy had made great spoil, they might return. But I, for my part, wished them a prosperous wind to pass home about Ireland, considering I despaired of their return, for many respects, both of their wants, which could not be furnished in Norway, and of the lack of the Duke of Parma's ability to bring his army on the sea, for want of mariners. Nevertheless, upon knowledge from Scotland, that they were beyond the Orcades; and that the King of Scots had given strict commandment upon all the sea-coasts, that the Spaniards should not be suffered to land in any part; but that the English might land, and be relieved of any wants: order was given to discharge all the navy, saving twenty ships, that were under the Lord Henry Seymour's charge, to attend upon the Duke of Parma's attempts, either towards England, which was most unlikely, or towards Zeland, which began to be doubted. But within three or four days after this, suddenly there came report to the court, that the Spanish navy had refreshed itself in the islands beyond the Orcades, both with water plentifully, and with bread, fish, and flesh, as for their money they could get; and would return hither once again, to attend on the Duke of Parma's army, to conduct it by sea into England. Whereupon grew some business here, wherewith, I know, the Queen and her council were not a little perplexed what to do; but, in the end, order was given to stay the disarming of her navy, and so the whole navy was very speedily made ready again, only upon the former reports; wherewith I, and many others, were very glad, to see them thus newly troubled, and, upon every light report, put to great charges. But this lasted not past eight or ten days; for, upon more certain knowledge, by two or three pinnacles

that were sent to discover where the Spanish fleet was, which certified, that they were beyond the Orcades, sailing towards the west, in very evil case, having many of their people dead in those north parts, and in great distress for lack of masts, and also of mariners, a new commandment was given to dissolve the navy, saving that which should attend on the Duke of Parma: and so the Lord Admiral returned, with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sheffield, Sir Francis Drake, with all the captains, to the court, saving such as had charge of the fleet that was under the Lord Henry. And, upon the return of these seamen to the city, there are spread such reports, to move the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, gentlewomen, and all other vulgar people of all sorts, into a mortal hatred of the Spaniards, as the poor Spanish prisoners were greatly afraid to have been all massacred: for that it was published, and of many believed, that the lords of Spain, that were in the navy, had made a special division among themselves, of all the noblemen's houses in England, by their names, and had, in a sort, quartered England among themselves, and had determined of sundry manners of cruel death, both of the nobility, and the rest of the people. The ladies, women, and maidens, were also destined to all villany: the rich merchants houses in London were put into a register, by their very names, and limited to the companies of the squadrons of the navy for their spoil. And, to increase more hatred, it was reported, that there were a great number of halters brought in the Spanish navy, to strangle the vulgar people, and certain irons graven with marks, to be heated, for the marking of all children in their faces, being under seven years of age, that they might be known hereafter, to have been the children of the conquered nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the English navy, as having heard the Spaniards confess the same; so as for a time there was a general murmur, that these Spanish prisoners ought not to be suffered to live, as they did, but to be killed, as they had purposed to have done the English. But the wiser sort of men, and such as had the charge of the prisoners, having no commandment from the council, did straightly look to the safety of the prisoners, as a matter not to be so rashly suffered. But, to content the people with some other matter, there was, upon Sunday last, at the request of the mayor, and his brethren, a great number of banners, streamers, and ensigns, which were won from the Spanish navy, brought to Paul's church-yard, and there shewed openly in the sermon-tune, to the great rejoicing of all the people. And afterwards they were carried to the cross in Cheap, and afterwards to London-bridge; whereby the former rage of the people was greatly asswaged, the fury generally converted into triumph, by boasting in every place, that this was the act of God, who had heard the fervent prayers of the people, and was pleased with their former prayers and fastings, to have such banners and streamers, which the Spaniards meant to have brought and set up in all places of the city, as monuments of their triumphs, by his good Providence, in punishing the pride of the Spaniards, now to be erected by the English, as monuments of their victories, and of perpetual shame to the Spaniards. Upon these shews great rejoicing followed: and as in June and July past, all churches were filled daily with people exercised with

prayers, and shews of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies: and in many churches, continually thrice in the week, exercises of prayers, sermons, and fastings, all the day long, from morning to evening, with great admiration to see such general devotion (which I, and others, do judge to proceed more of fear than of devotion) so now, since the English navy is returned, and the Spanish navy defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in Flanders, of the dissensions betwixt the Spaniards and the other soldiers, of the contempt of the Duke of Parma by the Spaniards, being hereto maintained by a duke, called the Duke of Pastraw, the Catholick King's bastard, and of the departure and running away of the Duke's mariners, here is a like concourse of the people to sermons in all churches; wherein is remembered the great goodness of God towards England, by the delivery thereof from the threatened conquest, and prayers also publicly, to give thanks to God for the same.

At London, this of September, 1588.

AN EXHORTATION

TO STIR UP THE MINDS OF

ALL HER MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECTS,

To defend their Country, in this dangerous Time,

FROM THE

INVASION OF ENEMIES.

Faithfully and zealously composed by ANTHONY MARTEN,

Sewer of her Majesty's most Honourable Chamber.

MELIORA SPERO.

Imprinted at London, by John Windet, and are to be sold in Paul's Church-yard, at the Brasen-Serpent. MDLXXXVIII.

The following tract was written immediately after the nation's deliverance from the Spanish invasion, in the year 1588, with that judgment, justice, zeal, and elegance of stile, that at once it perpetuates the just commendation of the Author, displays his eloquence, and confirms his reasonable loyalty to his sovereign, his religion, and his country.

The several branches of this exhortation are so well united in the most solid reason, that neither time nor deceitful politicks are able to withstand their force; and so well adapted to the general foible of mankind, that it may be accounted

a standing exhortation on the like occasions, whenever God permits any such calamities to befall us. For here every one may see his duty, and are instructed as well to avoid the misfortunes that ruin a nation, as the means, which, by God's blessing, frustrate and rout our enemies, and maintain our just rights and religion, laws and liberties.

ALBEIT, my dear countrymen, and well beloved in the Lord, your faithful and willing minds were lately shewed, by an earnest desire of venturing your lives for defence of your country; yet, because the same then happened in a fury against your enemies, and, as it were, in the fear of final destruction; and that the trial of your valiant courages, and proof of your warlike furnitures, was prevented by the great mercy of God, and the provident foresight of her excellent Majesty; so as God himself hath stricken the stroke, and ye have but looked on, I am not now to speak of any late acts, atchieved by your prowess and courage, but to set before your eyes the great and wonderful causes you have, to arm your bodies, to prepare your minds, and to sharpen your swords against your enemies. Not as your forefathers, against some one particular prince in France, in Spain, or in Scotland. Neither for lands, for honour, or conquest, which by battles one or twain might be decided, and the quarrel ended; but ye must strengthen yourselves against that horrible beast*, who hath received power from the dragon. Against the princes of the nations†, which have entered into league with the whore of Babylon‡, who hath sworn your destruction; and will not be satisfied with the blood of many days battle, nor with the lands which you hold; nor with the goods which ye possess, nor with the fair houses which ye have builded. Neither are they minded to carry you away, as the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Romans did the Israelites, into captivity. But, after they have taken their vile pleasure of your wives, your sons, and daughters, they will utterly destroy you, that the name of our nation shall be no more remembered upon the earth. 'Whosoever,' say they, 'falleth not down and worshipping that golden image, shall be cast the same hour into the hot fiery furnace'§. They will no more suffer you to try the truth by testimony of the scriptures, nor to plead for yourselves the most antient fathers. But, having prevailed against you, they will execute their malice upon you without judgment, and destroy you without mercy. They have already cast lots for your inheritance, and have given sentence upon the sacred person of the Queen¶, They will make no difference of degrees, but the Queen and the commons, the noble and ignoble, the learned and unlearned, the priest and the people, the poor and the rich, the old and the young, have all one punishment allotted unto them. Was there ever any nation in the world so barbarous, or people so bloody, or prince so cruel before this time, whether he warred for greediness, or malice, or revenge, or con-

* The whole power of Popery uniting to destroy the protestant interest. † The Pope.

‡ Popery. § Persecuted with fire and sword. ¶ See Pope Sixtus V's bull of excommunication against the Queen, and his letter to the King of Spain.

quest; but he satisfied himself with the blood and captivity of them, that offended him; sparing the nation, and them that were innocent in the action.

Again, was there ever any king or prince, or magistrate, whether he were godless or religious, whether idolater or Christian, but, if he minded to revenge against any other nation, he would plead the cause by messengers*, according to the law of nations; and not purpose a sudden destruction before a perfect examination? What Barbarian, Turk, or tyrant, would seek to conquer his neighbour by fraud, to gain to his sect by falsehood, to bereave a princess of her kingdom, by villainy; of her subjects, by disloyalty; of her life, by treachery; and of all their lives and souls, by hypocrisy? Is this the spirit of him that rebuked his disciples when they would have called for fire from heaven to have consumed them, which would not receive him? 'No,' saith he, 'ye must be of another spirit; I am not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.'

Good King David, albeit he were already anointed King of Israel, in the life time of Saul, and had his said enemy many times alone, where he might have slain him, and so have possessed the kingdom quietly, would not attempt so great a treachery.

What shall we say of the Roman captain, Camillus, that, while he lay at the siege of a city, called Falliscus, there came secretly to him, out of the city, a schoolmaster with his scholars, offering him to betray the town into his hands. 'No,' saith Camillus, 'I will win it honourably, and thou shalt be sent home with shame;' and, so delivering rods into the hands of his own scholars, they whipped their master home into the city.

Is it not that beast of the bottomless pit that worketh all these tragedies? Hath he not made drunk the princes of the earth, with the cup of his fornication, even the bloody woman, that sitteth on the blood-coloured beast? That exalteth himself above all the princes, and maketh himself equal with God?

Was there ever any prince or monarch of the world before this petty God sprang up; nay, did ever all the princes of the world seek to deprive any one absolute prince of his kingdom, and entitle the same unto another, without an express commandment of God, unless it were by honourable conquest or just victory? 'By me,' saith God, 'Kings reign, and noblemen of the earth do bear rule.' Where is there any example in the Old Testament, that any priest did ever depose any prince? For Athaliah was but an usurper, and was slain by consent both of priest and people as a murderess of her own children; and Joash the right heir was established in the kingdom. Was not Peter, in the New Testament, greater than any pope on the earth? And yet so far from deposing of Princes, as he himself of all other was most obedient to secular power, and gave the same lesson unto others? But was not Christ himself the prince of all princes; and yet, seeing his kingdom was spiritual, was he not obedient to all govern-

* Ambassadors.

ment, commanding all manner of obedience and humility to all his disciples?

Now let us see more at large, by whom, against whom, and for what causes this war, or rather cruel proscription, groweth. That, these things being plainly set down before your eyes, not only they that be of the poorer sort, which, having excellent courages, will set to their hearts and hands to defend their prince, their country, and religion, if they may be enabled thereunto, but chiefly those that have substance, lands, and living, which God hath given them, not to consume in their own pleasures and vanities, but especially to these ends and purposes, may be persuaded with a full and perfect resolution, forsaking the pomps and vanities of this life, to live frugally, honestly, and temperately, as shall best become the loyal servants of so godly a prince, and the valiant defenders of so Christian a commonweal; and henceforth be ready, not alone with their lands and goods, but also with their bodies and lives to defend so just, so godly, and so holy a cause.

What time as it pleased our most merciful and heavenly Father, in this our age, to discover unto his church, by certain preachers of great courage and magnanimity, the manifold abuses and heap of traditions, which the bishops of Rome, by their letters, decrees, and canons, have brought into the church, by little and little, from the second age of Christ unto that time: whereby the sincere and plain religion of Christ, pronounced, written, and established by his apostles over all the world, was so corrupted and overshadowed, as even unto this day, unless it be those, whose minds God hath lightened with the bright beams of his spirit, men can hardly remove that vale of vanities from their hearts: even then also, it pleased his fatherly goodness, to open the eyes of that noble prince of everlasting memory, King Henry the Eighth, father to her excellent Majesty; that he plainly saw how long the princes and people had been abused, and, as it were, bewitched, with that ungodly antichrist of Rome. Who being puffed up with certain liberal donations of some well-minded princes, by little and little, became, of the poorest of all human creatures, the most mighty Pope and primate and commander of all Christian princes. Wherefore, by the advice of his most prudent and godly council, with the assent of the whole realm in parliament, he discharged himself of the Romish yoke, which many of his progenitors, the Kings of England, for fellowship of other princes had so long submitted themselves unto. And therewithal, delivering to all his subjects the law of the Lord* in their own mother tongue, so many years excluded from them, gave power unto godly preachers to publish the truth, maugre all the enemies of the same.

Whose godly example, his virtuous and prudent son, King Edward the Sixth, faithfully following, utterly chased away in one moment all the remnant of traditions, that men had been so long in devising, and restored religion to the self-same form, that the holy apostles left the same.

* The Holy Bible.

According whereunto our most gracious Sovereign, leading us out of the captivity of Babylon, where God for our manifold sins made us by the space of six years, or thereabout*, to serve under antichrist, till we were returned unto him by prayer and amendment of life, perfectly restored us again to all those heavenly gifts which her royal father and brother had bestowed upon us.

Wherefore, these things being thus godly and sincerely taken in hand, the Pope in his greatness sore appalled; fearing at the very first, that, if these things should prosper and have good success, he and his whole religion should be overthrown, and himself cast down from that high dignity of a Pope, to the poor degree of Peter; from being carried on men's shoulders to be sent abroad to preach in his own person; from the wearing of Paul's sword, to be obedient to princes laws; from being served as a king at his table, to serve as a minister in the church; and from being an universal head, to be content with his own city of Rome. He at the very first, in a great fury, persuaded the Christian princes, that were taking in hand a noble action against infidels, to turn their forces against such their own neighbours as were enemies to his superstition.

So, then, it is the Romish antichrist that hath blown the trumpet of this cruel sedition. It was that man of sin, which caused the commotion of the north against King Henry the Eighth. It was he that raised up divers rebellions against that virtuous young Prince, King Edward the Sixth, and also against her Majesty. It was he that cursed the Queen our Sovereign, and, in his own fond imagination, deposed her royal person from her crown and dignity; and of his own free gift (forsooth) bestowed the same upon others, 'but never durst give livery and seisin' of the same himself. He it is that flatly against the word of God (wherein it was said: 'let every soul submit itself to the king as to his head:') discharged all her Majesty's subjects of their due obedience towards her, and sent in swarms of false hypocrites, to steal away the hearts of the simple people from her, and to carry away their consciences captive unto Satan. He it is that hath sundry times laid plots for the destruction of her royal person; and, so far as in him lay, committed cruel murder by assenting unto vile persons to slay her, and by giving them pardons beforehand for their villanies. Finally, he it is, that hath sown sedition in the kingdom; that hath driven men, women, and children from true religion to perdition; from sincere worshiping to damnable superstition. And he it is, that hath made not the holy, but the hellish league, with the great and mighty princes of his religion, to devour and consume us. But God be blessed for evermore, which hath lately delivered us, and turned some of their own weapons, prepared against us, into their own bowels, and hath drowned Pharaoh and his horsemen in the sea. For, though the Spanish King lately approached to the kingdom with wonderful force and preparation to have conquered the same, yet was he but a deputy therein to the Pope, and should have taken posses-

* During the Popish reign of Queen Mary.

† 1 Pet. ii. Rom. xiii.

sion but of that which he gave unto him, and have held the same of him, much like as Charles, the Earl of Anjou and Provence, held from him the kingdom of both Sicilies. Ye see, therefore, who is author, deviser, and maintainer of all these mischiefs.

Now let us consider, against whom this holy father and his adherents have raised up so ungodly and so unnatural a war.

This famous and noble kingdom of England (as testify all the best writers old and new) was not the slackest among other nations that received the gospel. For if Paul himself, or some other of the apostles, were not the first that planted Christian religion in England, yet it is certain, that Joseph of Arimathea, with his fellows, preached the gospel unto us within less than eighty years after Christ. And, in the one-hundred and eightieth year of our Lord, Lucius, the King of England, received new preachers; and not only was himself the first or the second king that received baptism in all the Christian world; but he also caused all his kingdom to do the like, and publickly to receive the gospel. A principal testimony hereof may be, that the Kings of England have either the first or the second place in general councils.

Afterwards, about the six-hundreth year of Christ, they received Augustine and his fellows, sent from Gregory the Pope, and rather left the more sincere worship of Christ, taught them by Fugatius and Damianus, in the time of King Lucius, and to make no commotion for the loss of four-hundred English Christians, cruelly murdered at Bangor, by the procurement of the same Augustine, than to raise any schism or division in the church.

If none of all these most antient merits (for the which England might both be called and reputed the most Christian* kingdom of all other) will move them to take pity upon us, because antiquity of time breedeth coldness and oblivion; let them remember, that though we be here removed in a corner from the rest of the world, and may be measured with a span, in comparison of all Christendom besides; yet have we been ever as ready, as any other of the mightiest and richest kingdoms, to travel over sea and land, to spend our lives, lands, and goods, to resist the fury and invasion of the Turks, and other heathen nations: whereas we ourselves, being an island, and defended by the ocean sea, had less cause than any other to fear the infidels, being so far remote from us.

An example hereof may be Richard the First, who behaved himself so nobly in service, against the pagans, that he obtained the name of Cœur de Lion, that is, Richard with the lion's heart. Is this then the reward that we receive for so great desert? Is there no other city, nor kingdom, nor country that is fallen from them but we? Or be we the first 'that must be sacrificed by the leaguists, in example of all others;' because we most sincerely profess the truth, and most defend them that are oppressed for the gospel?

But is it our Queen, the lanthorn and light of true religion, that they so much envy, because she hath reformed the church in her own kingdom? Hath she done any thing else than did those good kings of

* The title assumed by the French King.

Israel, David, Hezekiah, and Jehoshaphat? Hath she sought any other way than her most royal father, and her virtuous brother, as an inheritance left unto her, together with the kingdom? or any other way than Queen Mary her sister sometimes followed, and, no doubt, but would have so continued, if she had not been seduced by certain parasites of that sinful man; and, perhaps, by some corrupt Pool*; that came from the river Tiber? Let them shew me, if it be not the self-same way, that the most Christian King, Lucius, her antient predecessor, received from Eleutherius, fourteen-hundred years past; which Eleutherius had received the same from them which heard the apostles? Have not we shewed and proved, a thousand times a thousand, by writing, by disputation, by preaching, by conference, and many other ways, the persons by whom, the times wherein, and the matters whereof, every particular piece and patch of their religion is framed? Which things (with the presumptuous affirmation of their vain opinions lately devised, either by curious heads, or by emulation of the learned, or of a fond zeal without knowledge, or for the increase of pomp and riches) laid a-part from our religion, they shall find themselves unawares, in the self-same truth which we profess.

Wherefore, then, are they of the holy league† so deeply offended with the government of so excellent a princess, that they should seek to bereave her of her kingdom, before they have well examined the question, and to repute her as a schismatic before they well know her religion? No doubt, but she daily speaketh unto God, and saith: "Plead thou my cause, O Lord, and fight thou with them that fight against me." For she carrieth the testimony of a good conscience, that she seeketh no glory nor praise unto herself, but peace and tranquillity unto the church; she seeketh not the dominions of other princes, but a just defence of her own; nor to shed any Christian blood, but to save the poor afflicted souls which cry unto her. Hath she ever broken any league with christians, or made any covenant with infidels? Hath she not always laboured for peace between Christian princes, and travailed therein to her exceeding charges? She never endeavoured, by any secret or subtle means, to circumvent her neighbours, but what she meant to execute, in deed, that she professed unto the world. She bare not men in hand that she prepared against the Turk, or for the Indies, when she meant to invade her neighbours; neither did she make any semblance of peace, till she might be fully prepared unto battle; but she hath always dealt plainly and valiantly, and honourably with all promise. She never omitted any good and friendly means to pacification, while any hope of friendship remained. But, when all hope of intreaty was quite extinguished, she fled unto the next remedy, trusting that the mighty God of Jacob, which had many times delivered her, would now also be her defender and keeper.

Alas! What honour shall it be for so great and mighty a princess, to bend their force against so godly and peaceable a queen, that confesseth, as much as they, one and the self-same God in trinity of

* Cardinal Pole, who was sent from Rome, which is situate on the river Tiber in Italy.

† Those Popish Princes, who had combined with the Pope, to extirpate protestants.

persons, and unity of substance; that hath one and the self-same baptism; that looketh to be saved by one and the self-same death; that hopeth for the same resurrection of the body; that confesseth one and the same gospel; and that believeth in the self-same book of canonical scriptures? It had been far more for their honour and credit, and for the profit of all christendom, they having such store of men and wealth, if they would have sought first to enlarge the kingdom of Christ, by compelling Turks and Infidels to the faith, rather than to spoil themselves of their riches, and their dominions, of Christian soldiers, by making war against a maiden queen. By the charges and blood of which unnatural war, they might, perhaps, have gained many thousand infidels to the faith of Christ. No, forsooth, they would not seem to war with a woman, but to prepare so invincible * force against her, as might devour her and her whole kingdom in one day, without any war at all. But God, who sitteth above, casteth out the counsels of princes, and bringeth their devices to none effect. For he hath destroyed their forces, and sunk in the sea their huge and strong vessels; seeing there is no wisdom, no policy, no counsel, no strength, against the Lord of Hosts.

We see now, by whom, and against whom, this war is made. It remaineth to declare briefly the causes thereof. Which, though they have in some part been touched, yet will I more expressly set forth the same. That it may appear, what are the lawful causes of war, and how justly we take in hand to defend ourselves.

‘Wars (saith Cicero) must be taken in hand, to the end we may live in peace, without taking wrong.’ Which rule, no doubt, is very good, and agreeable to our religion, and to the law of nature.

For why else did the Lord promise victory unto Ahab, by the prophet, in defence of Samaria, and to many other kings of Israel, when they were assailed and besieged by their enemies? Neither have we, in any of our actions, stepped one jot from the same rule. For when the greatest princes of Christendom had, with one consent, conspired with the see of Rome, to make war upon all the professors of the gospel, and to reduce them again to their abominable idolatry, or else so to destroy them, that their name should be no more remembered upon the earth, but especially perceiving the Queen’s Majesty to be most zealous of the truth, and the principal pillar, on whom the church of Christ did depend, they devised many ways how to deprive her of her life and kingdom. ‘Come (say they) this is the heir, let us slay her, and the inheritance shall be ours.’ Then, her Majesty, knowing, from whence the chief cause of their malice proceeded; and that the matter, most of all, concerned the glory of God, and next unto that, the life of her own self, and of infinite thousands of her subjects: she hath, since that time taken into her possession (though not the hundredth part of that, which she might, and hath been offered her) yet some part of her enemies weapons, as lawful was for her to do, for the better defence of her kingdom, and more safety of the church of Christ: since, without those helps, she had no safe way to

* Alluding to the fore-mentioned Armada.

defend herself. Yet have these things been done of her Majesty, with such deliberation, advisement, and long protracting of time, as it might be evident unto all the world, that she sought nothing more, than to have her enemies, by some means or other, reconciled unto her, before she would enter into any new action, for her own defence. And undoubtedly, but that it so much concerned the cause of God, and the kingdom of her antient allies; all which she was born to defend, when she took upon her the imperial crown; and that she saw, that, if she did take whole kingdoms from her enemies by violence, they could never have enraged more against her, than before; she would rather have lost a thousand lives, in her own person, than to have touched any thing, that should offend her neighbours, or might seem to belong to another. But when she saw that no good ordinary means would prevail; when her highness perceived, that Turks, Jews and Infidels, were suffered to live quietly among them, without compulsion of conscience, but her poor subjects brought into servitude, unless they would submit their souls to the power of antichrist; when, for a most courteous entertainment of all their subjects, within her dominions, all hers, among them, were either made gally-slaves, or else brought within the compass of their cruel inquisition; when neither her own friendly letters might be received, as they should, nor her messengers of account, regarded as they ought: Finally, when they had decreed, that no faith* was to be kept with us, and made us worse than Infidels, because we have fled from their superstition, and followed the sincere faith of Jesus Christ: then her Majesty, with all princely courage and magnanimity, began to stretch forth her power to defend the cause of God, and her own right. And, these be the strong causes of their tragical dealings against us!

Awake now, therefore, my countrymen; pluck up your spirits, ye that have courage in you: advance yourselves, which have so long lain in security. If ever you were forced but for a season to shew the strength of your bodies, now have you cause to join therewith the courage of your minds. They have sounded their trumpet, and made ready unto battle. What they have, these many years, devised against you, now they do put in practice. Their standard is advanced, they are in arms to assail you. Be ye valiant to resist, and prepare you to the fight. It must be no more with you now, as it was in times past, when you had sudden expeditions against the French and Scottish nations; when you thought it sufficient, to prepare for forty days victuals and munition, and for one day's action, and so to return home to your wonted quiet rest, and careless custom; fearing no more till a new alarm.

For ye deal not now with such nations, which either for their poverty could not, or for lack of courage durst not, or for want of stayed minds would not; but ye encounter with them that are rich, hardy, resolute, and frequented with daily victories, which neglect no opportunity nor advantage; which desire not to be lords to-day, and

* Or solemn promises, treaties or engagements.

loiterers to-morrow; which, if they set in one foot, are ready to enter in with both. But on the other side, we, of all nations, have been noted invincible, if we encounter with our enemies, while our spirits be sharpened against them, while the cause is yet fresh in our memory: and that we, at the first, run unto all great attempts with greedy desire, but after a while grow cold, negligent, and careless: that, which we now wittingly enterprise with the loss of our lives, within few days, we let slip by a careless negligence. And this report (no doubt) hath been too much verified by us in France, Normandy, Gascoyne, Aquitain, and in innumerable other places; gained in some time, with wonderful honour, and lost upon the sudden, with great dishonour.

But far be these old careless minds from new English hearts; and when we have the true knowledge of God, experience of our enemies, riches, munition, and more means to defend than ever before. When we know our enemies to be so many, so mighty, so rich, and so resolute: when we are so well advised of our former faults; when our cause is so rare, so great, and concerns, not only, our lives and goods, our wives and children, our honour, our prince, and our common-weal: but most of all, when it toucheth the salvation of our souls, the inheritance of Christ's kingdom, and the preservation of all his Saints. Which cause, never before this time, happened to any of our forefathers. Banish, therefore, from you those old negligences, wherewith ye have been so long noted; and print in your minds new resolutions of steadfast and perpetual courage, such as shall never decay, or grow cold by the intermission of time, or change of matter.

And, to the end there may never be in you any thing to hinder so dutiful and necessary a work, I will set down both the lets and impediments, that be most enemies to this excellent defence: and also, the best means I find to redress the same. Which things being regarded, with such care as they ought, will so thoroughly prepare and furnish us, that, though the whole world, and enemies of Christ and his gospel, rage never so much against us, we shall continually be able to defend ourselves, and the realm, against them; yea, and, if need so require, to offend some of them also, for the better safety of our Christian brethren dispersed abroad in the world.

The late enterprise, which your enemies made against you; whereby they made a full account to have conquered you; although the same was exceeding dangerous, by reason of their wonderful great preparation and furniture; such, as, I suppose, in that kind, hath scarcely been heard or read of, since the beginning of the world, against any nation: yet, since God, by his mighty arm, hath delivered you from the danger thereof; it may turn, if ye be well advised, to the greatest profit that ever happened unto England. For thereby we have seen, what force our enemies be of, and have learned how to prepare against them. We have tried, that great actions must not be taken in hand, with slender furnitures. That, if we purpose to be forth for one month, we must prepare for twain. That it is better to leave great abundance, than to lack one pennyworth. That, if we have all the strength and provision that can be devised in the world, yet to put no

confidence therein, but to rely only on the mercy, and assistance, and defence of Almighty God, the Lord of Hosts.

It hath also discovered unto us the forces and furnitures of our own realm. It hath shewed unto us our own wants. It hath stirred up our minds to look to ourselves. It hath made us effectually to know the meaning of our enemies, which before we did but mistrust, and would hardly believe. It hath taught us, who be her Majesty's loyal subjects at home, and her faithful friends abroad. Finally, it hath warned us, not to use any more our old wonted negligence, but with hands and heart, with lands and goods, before and after, and at every present time, to resist every foreign invasion, and to provide earnestly against the same.

In like manner, the general musters, and training up of men, most prudently and politically commanded throughout the realm: besides the wonderful readiness, that it hath brought the state into, in time of need; it hath also given us a full and perfect knowledge, both of the sufficiency of our men, and of all their furnitures of war. All which things, though they might seem sufficient of themselves, to shew and admonish you to prepare all that is necessary; yet will I shew you more particularly, what things, in my judgment, are most needful herein, and what impediments there be, that we cannot so thoroughly defend the realm, as we ought; and are bound in duty to do. Which being considered, and the impediments removed, we may more easily do the same.

The first and most general thing to be noted herein, is, that all particular persons, which are charged by the statute to provide furnitures* according to their estate and living, have either none of these things at all, when they be commanded to serve the common weal, or else they have them in such bare and simple sort, as it may seem they do nothing for conscience and duty, and for the love they bear to their country, but for a bare shew, to blind the eyes of the world, and to deceive the laws of the realm. And no doubt, but the offence of these is so great, as if either in their own conscience they know themselves able, or if it be proved by others that they have sufficient, and yet neglect their service, it standeth both with justice and reason, that they should enjoy nothing of their own, till the common weal be first furnished of such things as is their part to perform.

Moreover, In the levying and pressing of soldiers, as there have always been great abuses in them, which have been captains, and had the charge thereof; so is there some corruption used at this day. For the best and strongest bodies, the best trained, and most able to do service, are many times spared, and young weaklings, without strength, or skill, or ability, are appointed in their stead. Howbeit I hope that by reason of the weightiness of the cause at this time, and willingness that men have to the wars, hath made this offence not so general now, as before time. And I myself have lately seen whole bands, as well chosen and furnished, as one might wish.

* Arms for the militia.

Again, we must consider with ourselves, that the bands and cornets of horsemen, and especially of lances, have ever been, and yet are the most necessary and puissant strength in wars, both to defend ourselves, and offend our enemies. And therefore we must take more care in these days, to provide great horses, and large geldings, than ever before. For if we have store of these, well furnished, and do mount on them our own valiant Englishmen; what great act dare we not attempt? What army dare we not assail? What city dare we not besiege? Nay, what enterprise think we not before-hand obtained? Did we not in a late siege against the town of Zutphen, in the Low-Countries, with the force of two or three-hundred horsemen, under the conduct of the valiant Earl of Essex, general of the horsemen, and divers other hardy gentlemen, give repulse unto above twelve-hundred of the best horsemen of the King of Spain? with infinite other examples of the like. If then the number of twelve-score did so great an exploit, what will ten or twelve-thousand of those, or the like lances, do in any necessary service, for the honour and defence of the realm? and I trust, that the worthy example, which my lords of her Majesty's council, and of other lords and gentlemen, taken in mustering of so many good horses, and men at arms, of their own charge*, will encourage the whole realm to provide such store of horses and armours, as shall thoroughly be able to defend the same. For, let it be shewed, where there is any civil realm in Christendom, that hath better means to breed horses than England hath; wherein be more parks, forests, chaces, and commons fit for this purpose, than in all the kingdoms round about us. And assuredly, if noblemen and gentlemen, which have the greatest store of these grounds to spare, would employ some of them to the breed of horses, besides the unspeakable benefit they should bring to their country, they themselves also, in short time, should reap as great benefit thereby, as by any other means they can devise. And although, these many years past, there hath been no talk but of peace, and security; yet that now when they see they must seek means, how to defend both their living, and lives also, from their enemies, they will no more neglect a matter of so great importance; but will with one whole consent provide, that within few years, by the example of Germany, and other places, all the horses of labour, which are not now worth their meat, shall be turned into able horses of service; which being done, we shall have one of the most puissant and flourishing kingdoms of the world. And hereby we see how necessary a means this is for our defence.

Moreover, there ariseth many times a muttering, or discontentment of soldiers, that though the Prince, and her chief officers, have provided that every one should be justly paid for the time he serveth, yet oftentimes their pay is kept from them, by some mean captain or officer. And I have heard so many of them; so often, and so pitifully complain of the wrong that their young captains have offered them herein, as although some lewd fellows among them may abuse their hearers; yet, without doubt, there is a great fault: And, lest this should be any im-

* See the particulars on pages 74 and 89.

pediment to a general and faithful defence of the realm, we are to wish, that there may be good means to redress the same.

In like manner all sorts of purveyors and victuallers, whether they be for the army or navy, if they have any love to their country, any faithfulness to their prince, any charity towards men, or any regard of their duty and service, must be more careful than heretofore; not only, that there be store of victuals diligently provided in time, and before there be any scarcity, and murmuring among the soldiers, but that it be also good and wholesome for their bodies; lest by the corruption thereof they be infected; and so the whole realm, by their sickness, be endangered.

Also private men, which have most store of victuals in their houses, and be best able to serve, and yet, being commanded, do either refuse to serve, or, by corrupting of under officers, withdraw themselves from the service: Besides that they be enemies to their country, and betray the common weal; they be also most injurious to their poor neighbours, which are compelled to serve, and yet not so well able as they.

Finally, The dissension and emulation that I have seen in the common weal, between private captains, for vain-glory; hath been, and is no small hinderance to the defence of the realm. For while one saith, I have been longer in the wars, and have more experience than he: Another, I have been in more battles, and have received more wounds: Another, I have travelled further upon the sea, and have done greater exploits: Another, I have been more fortunate, and have brought home more spoils from the enemies, and yet am worsè rewarded than he. What is this, but to tear in sunder the common weal, and to hinder every honourable action that belongeth to the defence of the same. Whereas every honest and true-hearted man to his country, will abandon all contentions, and will set a-part all displeasures and petty grudges; especially in the time of any publick service; when every man's duty and courage should appear. Very notable was that action of Hermias, towards his adversary Cretinus Magnetius, but especially towards his native country; against which Mithridates made war. For when Magnetius had given his consent, that Hermias should be general captain of the wars, and he himself in the mean time would banish himself, for fear of factions that might arise: 'No (saith Hermias) I know Cretinus to be a better captain than myself, and therefore I will be banished till the wars be ended.' This example is worthy remembrance; howbeit, Christian captains must step one degree further; and must not only lay aside all displeasure for a time, and be content that their adversary, whom they think to have better knowledge, and more experience in martial affairs than they, shall have government and preheminance above them; and they, for that cause, to withdraw themselves from the wars; but they must also be present in person, and, with all their counsel, endeavour, and strength, must help to overthrow the publick enemy of the realm, in how mean a place soever the prince, or her lieutenant, shall appoint them.

Last of all, the great prodigality and excess of apparel, building, and dainty fare of the nobility and gentlemen of the realm, is an exceeding hinderance to the defence of the same. For since the most part of the

lands and possessions thereof belong unto them, and that all others do, as it were, depend on them, and are led by their example, government, and direction, they are specially, and above all others, bound both in reason and conscience, to defend that which is their own. But how should they defend their own, when they run headlong into debt; when so many score, so many hundred, yea so many thousand pounds, which they have in a year to spend, will not pay for the apparel they wear on their back? How much less are they able to buy good horses, good armour, and good munition, and to pay their just portion of all such things as belong to the defence of their country? But, alas, what should I complain of this impediment, or what can it avail me to speak of so desperate an enormity; since I myself have seen so many good laws, so many commandments, and so many proclamations set forth by her Majesty; yea, so many threatenings pronounced by godly preachers out of the word of God, for the reformation of this excess; and nothing regarded, nothing amended, nothing observed: Nay, all falling from better to worse, from pride to pomp, from gay-coloured silk, to bright glittering gold? And were it not that I saw this to be the whole ruin of my country, and, as it were, the material cause why the same cannot prosper, nor be well defended, till this vice and vanity be reformed, I would rather sit down, and bewail the palpable blindness of men, than seek to persuade them that be obstinate and wilful in their own opinions.

The famous Emperor Augustus, though a heathen prince, yet he said, that costly apparel was the banner of pride, and the very nurse of riot and wantonness. But what would he say, if he saw England in these days, and had savoured of Christianity? Assuredly, he would judge the same to be the high-way unto hell, and the efficient cause of our destruction*.

Outrageous also is the great and sumptuous building of our time: It consumeth all the great timber of the realm, which should serve to make us ships, for our walls and defence. And, within a while, it will force us, either to build our vessels in strange countries, or else to yield ourselves for a prey unto our enemies. Also, it beggarth the greatest number of them that take pleasure therein; and maketh them unable to serve their country. And there be many more great houses already, than there be men of living able to uphold.

I might speak also of the superfluity of meats and drinks: And especially of the diversity of kinds, and such as are not nourished, nor do grow within the realm. The abundance whereof doth not only effeminate men's courages, and weaken their bodies, but also beggar their purses, and make them, by all means, unable to defend their country.

We might take example of the Roman Monarch†. The same was one hundred times greater than ours, and the gentlemen so much greater, richer, and more honourable than ours, as Marcus Crassus affirmed, that a senator, which was not able to maintain an army of six thousand, was not worthy to be accounted rich. And yet was it ordained by law, that no senator should have at his board but three dishes at one meal. But with us twenty-three is nothing, and yet one of ours is worth three of theirs.

* Before our enemies.

† Viz. The Roman Empire.

And generally, in all these things, we are so far from the rule of our forefathers, nay, of our own fathers in this age of ours, who (knowing that the unnecessary wars of strange countries might breed infinite loss to the kingdom) rarely used any other ornaments for their own persons, than such as the realm itself could make. But now we be all Heliogabalians*. We delight altogether in strange fashions, in strange ornaments, strange stuff, strange apparel, strange diet, and in all things that be far fetched, and dear bought. If we be far from the sea, we must have fish: If we be near the sea, we must have flesh: When we have the best, and the finest, and most diversity of cloath and colour, and of stuff made within the realm, such as our forefathers could never have, then must we most of all seek for clothes of silk, of silver, of gold; From Spain, from Italy, from Africa, from Asia, from Calcut, from China, and from the end of the world. When we have the best meat of our own, that can possibly be devised, then must we send into Flanders, into France, and into far countries, to feed our unsatiable bellies. O the miserable bondage that our nation hath so willingly submitted their minds unto!

Wherefore, since ye have now seen all the causes of this war, and cruel attempts moved against us, and by how many ways we are hindered from a perfect and resolute defence of the realm; and, by this means also, are taught how to redress the same; I would, if it were the will and pleasure of God, that, for your sakes, I had the tongue of Hortensius, and the pen of Cicero: That I had the voice of men and angels, to stir up your dull spirits to remember what the Lord in his mercy hath wrought for you, more than for any other nation. How he hath committed to your custody the precious jewel of his word, and the perfect administration of his sacraments. How he hath hitherto defended these things, by the excellency of his own power and goodness. And, having now compassed you with enemies on every side, maketh trial of you, whether you will faint in your minds, or defend, with courage, those excellent benefits. Whether ye have stedfast faith to stand to the truth, or do mistrust the assistance of his mighty strength: Whether the multitude of your enemies shall make you misdoubt his wonted mercies, or that you have a full hope, and stedfast belief, that he will perform his promises: Whether ye have more care to spare your goods, your money, your rents, and revenues, than to save your wives, your children, your prince and country, and your own lives from destruction: Whether you more esteem dainty fare, costly apparel, gorgeous buildings, and other vain delights of this world, than the loss of so happy a kingdom, of so excellent a prince, of so sincere a religion, and of so pure a gospel, preached, and committed unto our custody, by Christ himself, our Saviour and Redeemer?

And now, even now, is the time, that shall try, who is faithful unto God, obedient to his prince, and natural to his country. Now, even now, will God prove and tempt you, as he did the children of Israel, at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness. Now, even now, are you either to cast the nations out of the land of Canaan, or yourselves to be cast out

* i. e. Follow the luxury and excess of Heliogabalus.

of the kingdom of England. Now, even now, is the ax laid to the root, that, if ye bring not forth good fruit, you shall surely be overthrown.

Say not with yourselves, Lo, we have chaced away our enenies, and they are afraid of us. They fly hither and thither, and are at their wits end. For when the children of Israel called unto God for mercy, with repentance of their sins, he subjected the Philistines, and other nations, unto them: But when they forsook the Lord, and put not their whole trust in him, they became servants unto the Philistines. So was it with you in times past, when your forefathers submitted themselves to the yoke of every invasion: Namely, of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. And so was it of late days, when, for the multitude of your sins, the Lord took away his gospel from you, and submitted not only your bodies, but your consciences also, to that Roman Antichrist*. And yet, when you turned to the Lord, with inward sighs, with sorrowful mournings, and with repentance of heart, he took compassion upon you again, and sent you a mighty deliverer†; under whom you have lived these thirty years, in the greatest happiness and security of any nation in the world.

And neither are they so chaced from you, that you are to expect them no more. For though the Lord hath done this time very great things for you, and hath covered them with shame and dishonour that sought your life: Though the dragon be driven into his den, yet is his sting and poison still in force: Though they be chaced and repelled for a time, yet their malice and fury abideth: Though the Lord now defeated their purpose, yet their device and practice continueth: Though some of their ships and men be sunk in the sea, yet the sinews of their commonwealth remain. Neither will they ever come to any peace and attone-ment with you, till ye have plucked those sinews in sunder‡.

Arm yourselves therefore again and again, ye lords and gentlemen, ye principal captains, citizens, and wealthy subjects; ye that have shewed yourselves so courageous and forward, in these late enterprises. Cleanse your armours, make ready your weapons, renew your furnitures, redouble your provisions, slack no opportunities, look for a speedy return of your enemies; foresee the dangers, provide all necessities: Look to the amending and new building of ships. Make them strong, light, and nimble for the battle. And ye that be honourable, rich, and of the greatest power, follow the good example of Sir W. Ralcigh, who, of his own charge, built two such ships the last year, as, perhaps, might have saved all England in one day. Worthy of great praise also was Mr. Outrich, and Jobson of Hull, and whosoever buikled the Merchant Royal, by the happy successes of whose ships, their names shall never be forgotten. O that Englishmen were so sharpened at this day against the enemies of God and her Majesty, as were the Romans against the Carthaginians! O that they would join their purses and hearts together, as did the wealthy men of that commonwealth, in any danger

* The Pope.

† Queen Elizabeth, who established the reformed religion in England and Ireland.

‡ This maxim, by continual experience, doth still hold good; for our Popish enemies, France, Spain, &c. never make any peace with us till they are reduced to the last necessity; and have never kept any league with England longer than they could find an opportunity to break it to their advantage; and we can never be safe from their invasions, till we have utterly destroyed their power.

of the same. For in the first Punick war, when the Romans, by the unskilfulness of their pilots and mariners, had lost and broken at one instant, upon the flats of Silicia, the number of nine hundred and twenty ships; and having emptied all their common treasury, by reason of the long war, were not able of their publick purse to build any more. It was agreed, by common consent, that the citizens should join their paces together, to the building of a new fleet; some to make one ship, and some another, according to the substance of every person; and so to arm, set forth, and maintain the same; to the end that the private charge of the citizens should supply the lack of the commonwealth. And so were there speedily made, rigged, and set to the sea, in very short space, two hundred sail, of five men to an oar, for the war. And at another time, upon the loss of four hundred sail upon the like accident, they builded, furnished, and set forth to the sea, one hundred and twenty ships, in fourscore and ten days, after the timber was felled. And yet were not all the countries, which the Romans had then in possession, any bigger than the kingdom of England. But the miserableness of the rich was much less; and the diligence of the subjects, zeal to their country, and regard of their own honour, was without all comparison greater. Hereby also we see, that every country hath not, at all times, laid the whole charge of defence upon the Prince alone: But in time of necessity, and when the common treasure would not suffice, every one hath imparted the charge, according to the compass of his wealth and living. This being considered, I hope every person of ability will know what his duty is to perform in this business.

In like manner, ye that be soldiers, and mean captains, prepare yourselves to all obedience, when you be called to the defence of your country. Cast from you all impediments that may hinder so good and loyal an action. Brave not yourselves in gold, in silk and silver. For that is no way to outface your enemies, but to disgrace yourselves: Seeing they be braver, they be richer, they be more costly apparelled than you. But be ye rather inticed by the glittering shew of their gorgeous cloaths, to pull down their proud peacocks feathers. It is neither for your reputation, nor profit, nor good name so to be decked. Nay, to be clothed in gold and the finest silks breedeth a suspicion of some injustice towards the poor soldiers; though ye have some good entertainment in the wars, unless you have lands and living of your own to maintain the same, or have obtained such things by the spoil of your enemies.

Generally, all ye good men of the realm, and well willing subjects, in whose courage and assistance, standeth a great part of our defence, prepare yourselves unto all service and loyalty, be strong and hardy. Comfort yourselves in the justice of your cause. Convert your ploughs into spears, and your scythes into swords. Turn your bowls into bows, and all your pastimes into musquet shot. Abandon all your vain delights, and idle games. Imitate the immortal renown of your English ancestors. If ever ye desired fame, or honour, or glory to your nation, now is the time, that, by your prowess, ye may double and redouble the same. Now is the time, that either, by shameful cowardice, you shall bring yourselves into captivity, or by stout and courageous minds, obtain a noble victory.

Consider with yourselves the hard attempts, that other nations in times past have taken in hand, for the love of their country. The wonderful magnanimity and resolution of Mutius Scaevola, a young gentleman of Rome, delivered the city from siege, and caused a firm peace between Porcenna and the Romans. For, this gentleman passed over the river of Tyber, with great courage, and with an invincible mind, through the whole host of Porcenna, till he was entered the King's pavilion; where he, finding him with great company about him, pressed in, and slew the secretary instead of the King. But when he perceived that it was not Porcenna, but the secretary that he had slain, he was sorry in his heart, and, in token thereof, burned his right-hand in the fire; and told Porcenna, that though it were his chance to miss of his purpose, yet there were three-hundred gentlemen more in the camp, that had vowed to perform that action. Whereupon, Porcenna seeing so great resolution, that the Romans had to defend their country, forthwith levied the siege, and made peace with them.

And notable was the story of the widow Judith, which ventured to save her city, with so unspeakable danger of her life. For she, seeing no other way to assuage the fury of Holifernes, but by the smooth words and simulation of a woman, presented herself before him in his chamber, and promised him fair, till she had lulled him asleep with drink, and stricken off his head with a sword.

What shall I speak of Curtius, that noble Roman, and Ancurus, the King's son of Phrygia? Either of which, seeing in their country a dangerous breach, or cliff in the earth, which, they were persuaded, would not be closed up again, till the best thing in the city, which they took to be a man, were thrown into it, willingly threw themselves into the same, for the safety of the people. But foreign examples are innumerable, and not so well known to all, as be our own. And I would that we did chiefly follow the noble and worthy acts of our own progenitors, in sundry wars and battles, fought for the defence of this kingdom, and for the perpetual honour and renown of themselves. Whose cause, nevertheless, being nothing comparable unto ours, yet they spared neither the money in their purse, nor the blood in their bodies, to honour and defend their country.

How often did the ancient Britons resist the landing, and invasion of the Romans, though we were then divided into many kingdoms? destitute, altogether, of armour and ammunition, and without knowledge of warlike discipline? Yet, how often were they repulsed? And what losses sustained they before they might attain their purpose?

What enterprises did famous King Arthur attempt, both at home against the Saxons, and abroad with other nations? What cities and people did he conquer? What battles fought he? What victories obtained he? Whereby he was reputed of all writers, for one of the nine worthies of the world.

What say we to the battle of Cressy, when noble King Edward the Third, having not the eighth part so many as had the French King; yet he vanquished him, and, in a manner, all the chivalry of France?

Also, the battle of Poitiers shall never be forgotten; where but an handful of Englishmen overthrew all the force of France: for none that regarded either honour or credit, was absent from that field; seeing

the French King himself was there present, who, being taken prisoner, was carried captive into England.

But how valiantly and prudently did that King behave himself, at the battle on the sea, before Sluys, when the French, having three hundred ships, and we but two hundred, and they four men to one of us, and all expert soldiers and mariners; yet the King assailed them with such invincible courage, as he utterly overthrew them.

Also, the noble victory of King Henry the Fifth, at the battle of Agincourt, hath deserved everlasting memory: when seven-thousand Englishmen, and those wearied and weakened with long travel, sickness, and scarcity of victuals, vanquished the huge army of the French nation.

Many times also have we sought honour in Spain, and defended that country from usurpers. Did not Prince Edward, by vanquishing of King Henry, and those Spaniards and French that took his part, settle Peter in his right again? But this hath been ever a blessed gift of God, and a peculiar right of the Kings of England, as it were united to the crown, to execute the justice of God against usurpers, and to relieve the princes their neighbours oppressed.

Wherein her Majesty hath mightily and marvellously declared herself, above all other her princely predecessors, to descend of the royal seed of courage and magnanimity, and to be the right Queen of England, sent from above, to nurse and protect the true Christian Commonwealth.

Again, did not her Majesty's most royal father send the Lord Darcy into Spain, to aid King Philip's great uncle, the King of Arragon, against the Moors, who troubled him? Did he not also, within a while after, send thither the Marquis of Dorset, with an army of ten thousand, to assist the said King to conquer the kingdom of Navarre? And, did he not, many other times, aid Charles the Fifth, father unto this Philip, against the French, and all other his enemies? Yea, and did not the Englishmen, in the time of Queen Mary, assist King Philip himself, with an army, to overthrow the French, at St. Quintins, although we received thereby the greatest loss that happened unto England these hundred years? And have we not ever been as careful of that house of Burgoyne, as of our own selves? But, for which of all these good turns, do the Spaniards now so deadly hate us?

Also, the worthy examples of great manhood and courage, that have been shewed by our forefathers, in times past, and in our days by us, in the kingdom of Scotland, are infinite, and so fresh in memory, as they need not here to be recited.

Wherefore, we have in every age assayed and tried, what courage Englishmen have been of against other nations, and how they have prevailed against them. Some doings also we have had with them of late; neither do we find them of any more force than in former time; nor yet their success better against us than before. Where have we met them with half the number, but we have overmatched them? Neither will they abide the sight of us, unless they far exceed in multitude. Testimonies hereof are many, and of late, and notable. What did the great army of the King of Spain, at the siege of Berk, when it was

only bruited, that the Earl of Leicester, her Majesty's lieutenant-general, with those few forces, which be had of English soldiers, came to relieve the town? Did not the same army forthwith retire from the town? Neither durst they come to levy the siege, which we made against Dusborow, till that town and the great sconce of Zutfen were both won. Neither could they ever have won those things again from us, had not treason more prevailed than force and valiant courage. How many strong cities and castles also did the young English captains and soldiers conquer lately at the Indies? How valiantly did they behave themselves, under fortunate Sir Francis Drake, at St. Domingo, Carthage, Cales, and in many other places? Where the English were in number few, and the enemies infinite. Neither shall any age ever wipe away the honour of those acts from the fame of Englishmen; neither hath the like act been ever heard or read of, in any age before. These and such like things may mightily encourage our minds, that whatsoever force our enemies bring against us, God is on our side, and we shall not fear what they can do against us.

Have we not, of late, beaten and chased away their great mountains of the sea*, freighted with men, ammunition, and ordnance of war innumerable? Have we not taken and slain many of them, and driven them home with shame enough? And have so penned in the rest, as they durst not come forth to assail us?

Imitate, therefore, the excellent virtues of your forefathers, if you will be partakers of their famous victories. Take example by these late actions how to withstand the force of your enemies. Though they be rich, proud, and cruel; yet God hath given you means to humble and abase them. They have neither justice, nor religion, nor charity, nor conscience, nor yet good cause on their side. If they had been just, they would not have pretended peace†, and yet swear our destruction. If they had religion and charity, they would have sought by godly and religious means to save our souls, and reconcile us unto them; and not to ban and curse us to the bottomless pit of hell. Neither is their cause good; for then would they not have sought by treasons and treacheries, but by honourable and princely means to overthrow us: wherefore, having none of all these with them, I trust, that neither have they God on their side. So then, they for the greediness of a kingdom, for despite they bear to our religion, for vain-glory, pride, and presumption, for maintenance of the Pope's kingdom; against God, against his word and truth, against our blessed Queen, against all reason, conscience, and humanity, do offer all this violence unto us. And we, on the other side, in defence of ourselves, our native country, our anointed prince, our holy religion, our own Jesus Christ, his holy word and sacraments, against very antichrist, and all the pillars of his church, and against those that have cursed and indicted the kingdom, do withstand the injury done unto us.

* The Spanish invincible Armada.

† The Duke of Parma, the King of Spain's commander in chief in the Low Countries, endeavoured to amuse the English with a peace, and to divert them from providing for their own security, till the Spanish Armada was actually on the English coast.

And we; that have done so valiantly at other times, when the quarrel was but for money, or other small matters, is it possible, but we should be much more forward now in so great and weighty causes? When had ever England so just a cause to fight as now? When did we ever more infinitely feel the mercies of God than now? When had we ever a more loving prince to her subjects than now? When were ever any subjects more obedient to their prince than now? When were there ever so many lusty and gallant gentlemen to defend the realm as now? When were we at any time better acquainted with the sleights and cunning of our enemies than now? When had we ever more skill in martial actions and trainings than now? Finally, when had ever our enemies more unjust cause to deal against us than now, and we more lawful cause to defend ourselves than now; And, therefore, when should we ever have greater hope of victory than now?

If ever, therefore, ye bare any affection to your country; if ever any love to religion; if ever any obedience unto a good and natural prince; if ever you would venture your lives for your fathers and mothers, your wives and children, or best deserving friends; if you have any comfort in the promises of Christ Jesus; if you have any hope to receive salvation by his merits; and, as ye will answer before God at the coming of his Son, now shew yourselves like men, courageous and forward, prompt and willing to do all the parts of Christian soldiery.

Let now no more careless and negligent minds possess your bodies; let no more a few days security make you forgetful of so continual duties. Let neither the greedy desire of money, nor the lewd consuming of riches, nor the wanton excess of apparel, nor the superfluity of meats and drinks, nor the costly buildings and curious trimming of houses, be any hinderance to so honourable actions. Learn by those things that I have here declared, what wants there are in the realm that hinder the resolute defence of the same. Remember the remedies, supply the lakes, remove the impediments. Begin betimes to train up your youth, to amend and build your ships, to make plenty of shot and ammunition, to have store of victuals at all times ready, to breed and provide good horses; that all things, and in all the realm, may be ready upon the sudden, and when any need shall require. But especially put from you all private factions and divisions. Set apart all quarrels and debates among yourselves. Yield more to the safeguard of your country and religion, than to the obedience of your own affections. Contend who shall be most forward and valiant, but envy not your equals if they attain to more honour.

By this resolution, if all the world fret and rage never so much against you, the Lord will fight for you. He will give the victory, and ye shall but look on. He will put a fear into their hearts, and they shall fly when no man followeth them. An hundred shall chace away a thousand, and a thousand ten thousand. Ye shall rob the Egyptians of their jewels, and their own weapons shall be turned against them. The glory of the kingdom shall remain as the sun in the sight of the Lord, and as the moon in the night-season, so shall our Elizabeth give light unto her people. Her food shall be of the

tree of life, that her age may never decay. All the blessings of the Lord shall plentifully be poured upon her, and by her shall be given unto you. The right administration of God's word and sacraments shall be with you for ever; neither shall the power of antichrist be able to wrest them from you. There shall be no decay, no leading into captivity, nor complaining in your streets. Ye shall be blessed in the city and in the field, at home and abroad; in your barns and in your houses; and in all your actions and enterprises. Ye shall be feared, loved, and honoured of all nations. They, who now hate you for your religion, shall then perceive that the ark of the Lord is with you, and that it is in vain to strive with the Lord, and against you. They shall have remorse in their conscience, and when they have well considered the cause, and do perceive, that neither by the greatness of their power, nor by the help of their riches, nor the assistance of their holy father of Rome, nor of any other petty god, which they have made to themselves, they can fulfil their malice against you, but that God doth still defend you, they will be glad to forget all that is past, and will rejoice themselves with you in amity. Yea, and when they shall see your godly life joined with so excellent government of the realm; it will make them draw more and more from the Roman, to the right and true religion. But if ye shall still continue in your old wonted negligence, wherewith you have ever been infected; if you shall still complain of fortune, and say: if we had come a little sooner, or tarried a little longer, or had not wanted a little of this, or had too much of that; thus and thus had it happened unto us; when all the fault is in yourselves: if you shall think that time will work wonders, though you yourselves follow your own pleasures: if you will not provide resistance before the enemies be at your gates; if you seek not to take from them the strength and sinews of their commonweal, before they have eaten you out of your own houses; finally, if you mend not all faults, wherein the world hath ever noted you; that is to say, to have hereafter as good a fore-wit, as ye have been accounted heretofore to have an after-wit: to have less liking to costly apparel, and all toys and vanities, than to the profit of your country, than to the care of religion, than to godliness, yea, than to the safety and preservation of your own souls; God will utterly leave and forsake you, though you were his own dwelling-place and inheritance; he will take from you his truth and testimonies; he will deprive you of all those precious jewels, for which, and whose sakes, he hath so long preserved you; he will make you a prey unto all your enemies, and you shall become a scorn and derision unto all nations. Yea, he will bring upon you all the plagues that he did upon the children of Israel.

Amend, therefore, your faults, be diligent, faithful, and resolute, with all your power to defend her Majesty, the kingdom, and the true religion: and the Lord, for his Son's sake, will be gracious and merciful unto you.

His Prayers to this purpose, pronounced in her Majesty's Chapel, and elsewhere.

THE FIRST.

O LORD God, heavenly Father, the Lord of Hosts, without whose Providence nothing proceedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved. In whose power lie the hearts of princes, and end of all their actions: have mercy upon thine afflicted church; and especially regard thy servant, Elizabeth, our most excellent Queen; to whom thy dispersed flocks fly, in the anguish of their soul, and in the zeal of thy truth. Behold how the princes of the nations do band themselves against her, because she laboureth to purge thy sanctuary, and that thy holy church may live in security. Consider, O Lord, how long thy servant hath laboured to them for peace; but how proudly they prepare themselves unto battle. Arise, therefore, maintain thine own cause, and judge thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but thine; nor the dominions of others, but a just defence of herself; nor the shedding of Christian blood, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down, therefore, come down, and deliver thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many; by want or by wealth; by weakness or by strength. O possess the hearts of our enemies with a fear of thy servants. The cause is thine, the enemies thine, the afflicted thine, the honour, victory, and triumph, shall be thine. Consider, Lord, the end of our enterprises, be present with us in our armies, terrify the hearts of our enemies, and make a joyful peace for thy Christians. And now, since, in this extreme necessity, thou hast put into the heart of thy servant Deborah, to provide strength to withstand the pride of Sicera, and his adherents; bless thou all her forces by sea and land. Grant all her people one heart, one mind, and one strength, to defend her person, her kingdom, and thy true religion. Give unto all her council and captains wisdom, wariness, and courage, that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces of all our enemies; that the fame of thy gospel may be spread unto the end of the world. We crave this in thy mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious death of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, Amen,

THE SECOND.

O HEAVENLY Father, we most humbly beseech thee, with thy merciful eyes, look down from heaven upon thy church of England. And especially regard thy servant, Elizabeth, the defender of thy true faith, and protector of thy holy word. And here we prostrate ourselves before the throne of thy mercy, most truly confessing in our

hearts, that, if thou shouldest deal with us according to our sins, we deserve nothing but shame, confusion, and utter desolation. But, when we remember the multitude of thy mercies in Christ Jesus, we, in humbleness of mind, and zeal of thy truth, with one heart and one mouth, in this our distress, do call for help from thy holy habitation. Now is the time, O Lord, now is the time, that, by a glorious victory in thine own cause, thy Son, Christ Jesus, and his holy word, shall be magnified in all the world. For, lo, thine enemies have sworn to lay waste thy sanctuary, and that thy servant, Elizabeth, her people and kingdom, shall be rooted out, and no more remembered upon the earth. And now, that we have long and earnestly sought unto them for peace, they are most proudly come forth by land and sea against us. In such wise, that if thy mighty Providence had not foreseen their dissembled malice, we had suddenly perished, and come to a fearful end. Wherefore, make frustrate their devices, and fight thou with Israel, against all the host of the Assyrians. Stretch out the arm of Moses, that thy Christian soldiers may valiantly fight for their prince, their country, and thy true religion. Let the same weapons, which they have prepared against us, be turned into their own bosom. Destroy their armies, confound their forces, terrify their captains. Scatter, break, and sink into the sea, their huge and strong vessels. And, as it was with Pharaoh on the Red Sea, so let it be with them that seek the death of thy servants. We trust not in the multitude of horsemen, nor in the power of our own arm; but in the justice of our cause, and in the help, mercy, and assistance of thy heavenly power. O let thy holy angel defend us. Put a fear into their hearts, that they, flying before us, may be vanquished, and confess, that it is thy power, and thy right hand, that hath prevailed against them. And so they being sorry for their sins, and confessing their error, may fly from antichrist, unto the true shepherd, Jesus Christ. For whose sake, O heavenly Father, bow down thine ear to this our humble desire; and we that be thy people, and sheep of thy pasture, shall evermore give thanks to thee, the Father of mercy. Which livest and reignest with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

A SPARK OF
FRIENDSHIP AND WARM GOOD-WILL,

THAT SHOWS THE

EFFECT OF TRUE AFFECTION,

AND

UNFOLDS THE FINENESS OF THIS WORLD.

Whereunto is joined the commodity of sundry Sciences, and the benefit that Paper bringeth, with many rare matters rehearsed in the same. With a Description and Commendation of a PAPER-MILL, now of late set up (near the Town of Dartford) by an High German, called Mr. SPILMAN, Jeweller to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, written by THOMAS CHURCHYARD, Gent.

Nulla potest esse jucunditas, sublata amicitia. Cic. pro Flacc.

Printed at London, 1598.

To my Honourable Friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Seneschal and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall and Exon, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and her Majesty's Lieutenant of the County of Cornwall, &c.

ENFORCED by affection (that leads the minds of men to a multitude of causes) I stood studying how to requite a good turn received, and, confessing that no one thing is more monstrous in nature than an unthankful mind, I saw myself in debt, and bound either one way or other to pay that I owe, but not in such degree as I received, but in such sort as my ability serveth, and as a man might say, to make a cunning exchange, instead of due payment, to offer glass for gold, and bare words for friendly deeds. In good truth, my honourable friend, if my creditors will so stand contented, I am readier to depart from words, and discharge debt therewith, than to promise treasure, and offer that I have not. For if free-hearted people, fortunate in the world, through bounty of mind, toward my suits or preferment, bestow many speeches to do me good, where grace is to be gotten: I can but yield one ordinary thank, for a thousand benefits, except they ransack my storehouse of vain inventions, and find some pleasant papers, bepainted with verses, or polished pamphlets, beblotted with barren matter, where both verse and prose shall make but a bad restitution for the goodness I have stolen by fortune, or borrowed by friendship. Yet, weighing how little fortune hath done for me, and how few creditors I have,

that have either lent me any portion of preferment, or procured me but a piece of any certain living, I think myself somewhat able, with the talent God hath given me, to repay all the debts that ever I could bring to perfect remembrance, saving one, a most honourable personage, that I dedicated my book of Choice unto, who got me two great seals, besides common courtesies many, to shift withal a season. And furthermore, yourself, six years past, bestowed good speeches to the Queen's Majesty in my behalf, by the which I got some comfortable recreation, to quicken my spirits, and keep me in breath. And yet lo a matter to be mused at! I have sixteen several books printed presently to be bought, albeit they are but trifles, dedicated, in sundry seasons, to several men of good and great credit, but to be plain not one among them all, from the first day of my labour and studies, to this present year and hour, hath any way preferred my suits, amended my state, or given me any countenance; I hope I am not much indebted to those, nor fallen so far in their dangers, but may easily get out, though I yield them no more, but a customable good will. So, finding my muses frank and free from their servitude, I address this work of unfeigned friendship to your good consideration, which work shews the value and worth of friends, whose love is necessary about all estates, the flattery and fineness of foes, and the daily dissimulation of a cunning world. And, if the world marvel why I treat of that which is so commonly known, and often put in practise, I answer not those wondering wits, but shoot what bolts I think convenient, at the bad behaviour of transformed people, that bear but the shapes of tamed men, and shew the manners of wild monsters; and if the world say, as I know it is talkative, I shew a kind of adulation to fawn for favour on those that are happy; I answer, that is a point of wisdom, which my betters have taught me, and I have read it in a great book of Latin, printed four-hundred years ago, that one of your own ancestors, called Sir Walter Raleigh, had more fawners and followers than you have; for he was lord chief justice of England, and so far in credit with his prince, his learning was such, that he made laws and edicts, the which the prince confirmed and allowed. I take an example from the fish that follow the stream, the fowls that come to the covert from the winds, and the brute beasts that avoid a sturdy storm, under the safeguard of a strong and flourishing tree. Their crafty forecast, though they want reason, may succour the simpleness of any reasonable creature; and the defence and provision they make to escape open danger, may fetch to school a great company of ignorant scholars. But I leave to speak of their examples, because they are brute, and follow the gravest sort of sage and wise personages, that will not blush nor think scorn to learn a lesson of their forefathers, that got all their good fortune by following the flood, where we fish for preferment. Thus, honourable friend, as my affection, and other good causes move, bade me go forward with this my device and present unto you, so, beginning the same in health, and falling suddenly sick, I feared God would have me cut short from my purposed enterprise: but his goodness called me up, from the bed of sorrow, where despair had almost dispatched the life, and set me a-foot to go, and end my first determination, and brought me in hope

you will accept my good-will; which may encourage me to a further labour and study, that may purchase more and greater favour and thanks. So, resting yours in all that my small power may stretch unto, I take leave, and wish what goodness you can imagine or desire.

Most willing at commandment.

London, at my Lodging,
the 8th of March.

T. CHURCHYARD.

A Spark of Friendship and warm Good-will.

Where friendship finds good ground to grow upon,
It takes sound root, and spreads his branches out;
Brings forth fair fruit, though spring be past and gone,
And bloometh, where no other grain will sprout:
His flow'rs are still in season all the year,
His leaves are fresh, and green as is the grass;
His sugar'd seeds good, cheap, and nothing dear,
His goodly bark shines bright, like gold or brass:
And yet, this tree in breast must needs be shrin'd,
And lives no where, but in a noble mind.

BEING rocked too long in the careless cradle of idleness, where slothful limbs are soon lulled asleep, the hinderer of health, good hap, and virtue, a multitude of worldly causes, my honourable friend, awakened my wits, and bid the sensible spirits arise from the forgetful couch of drowsy rest, and offer the body to some profitable exercises, that thereby the head, hand, and pen, might either purchase commendation, or publish to good people a matter that should merit some memory. But, finding myself unfurnished of learning, and barely seen in the arts liberal, and far unfit to touch or treat of divinity, I stood amazed, and knew not what thankful thing I should first go about, and take in hand to a good end and purpose: and so a while bethinking me, minding to draw no stronger bow than I could well shoot in, and, looking into my own strength, I saw me most able and apt to be at commandment of prince, country, and friends. In the honouring and service of whom, I should study to bring forth some acceptable work; not striving to shew any rare invention, that passeth a mean man's capacity, but to utter and revive matter of some moment, known and talked of long ago, yet over long hath been buried, and, as it seemeth, laid dead, for any great fruit it hath shewed, in the memory of man. The thing that I mean, that hath laid so long in the grave of forgetfulness, is faithful friendship, which Tully hath touched, and a number of good authors have written of, but few, in these days, have observed, honoured, and followed.

And now to proceed forward with this friendship, and shew the degree thereof orderly, methinks that the first branch thereof is the affectionate love that all men in general ought to bear to their country: for the which Mutius Scævola, Horatius Cocles, Marcus Curtius,

Marcus Regulus, and many more, have left us most noble examples. Yea, you shall read that some, although they were banished from their country, yet they bore in their bowels and breasts, to the hour of their death, the love of their country, parents, friends, and family. In which everlasting love of theirs remained such manly and honourable motions of the mind, that many noble services, of voluntary good-will, were brought forth by them, to the benefit of their country, and recovery of their first credit, estate, and dignity. Thus, by a natural disposition, planted in the soul, and sensible store-house of staid judgment, great exploits were brought to pass, and sundry wonders of this world have easily been taken in hand. And surely, all these former examples, with the hazard of our forefathers lives, bravely put in proof and executed, serve to no other end, as their meaning was, but to teach those that came after, with the like greatness of mind, to follow the forerunner of all worthy renown, and worldly reputation. So, by this, may thousands see man is not made for himself, created to be king of earthly delights, and placed amidst the pleasures of the world, to do what he pleaseth; but chiefly to look, and with good advisement to search how, and in what sort he may be dutiful and beneficial to his country. Now peradventure, in this perillous age, where many are puffed up with presumption, and seditious season of proud practices, and headstrong people, some serpentine sect, that carries venom in their minds, and mortal stings in their tongues, will hold a bad opinion and say: that the earth is made for the children of men, as the sea is for the fish; and that is man's natural country where he findeth food, living, and credit in. But this cankered kind of rebellious conceit is such a gnawing worm in the conscience of man, and so far differs from all human laws, that he, that but thinks one thought of this nature, is not only unnatural to his country, but likewise unblessed and unhappy in all the soils and countries he happeneth to dwell in. For he that honoureth not in heart the soil and seat of his nativity, and despiseth the place where he took life, sustenance, nurture, and education, besides good fortune and preferments, the only blessedness here to rejoice of, degenerates; and, what birth and blood soever he be of, we may call him a base-born groom, or a kindly bastard begotten out of time, living out of order, and of worse belief than an infidel. The birds of the air, the fish in the flood, and the beasts on the earth, love to haunt and behold the place of their procreation: and the greatest conquerors that ever were, call them kings, or what you please, though they went never so far to obtain victories, yet they brought all the glory home to their country, and triumphed only there where they were first fostered, found favour and fortune, and had, from the beginning, been trained and brought up; yea, and after their life, both kings, prophets, and other great men, desired to have their bones buried in their country. And some, of excellent judgment, held opinion, that the love of their country did far surpass the love of their parents; in defence of which they offered lives, lands, and goods, and cared not what danger they should thrust themselves into, so that thereby they might do their country any honour or service.

O then; what a blemish and blot is this in the faces and brows of

them that, in a proud presumption, persuaded by pestilent wits, abandon their country, and would hazard, on a peevish opinion, if it were in their power, to sell prince, people, and patrimony, for a cold and bare welcome, full of hollowness of heart, in a strange kingdom, where cracked credit is loathsome and long mistrusted, and seldom or never comes to a good and honourable end! I can but wish their payment no worse nor better, but such as Tarpeia found of the Latins and *Cabines*, for selling unto them the capitol of Rome: a most notorious example, read it who pleaseth. So if in those days, a great while ago, millions of men held the love and friendship of their country so dear and precious, as indeed it ought to be esteemed: now, in our ripened years, when wits are mellowed and seasoned with the sweet savour of long experience, the folly and foul facts, that by over great boldness make many run mad, should be a general warning, and teach all kind of people, to keep the right and plain path of natural affection towards their country and friends.

Now all these things, rehearsed before, are written in way of friendship to the wild wanderers of this world, who undoubtedly want but grace and good counsel. And the rest that follows hereafter, in this little piece of prose, is written to yourself, my most honourable friend, whose friendship I have felt, and sundry more have tasted. Let the deed shew itself; not writing this to teach you, with presuming words, any other course than your former judgment and present consideration think best to hold; but only to keep the blaze of good-will continually burning, by feeding the flame with plying and putting in more oil to the lamp: for I acknowledge that you know, that, as the sinews are needful for the body, the marrow for the bones, and the blood for the life, so friendship is most fit to knit the joints and minds of men together, and bind them about with such brazen bands, that no bars of iron may break, nor policy of people may put asunder.

He that hath travelled, as I have done, through the forest of affliction, where many wild beasts are wandering in the woods, some roaring and running after their prey, shall see how narrowly he hath escaped from the gaping and devouring monsters, and find that, if friendship and good fortune had not holpen him, he had been utterly destroyed. From the highest to the lowest, reckon what degrees can be named, in good sooth they are all left alone barefooted and desolate, where friendship hath forsaken them. But where, or into what labyrinth, O Lord, have I now brought myself! for now I am forced to go forward, and may not step backward, but seek an open way to walk in, orderly to sit down, and chew the substance of friendship, the flattery of the world, and the fineness of our age: the circumstance whereof craves another manner of discourse and volume than this little treatise can utter. What then? As by small sparks, or kindled coals, great fire is made, and of a trifling tale true matter may be gathered; so, out of weak words, strong arguments may be sifted, and, through a number of spiced speeches, a simple sentence may shew some savour, and yield such taste to the quickness of understanding, that the hearer's wits and judgment shall willingly stand contented with all that shall be spoken. And friendship is so much desired, spoken of, and necessary for all

kinds of people, that only the bare and naked name thereof is sweet, and most acceptable, though the writer thereon be but meanly learned, and of small sufficiency to set out, at the full, the fulness of so flourishing a virtue.

Then forward to the purpose: I say and prove, that the same is true friendship that proceeds from virtue, and hath so noble a nature by a divine motion of goodness, that neither vice can corrupt, nor any kind of vanity vanquish; for, where it taketh root, it buds so beautifully, that it bringeth forth an everlasting fruit, whose taste is more sweet and precious than can be easily imagined.

And now in a season, when fineness and flattery so abound, and strive, by cunning practices, to supply the place of friendship, and over-grow every branch that springs from loyal amity, this true friendship is sweetest of savours, and highest of reputation, and burns with a quenchless flame, like a blazing beacon, or sparkling torch, that can abide all winds, which is set upon the top of a high mountain; for fine or gross flattery is but a bare foil to set forth a bad jewel; and the crafty curious cunning of these artificial fellows, that feed all men's humours, make through, their manifold trumperies, a free passage to perfect faithfulness, and friendly good-will. There are covertly crept, and finely conveyed, into the common society of men, a hundred sundry sorts and shews of amity, which indeed are but juggling casts, or *Ledger-de-maines*, to purchase favour, and deceive the lookers on. If all that speak fair, bow down knee, make trim courtesy, kiss fingers and hands, yea offer service and friendship, were hearty and loving friends, the world would be so full of friendship, that there were no place left for adulation and double dealing. And surely if a man durst decipher the deepness of dissimulation, we should find our ordinary manner of friendship so faint-hearted and lame, that it neither could go out of the door with any man, nor yet dwell safely with many in the house. It seemeth, and may be well avouched, that friendship of itself is so secret a mystery, shrimed in an honest heart, that few can describe it, and tell from whence comes the privy and inward affection, that suddenly breeds in the breast, and is conveyed to the heart, with such a content and gladness, that the whole powers of man leap in the bowels of the body for joy at that instant. For example, some that never give cause, with probable matter, to be embraced, and made account of as friends, are, by a natural inclination, received into favour, placed in delight, and planted perpetually, so long as life lasteth, in the warm bosom of our friendly affections, and favourable conceits.

Then, further, note, a wonder of nature! for we see a marvellous motion among men; for some, and that a great number, having neither harmed us, nor ministered, any way, occasion of dislike, yet are no sooner in our company, but we find their persons offensive, their presence unpleasant, their words sharp (spoken well, and to the best meaning) yea, their works, and whatsoever they will do, are taken amiss, and construed to the worst. But, chiefly to be noted, we little desire the acquaintance, peradventure, of a friendly companionship. Thus so to hate without cause, and love earnestly without desert, is a matter disputable, and argues plainly, that friendship is,

without comparison, the only true love knot, that knits in conjunction thousands together: and yet the mystery and manner of the working is so great, that the ripest wits may wax rotten, before they yield reason, and shew how the mixture is made; that two several bodies shall meet in one mind, and be, as it were, married and joined in one manner of disposition, with so small a shew of virtue, and so little cause, that may constrain both parties to be bound and fast locked in a league of love. Then what may be thought of those that curry favour, follow for good turns, turn about like a weather-cock, fawn where fortune favours, and favour no where, but for commodity, countenance, and credit; and so compass that they seek? If friends be chosen by election and privy liking, these open palterers may go whistle; for they neither know the bounds of a good mind, nor the blessedness that belongs to friendship. What, then, should we say of men's behaviours in general? for, without reverence uttered by courtesy, suing and following for benefit, fawning and speaking fair (for entertaining of time,) creeping and crouching to keep that we have, and win that we wish, all civil order would be forgotten, rudeness would make revel, and men should suddenly miss the mark they shoot at. But, granting now these ceremonious fashions and manners, yet the users thereof are no more like friends, than a masque and mummery, with vizards on their faces, are like a company of grave senators, that govern a mighty monarchy. And more then monstrous it is, that such painted shadows are commonly preferred to be as pillars of friendship, when friendship, without props, stands against all weathers and winds, and is of a more clear complexion, than to be patched up with compounds, or matched with corrupted manners, envy to virtue, and friend to nothing but vice. For friendship is a certain felicity of the mind, a sweet essence that burns before God; a preserver of man's renown and life, a willing bondage, that brings freedom for ever; a stedfast staff, that all good people do stay on; the mother and nurse of mutual love, the conqueror of hate, the pacifier of quarrels, the glory of kings, and the surety of subjects. And friendship is so princely and noble of condition, it may not be joined with any, but such as are as honourable as itself. You shall see, among friends of equal calling, that are like of affection, such a sweet and common consent of fraternal love and liking, that every thing is wrested to the best construction; and no one matter may be ministered amiss, the minds and manners of men run so merrily together, as it were a sort of pretty chickens hopping hastily after the cheerful clucking of a brooding hen. And where such amity is, interlarded with honest pastime, there all hollowness of heart is banished, all plainness is embraced, and all good things do prosper. As a man might say, friendship is a ring-leader to all happiness, and the guide, that shews men the high-way to all worldly exercises.

But now, some may ask me, how men should make choice of their friends, and know, by outward appearance, the inward disposition of people, so many look smoothly, so many flatter, and so many have clapped on such audacious countenances, that the wisest may be beguiled, where he least looks for deceit? It may be answered, that

choice ought to be made of proof, and not of fair semblance, but of constant perfection ; for such, as cast colours, or cunning devices, and always to cloke collusion, creep finely in favour, with simpering and smiling, to lead ready wits after their subtle intentions, by their needless babble, fruitless fawning, often change of visage, unmannerly boldness, and daily attendance, where no desert commands them, the feigned friends of this world may be found ; and in a state of necessity all true friendship is tried. And, methinks, they take no great pains, that accompany men in their prosperity, and merit no great thanks, that desire to taste, at all times, of other men's good fortunes. So that, by thrusting and pressing after those we hope to pluck somewhat from, debates of itself it is no certain sign of friendship, that springs from a simple and plain affection.

Now many will hold question, and say, that fortune may be followed, sought for, waited on, flattered, because she is a deceiver ; and finely entertained, for that, with rude and rustical behaviour, both fortune and friends will ring us far behind, that would march before our fellows. But, I pray you, Is not the long proof of crafty practices, the extraordinary dissimulation of fine people, a testimony, that they are no true dealers, that work with worldly wickedness and policy to be accepted as friends ? Then who should presently be called a faithful follower ? Thus some men may demand. Such, I say, as, in men's meanest calling and credit, have begun to favour them, and, in their better estate, do honestly, in all causes of reason, equity, and justness of judgment, discharge their duties ; and leave flattery, that openeth the door of doubleness, and fall flatly to the true order of plain dealing : such, I say, that neither for fear, favour, or fortune, but dare speak as they think, due reverence observed ; and do rather cut off the festered flesh, than feed and nourishes a corrupted canker : such, whose love and fidelity look narrowly on all the bounds and limits of friendship, and are so jealous over the friends they honour, that they cannot suffer any thing to sound out of frame, that may impeach, hinder, or appale the good name and credit of them they follow : such, whose study, diligence, and waking regard stand as a watch, to give warning and advertise their friends of all inconveniences, dangers, slanders, and eminent perils and hazards : such are the members most meet to be about a friend, most worthy welcome, most to be liked, loved, and trusted : and such are the blessed birds of the bosom, that neither sing, nor say, nor make sign of other things than they present. And the rest, that loiter about crooked measures, sounding and searching by deceits, like fishers, that closely hide their hooks, to see whom they may catch, take hold of, and feel for their advantage : they are the sly swellers out of fortunate flowers, that grow in happy men's gardens ; the prowlers after profit and preferment purchased by audacious practices ; the busy-bodies, that never stand still, but turn like a top to betray the trusty ; the tossed white froth of the sea, that makes a fair shew without substance, which vanisheth away at the touch of every man's finger ; and bubbles of the troubled with each little blast over neither sign from wh what good

end and purpose they were. So, sir, seeing the swarms of feigned friends, the heaps of hollow hearts, the abuse of infected minds; the muzzled faces, covered with counterfeit good manners, and the effect of good friendship utterly mistaken, in many points and places of this world; I trouble you no farther with the reading of these lines, hoping in your favour and friendship, as your affection shall move, and my merits, without presumption, shall crave and require; making a further present unto you of a few verses (handled as well as I could) that were devised for the setting forth of a paper-mill, which a great well-willer of yours, as good cause he hath so to be, hath built by Dartford, and brought to perfect frame and form, I trust, to the great contentment of the Queen's Majesty, and benefit of her whole country, as knoweth God; who augment, maintain, and blessedly uphold her Highness long among us, and increase your good credit with all virtuous disposition.

N. B. The verses above mentioned, relating to the description and commendation of a Paper-mill, then newly erected at Dartford, were not added as proposed.



A



PACKE OF SPANISH LYES,

SENT

ABROAD IN THE WORLD;

FIRST PRINTED IN SPAINE, IN THE SPANISH TONGUE,

AND TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINALL.

Now ripped vp, vnfolded, and, by iust examination, condemned, as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damned and burned. *Thou shalt destroy them that speak lyes, the Lord wil abhorre the bloody and deceitfull man.* Psal. v. ver. 6.

Imprinted at London, by the deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1588. Quarto, in black letter, containing thirteen pages.



This curious Pamphlet, which, our correspondent informs us, has been sold by auction at half a guinea, is an ancient specimen of those indirect means, which an ambitious court takes to support its drooping credit with the publick. How far such practices are now in vogue, every reader knows; and these are now published to oblige that judicious Gentleman Mr. R. Z. who apprehends, by so doing, we shall also gratify all our subscribers.

H 3

This is the eleventh in the catalogue, published with this collection; and contains the artifices made use of by the Spanish court, to keep up the spirits of the people, at the time that the King of Spain attempted, in 1588, to invade England with his invincible Armada, and dethrone Queen Elisabeth; because, the fleet being beaten, dispersed, and gone north about, and almost intirely destroyed by tempest, &c. they began to doubt of its success. See p. 47, &c. of this Vol. where you have a true and full account of this expedition in 1588

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

1. THE true relation of the successe of the catholike armie*, against their enemies, by letters of the post-master of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by letters from Roan of the one-and-thirtieth of August, † and by letters from Paris of the Kings embassadour there; wherein he declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great nobles of England, and how the Queene is in the felde with an armie, ‡ and of a certain mutinie, which was amongst the Queenes armie, with the successe of the said Catholike armie since they entred in the Groyne, till they came on the coast of England, with two ballets, compounded by

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

1. 'IT is wel knownen to all the worlde, how false all this relation is, and either falsly coloured by the letters remembered, or els both the post-master of Logrono, and the writers from Roan, ought to be waged as intelligencers for the deuill, the father of lyes, whom they haue herein trulye serued; and if they so continue, in mayntenance thereof against the knowne truth, their damnation is certaine, and hell is open for them.

* The Invisible Armada in 1588.

† The letters from the Kings embassadour, whose name is Mendoza, agreeable to their masters name, being the reporter of Mendacia Mendacissima; and considering that he hath written, that Francis Drake is imprisoned, and many nobles of England; if Mendoza will stand to his letters, so as he would gage, and, by his hand-writinge, assure but his worst iennet and his belief, he shall be answered for the said Sir Francis Drakes person, or any nobleman, gentleman, or page, so taken in the fight betweene the two armies, for the ransom of euery of the said prisoners foure-thousande crownes in the Royal Exchange of London. But the truth is, Sir Francis Drake was so farre off to be a prisoner, that he was the taker; for he tooke Pedro de Valdeira, and four-hundred more Spanish prisoners, at one time. And, to proue this to be true, Mendoza shall haue, if he will require it, Pedro Valdes owne hande, to shewe that he is prisoner to Sir Francis Drake, and four-hundred more taken with him, and not one Englishman taken in that seruice.

‡ It is so false, that there was any mutinie in the Queenes armie, that she her selfe was there, with the greatest honour, loue, and applause, receiued, that coulde be imagined for a lady and a queene. She rode rounde about her armie, and passed through euery part thereof, to their inestimable comfort; she lodged and did eat in the campe, as quietly as ever she did in her owne chamber. In the armie was neuer any fray or discord; exercise of armes was daily used and shewed before her, to her great honour; yea, and with an vniuersall extolling of Gods name every day, morning and evening, in loude prayers and psalmes; and the like song, in her owne hearing, against all tyrannie by inuasion of Gods enemies; and this euery man may iudge to be farre from any colour of mutinie.

Christouer Brauo, a * blinde man
of Cordowa; printed, with lycence,
by Gabriel Ramos Beiarano, prin-
ter.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes,
From Spaine.

*By a Letter of Diego Peres, chiefe
Post-master of Logrono, dated the
Second of September, 1588.*

A Condemnation of the Spanish
Lyes.

From England.

2. THE newes of England is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Gouvernour of Roan. He writeth, he hath in his power the chiefe pilote of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English armie remained ouerthrowen, hauing sunke two and twentie shippes, and taken fourtie †, and imprisoned Francis Drake, hauing giuen them chase almost as hie ‡ as Abspurge, and slaine many by the sword; and likewise sayeth, that there was found in Captaine Drakes shippe, a piece of ordinance of fife-and-twentie foote long, which discharged a shotte of a hundreth weight at once, made of purpose, with one onely shot, to sinke our Spanish Admirall; and it pleased God, although she was somewhat battered, yet was she repaired againe, and ouerthrewe the English armie.

2. 'THE.gouernour of Roan is accompted a worthy noble man, and therefore he shall do wel to make this report of him to be knownen for a lye; for so surely he knoweth it to be, that there was neuer, either a chiefe pilote, or the value of a boy of Captaine Drakes, taken and brought to him as a prisoner.

'The Gouvernours of Bollen and Calleis can informe the Gouvernour of Roan how false a report it was, that the English armie remained ouerthrowen afore Calleis: The English armie fought with the Spanish; chased the Spanish, as a brace of greyhounds would a herde of deere; the Spaniards ships were beaten, spoyled, burnt, sunke, some in the maine seas afore Dunkirke, some afore Flushing, and the rest chased away; so as they fledde continually afore the English nauie in their best order for strength,

* It was a meete occupation for a blinde man, to put lyes into songs; and, if he knewe how false his verses were, when he published them, it were to be wished that he had his eyes restored to see his lyes, and then his tongue cutte out that vttered them, and his eyes cleane plucked out of his head, that he should neuer see any more written lyes. As for his eares, it were good to haue them open, to heare men call him iustly, a notable blinde liar.

† If Drakes shippe were taken, if there was such a piece of ordinance of such a length, in what port is that shippe? In whose possession is that piece? Drake is returned with honour, his shippe, called the Renegge, is in Harborow, ready for a reuenge by a new seruice; no shippe lost, no ordinance missing.

‡ The foolish liar maketh mention of Abspurge in Scotland: In all Scotland is no such place; in Germanie is a country called Habsburg, but any wager may be layd, that none of the Spanish came euer thither. Every line, or euery sentence, containeth a lye.

The Duke himselfe is returned, let him confirme this vntreuth, that he ouerthrewe the English armie; it can not be imagined, that he, being a person of so great honour, will allow so notorious a lye to be taken for a truth; for if he had such a victorie, Why did he not land to conquer England? Why did he neuer enter into any part of England? Why did he neuer cary any ensigne of England into Spaine to shew, as very many of the Spanish were brought into England.

without daring to abide any fight: Yea, some one of the English shippes fought with three of their galleasses; the Spaniards neuer attempting to board any English, but, as many of them, as could saile away, fled with all their sailes, and were followed by the English, vntil they were chased out of all the English seas, and forced then to runne a violent course about Scotland, and so to Ireland, where a great number of their shippes are drowned, their men taken, and many killed by the sauage people for their spoyle; and the English nauie, vpon good consideration, left them, when they sawe them so hastily to flie desperately into the northern dangerous seas, where, the English nauie did very certainly know, that there would be no safety for them to follow the Spanish. Why durst any report that twenty-two English shippes were sunke, and fortie were taken, when, in trueth, there was not any one of the English shippes sunke or taken? A strange disposition, to forge such great lyes, whereof there was no ground nor colour. If any one or two of the English had bene sunke, a liar might haue put the number of twenty for two, and excused the lye by error of figuring; but, of none in number, no number can be made, but by falshood. The Gouvernour of Roan, being a man of great honour and vertue, ought to reuenge this shamefull lye made vpon him; for Lucian neu did, in all his lyes, vse more impudencie, then these Spanish lyars doe report of him.

A-Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Copie of a Letter that Iohn Gamarra wrote from Roan the Thirty-first of August, of the same Yeere.

3. THE English haue lost aboute fortie ships in one encounter, where they could not flie, which was in Luxaten*, a haven in Scotland, to the which place, since the departure of the Spanish armies from Calleis, the English armie followed; and, supposing they went to take that haven, they got before ours to defend the entrance: We seeing them so neere the English flecte, and that they could not retire, as they alwayes did, when they pleased, to the English hauens, they set vpon them so valiantly, that they sunke twenty of their shippes, and they tooke twenty-six whole and sound; and the rest, seeing their destruction, fled away with great losse of men, and their shippes very much battered; and with this, they say, the Spanish armie tooke the haven, where they are very well lodged, as euery one affirmeth, and so the newes is here; I pray God giue them good successe: We vnderstande, by the post come from Calleis, that in England it is forbidden, vpon paine of death and losse of goods, that no body doe write newes from thence to any place; which confirmeth the newes aboue.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

3. 'ALL this is likewise as full of lyes, as lines. Iohn Gamarra may be what he is; but if there be such a man, and that he wrote as is mentioned, except he be a professed member of the deuill to forge lyes, he knoweth that he wrote falsly.'

* He noteth also a haven in Scotland, called Luxaten; none such was euer knowen there. In Ytopia there may be such a one; no Spaniard can saye they tooke any haven in Scotland: it is altogether vaine otherwise to reprove this; but al that is reported are lyes, and so let Gamarra repent, or follow the deuill, his master, the father of malicious lyes.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Coppie of a Letter that Pedro de Alua did write from Roan, the First of September, of the same Yeere.

4. I DO not write newes of the Spanish armie, because they are diuers, and woulde gladly write the very truth. Nowe by the newes which runneth from diuers places, as Calleis, Deepe, and Hollande, and presumptions from England, and other places, it is holden for certaine, that they haue fought with the English, and broken their heads, hauing sunke many of their shippes, and taken others; and the rest, which they say were twenty-seuen shippes, returned, very much battered, to the riuer of London, which are all those that coulde escape. There goeth with this post another post of Iorge Seguin of Calles, which saith, that certaine masters and mariners of Zeland did affirme to the Gouvernour of Calleis, Mounsier de Gorden, that our fleete is in a haven, or riuer, in Scotland, called * Trifla, where they say there may ride two-thousand shippes; this is that which commonly is currant here.

A Condemnation of the Spanish

Lyes.

From England.

4. 'THIS Pedro Alua coulde be content to send lyes, but he is more warie in the auowing of them; he reporteth lyes, as he saith, that came from other places: But, of all other places, none coulde make a truer report then Calleis, where the Gouvernour, and all the inhabitants, saw the Spanish armie mightily beaten by the English; and it was affirmed, by men there of great iudgement, that neuer was scene, by any man liuing, such a battery, so great for nomber, so furious, and of so long continuance, as the English made against the Spanish. Calleis sawe the Spanish armie first driuen from their ankers with fire; they sawe the greatest galliasse of the Spanish, whereof was commander that worthy noble man Moncada, spoyled, and himselfe slaine in the galliasse by the English. Calleis did see the next day, that the English nauie fought, and did beate the Spanish Armada from eight of the clocke in the morning vntill four in the afternoon, without any ceasing.

'Calleis sawe the Spanish hoyes vp al their sayles, and fle as fast as winde coulde driue, and the English to follow and pursue them; and yet Calleis saw a sufficient nauie of England left afore Dunkirke, able to master all the shipping that the Duke of Parma had prouided.'

* The last part of this report is a like lye to the other; there is no such port in Scotland, called Trifla; neither did any of the Spaniards take succour in any haven, nor yet coulde haue done, by reason of the contrary windes.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Advised from London, which the Embassadour of our Soueraigne Lord the King, resident in Paris, had from thence.

5. BY newes from London, of the twenty-sixth of August, it is knowne for most certaine, from persons of credit, that the Queenes Admirall Generall was arriued in the riuer of London with twenty-five ships onely, without his Admirall shippe*, which was taken by our Admirall Saint Iohn; and it is well knowne in England, that, to hide the losse of their admirall shippe, they say he put himselfe in a smaller shippe, the better to follow our armie; and it is knowne for certaintie that he saued himself in a boat, when he lost his shippe; that Drake, for certaintie, is taken or slaine. The same is confirmed by the way of Holland, by a pinname of theirs. And from Austerland, that the Queene commanded, upon paine of death, that no body shoulde speake of her fleete; and that there was great sorrow in those parts of England; and that the Queene had in the field thirty thousand raw souldiers, betwixt Dover and Margate; and that † the Catholikes, vnderstanding that al their fleete was dispersed, moued a certaine mutinie, which forced the Queene to go herselfe into the fielde; and for certaine it is knowen, that there is not brought in to England neither ship nor boat of ours, more then the ship of Don Pedro Valdez; and that our fleete was gone in to Scotland, and arriued in a hauen called ‡ Trapena Euxaten.

* The Admirall shippe, which was called the Arke Royall, was safely brought home by the Lord Admirall of England, Lord Howard; he neuer changed her, she is, thanked be God, safe with other the Queenes royall shippes; she is able, with the Lord Admirall, to match in fight with the Duke of Medina, or any Prince of Christendome, in any shippe that the King of Spaine hath. This is not spoken for ostentation; but Gods fauour is assured to England, in the iustice of the quarrel against any Inuadour.

† If there were a mutinie of Catholikes, they should haue bene hanged or punished; but it was not knowne that one Catholike did stir this summer, with hand or tongue, to moue offence, neither was any one imprisoned, or otherwise punished.

‡ The last line is a lye, with like error as the former; for there is no hauen in Scotland called Trapena Euxaten. This Mendosa was very curious to forge a strange name, as it appeareth he had read of some such in Peru, or in New-Spaine.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

5. ' HERE followeth the mountaine of lyes. It is reason, that if there were lyars in London, they should send them to Mendoza; for so Mendacia are of more price with him then true reportes, and so was he accustomed when he was embassadour in England, to buye more lyes, because he liked them better then trueths.

' If one should make a section, or anatomie of this mountaine and body of lyes, there is no piece, nor ioynt, to be found sound.'

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

*By a Letter of the chiefe Post-master
of Bourdeaux, writtento the French
Embassadour, the Second of Sep-
tember, 1588.*

6. AFTER that I had written this, here is arriued a Scottishman, which saith, that all the Spanish fleete is arriued in Scotland, and that the Scottishmen haue taken armes against the English.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

6. 'THIS Scottishman, I thinke, hath no name; a manifest lye it was, that Scottishmen had taken armes against the English. Such a lye did Mendoza publish some yeeres past, that the King of Scots had besieged and wonne Barwicke. I trust he remembreth now, how false a lye it was; but yet he hath no grace, as it seemeth, to forbear from forging of lyes, for his cholerike appetite. But a manifest trueth it is, that the King of Scots, at the tyme meant, made a generall proclamation, that no Scottishman should victuall any Spaniard, for that the King did knowe they came to haue conquered both England and Scotland. And on the other side, the King by proclamation commaunded, that all succours should be giuen to the armie of England, as being the armie of his sister and confederate, and the prince whom he knew to be invaded most iniustly. Many Scottishmen might, at Bourdeaux, haue reported this for a trueth.'

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

Relation of that which hath passed till this day, the Fifth of September, 1588, till three of the clocke in the after noone, knowne by the relations and aduise, come to his Maiestie from the happie fleet, whereof is generall the Duke of Medina, in the conquest of England.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England:

7. THAT, vpon the thirtieth of Iuly, without seeing any sayle of the enemies in the sea, he came to the channell, sixe leagues from Plimmouth; where vnderstanding the enemies were, he gathered together and set in order all the fleet, and, sayling, the first of August there was discovered some sayles of the enemies; the which, the second day, were nombred to be lx. sayle; of which the duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them: howbeit, they began to shoot at the rereward; but the duke, in the galleon S. Martin, set the prow of his shippe against the biggest of the enemies, the which, being succoured by twenty others, fled away. Of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three galleasses*, and foure mighty galleons of the Queenes; there was burnt, of ours, by negligence of a gunner, the admirall of Oquendo; and the enemies took the chiefe ship of Don Pedro Valdez, which, being entangled with some others vnder his charge, was left without tackle, and so nere the enemies,

7. 'ALL these vntrue newes are sayde to haue come from the Spanish fleet to the Kings Maiestie. By this tyme is it sure, that the Duke of Medina can tell the King his master some other contrary matters; for else he had no cause to flie about Scotland and Ireland.'

* He also will not say, that eyther three galleasses, and foure galleons of England were sunk; or that euer he coulde see one shippe, or one boate of England sunk. He can tell the king, with great grife, that he neuer had fortunate day, from his coming from the Groine, till he returned with the losse of as many shippes, men, victuals treasure, and ordinance, as might haue made a good armie by sea: and great pittie it is for Christendome, that both that, which is lost, and that, which remaineth, had not bene used by the King Catholike against the Infidels; and not, with ambition, to imploy such kinde of forces to inuade Christian countreys therewith; who, if he would liue in peace with them, would be readye to ioine their forces with his, to dilate the fines of Christendome, and forbear spending of Christian blood amongst Christians.

that she coulde not be succoured by others.

With this, our fleete seeing that the enemye, in euery point, did flie from giuing battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the rereward, vntil the seuenth, that our fleet anchored in the roade of S. Iohn, betwixt Calles and Bollin, nine leagues from Dunkerke; and the enemies did the like, the nearest they coulde to England.

The night being approached, the enemies got vp their ankers to get the wind, and not to suffer our shippes to goe out of the roade to sea, because they had trimmed viii. shippes of fire, which, with the corrent of the water, should haue put them selves amongst our shippes, to haue burnt them. But my lord the duke, foreseeing the danger, preuented them, with commandement, that the shippes that were nearest should cut their cables, and to take vp the others with a readinesse vncredible; and with this the enemies pretence was hindered; and so got the sea most brauely, and with such good fortune, that, if he had not done it, our armie should haue ben in euil case; for in the very place, which we left, there was shotte off by them, out of those fierieshippes, such fires, and other engins, that were sufficient to burne the sea, much more shippes, which are made of wood and pitch.

In this departure, the captaine of the galleasses had a great mischance; for, getting vp her anker, a cable fel foule of her helme, that she could not follow the rest; which caused one of her sides to lie so hie, that her ordinance could not play, and so xxv. piunases

came, and battered her; and withall this, if the mariners, souldiers, and rowers, that were in her, had not cast them selues into the sea, it is holden for certain, that * Don Hugo de Moncada had defended her, as he did vntill she came into Calleis, where, at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two caliuer-shot: the people on shore defended the galleasse, and all that was in her, and deliuered the same to our soueraigne lord the Kings ministers.

At this time, the duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the Queenes fleete; and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, insomuch as they on land knew the galleon S. Martin, and others, that went fighting with the English armie: and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, that there came into Calleis a shippe, which saith, that, the † xii. day, they did see the two fleetes together in sight: an other, which came afterwarde, said he had scene some shippes spoiled and torne, and from them they threw out ‡ their baggage, which they saued in boates; which argueth they were shippes of the enemies, for that our men had no place to saue them selues, nor there were none of them arriued into Flanders, which was their place of returne.

* This noble man was killed with a smal shot in the galleasse, where, in very trueth, he remayned in defence of the galleasse, and sought not to flie away, as a great number did.

† If it be meant, the xii. of August, the vntueth is apparant; for there was neuer fight after that before Calleis, which was the xix. of Iuly, nouo stilo, or the xxix, stilo antiquo.

‡ It is very true, that the Spaniards ships, to make themselves light to flie, did cast away their boates, and threw their moiles and horses into the seas.

A Packe of Spanish Lyes.

From Spaine.

8. OUT of Englande was aduise giuen, that, on the xiii, arriued fiftene of the Queenes ships; and they sayd, that the galleon Saint Martin, wherein my lorde the duke is (whom God preserue) had encountered with Drake, and had grapled his ship, and captiued his person, and other noble English men, and taken other fiftene ships, beside others that were distressed; and the duke, with his flecte, followed his way to Scotland, because the winde was not come about.

With these newes his Maiestie resteth verie much contented, and caused them to be sent to the empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, his secretarie of estate.

A Condemnation of the Spanish Lyes.

From England.

8. ' THIS, that is sayd of the Dukes grappling with Drakes ship, and taking of him captiue, and many other noble men of England, is like all the rest of the lyes.

The duke, after he went from Calles towards Scotland, neuer came neere to offer fight with any English ship, neuer turned backe to the English that followed him, but fledde away, as winde and sayle could serue him.

If he had this fortune thus falsely reported, it is sure, that he would haue brought both Drake, and some of the noble men home with him into Spaine, to haue beene presented to the King, and not haue gone home to his owne house, without sight of the King. But, in truth, there was not one noble man, or gentleman of any marke, that went to the sea, that was either slaine, or taken; all are liuing, and are as willing, by Gods fauour, to aduenture their liues, as euer they were, against any of the Queenes enemies, when she shal command them.

And, where these newes did much content the King, it is likely, that, if he thought them true, he was glad thereof; for so had his maiestie cause; but he is thought too wise to haue thought, that, after he vnderstoode, that the duke and all his armie had fled from the coast of Flanders and England, that euer they were like to haue any victorie of the English. No, contrawise; the King and all his wise counsellours had cause to lament the dangers, whereunto of necessitie his armada

should fall, by passing the dangerous coastes, ilandes, and monstrous rockes of Scotland and Ireland; of more danger for his nauie to passe, then to haue passed from Lisborne to the Moluccas, and home againe.

It is to be thought, that, if the empresse gaue the secretarie, *Yslaquez*, any rewarde, for the newes, as it is likely she did, she may iustly require it againe from him, and giue him charge, not to bring her maiestie, nor the King his master, any such notorious lyes hereafter; for, if he vse it often, he is vnworthie to be secretarie to so great a King.

Imprinted in Sevil, in the house of Cosmo de Lara, printer of bookes, by licence in the Counte of Orgas, assistant in Sevil.

Imprinted at London, by the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1588.

IOAN. viii. 44.

Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Lustes of your Father ye will doe: He hath bene a murtherer from the beginning, and aboade not in the trueth, because there is no trueth in him, When he speaketh a lye, then speaketh he of his owne; for he is a lyer, and the father thereof.

ZACH. viii. 26.

These are the things that ye shall doe: Speake ye euery man the trueth vnto his neighbour.

EPHES. iv. 25.

Wherefore cast off lying, and speake euery man the trueth vnto his neighbour; for we are members one of another.

THE CATHOLICK CAUSE;
OR,
THE HORRID PRACTICE OF MURDERING KINGS,
JUSTIFIED, AND COMMENDED BY
THE POPE,
IN A SPEECH TO HIS CARDINALS,
UPON THE BARBAROUS ASSASSINATION OF
HENRY THE THIRD OF FRANCE,

Who was stabbed by JACQUES CLEMENT, a Dominican Friar.

The true Copy of which Speech, both in Latin, and also faithfully rendered into English, you have in the following pages.

London: Printed for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's-Head, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1678. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages.

This Speech is taken from that printed at Paris in the year 1589, the year of the King's death, by Nicholas Nivelles and Rollin Thierry; and set forth with approbation of three Doctors of the Faculty of Paris, as followeth;

Nous soussignez Docteurs en Theologie de le Faculté de Paris certifions avoir confere ceste Harangue pronouncée par sa Saintete avec l'exemplaire Latin envoye de Rome, & avoir trouue conforme l'un à l'autre.

BOUCHER,
DECREIL,
ANCKLIN,

' *Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. de Henrici Tertii Morte, Sermo, Romæ in Consistorio Patrum habitus, 2 Septem. 1589.* *An Oration of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, upon the death of King Henry the Third, in Rome, in the full assembly of the Cardinals.*

' ANIMO meo sæpe ac serio revolvens, mentisque aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi vere posse illud prophetæ Abacuch usurpare: "Quia opus factum est CONSIDERING oftentimes and seriously with myself, and applying the utmost of my understanding unto these things which now of late, by the will of God, are come to pass; I think I may

in diebus vestris, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur (Abak i. v. 5.) Mortuus est Rex Francorum per manus monachi.

‘Nam ad istud potest recte applicari: licet de alia re, nempe de incarnatione domini, quæ omnia mira ac mirabilia superat, propheta proprie locutus sit; sicut & apostolus Paulus eadem verba (Actorum xiii. v. 41.) ad Christi resurrectionem verissime refert. Quando propheta nominat opus, non vult innuere aliquid vulgare, vel ordinarium, sed rarum, insigne, ac memorabile facinus; quomodo de creatione mundi, “Opera manuum tuarum sunt cæli.” Item, “Requievit die septimo ab omni opere quod patrarat.” Cum vero factum ait, eo verbo tale aliquid in scripturis exprimi, quod non temere, casu, fortuna, aut per accidens evenire dicitur; sed quod expressa dei voluntate, providentia, dispositione, ac ordinatione obvenit. Ut cum dicit salvator, “Opera quæ ego facio vos facietis, & majora horum facietis.” et similia in sacris litteris plurima. Quod autem loquatur in præterito factum esse, id more aliorum prophetarum facit, qui propter certitudinem eventus solent sæpe de futuris, ac si jam facta essent, prædicere. Dicunt enim philosophi, res præteritas esse de necessitate, præsentis de inesse, futuras de possibili tantum; ita illi loquuntur.

‘Propter quam certitudinem lætas propheta, longe ante vaticinatus de morte Christi, sic dixit, sicut in Act. Apostolorum cap. viii. etiam recitatur, “Tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus

fitly use the words of the prophet Habakkuk, saying, ‘I have wrought a work in your days, which no man will believe when it shall be told him, Habak. i. v. 5. The French King is slain by the hands of a Friar.

For unto this it may truly be compared, though the prophet spoke of another thing, namely, of the incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth all other wonders and miracles: as also the apostle St. Paul referreth the same words unto the resurrection of Christ (Acts xiii. v. 41.) When the prophet says, ‘a Work,’ he means not by it some common or ordinary thing, but a rare and noble matter, and worthy to be remembered, as that of the creation of the world: ‘The heavens are the works of thy hands:’ and again, ‘he rested the seventh day from all the works which he had made.’ When he saith, ‘I have wrought,’ with these words the scripture is wont to express things not to come to pass casually, by fortune, or accident; but things falling out by the determined counsel, will, providence, and ordinance of God: as, our Saviour says, ‘The works that I do shall ye do also, and greater works than these’ (Joh. xiv. v. 12.) and many more in holy writ to the like purpose. Now that he says, that it is done in times past, herein he follows the use and manner of the other prophets, who, for the certainty of the event, are wont to predict things to come, as if they were past already: for, as the philosophers say, things past are of necessity, things present, of being, and things to come, only of possibility. So do they speak. For which certainty the prophet

est, & sicut agnus coram tondente se non aperuit os suum, &c.

‘Atque hoc, de quo nunc verba facimus, & quod hic diebus nostris evenit, vere insigne, memorabile, & pene incredibile opus est, nec sine Dei opt. max. particulari providentia & dispositione perpetratum. Occidit monachus regem, non pictum aut fictum in charta, aut pariete; sed Regem Francorum in medio exercitus sui, milite & custodia undique septum; quod re vera tale est, & eo modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat, cum narrabitur, & fortasse apud posteritatem pro fabula reputabitur.’

‘Quod Rex sit mortuus, vel etiam peremptus, facile creditur; sed eum sic sublatum, vix est credibile: Sicut Christum natum ex femina statim assentimur; sed si addas porro ex femina virgine ortum esse, tunc secundum hominem non assentior; ita etiam quod mortuus sit Christus facile credimus, sed quod mortuus jam resurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex privatione ad habitum non fit regressio, redditur secundum intellectum humanum impossibile, propterea incredibile; quod homo ex somno, ex morbo, etiam ex syncope, vel extasi resuscitatur, quia id sæpe secundum naturam fit, humanitus credimus; sed resurrexisse a mortuis, ita secundum carnem videbatur incredibile, ut Paulo apud philosophos Athenienses de hac resurrectione disserenti, improperearent, quod esset novorum dæmoniorum annun-

Esay, long before, prophesying of the death of Christ, hath thus spoken: ‘He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth, &c.’ as it is likewise repeated, Acts viii.

And this, of which we are now speaking, and which has happened in these our days, is a very famous, memorable, and well nigh incredible thing, not done, or accomplished, without the particular providence and disposition of the Almighty. A friar has killed a King, not a painted one in paper, nor pictured out upon a wall; but the French King, in the middle of his armies, encompassed round about with his guard, and soldiers: Which truly is such an act, and done in such a manner, that none will believe, when it shall be told them; and perhaps our posterity after us will account, and esteem it, but a fable.

That the King is dead, or else slain, it is easily to be believed; but that he is killed, and taken away in such sort, is hardly credible: Even as we presently assent, that Christ is born of a woman; but if we further add, of a virgin-woman, then, according to human reason, we cannot assent unto it; and so we can readily believe, that Christ died, but that he rose from the dead to life again, this, to man’s natural understanding, is impossible; and therefore incredible, because there is no return from a privation to an habit: That one is awakened again out of a sleep, extasy, or a swoon, because it is not against nature, we naturally believe it; but to be risen again from the dead, it seemed so incredible a thing to nature, that St. Paul, disputing with the Athenian philosophers, about this very point, was

ciator: Et alij, sicut D. Lucas narrat, irridebant, alij dicebant, audiemus te de hoc iterum. De talibus igitur, quæ secundum naturæ leges, & ordinarij cursum, fieri non solent, dicit propheta, quod nepos credet, cum narrabitur; sed hujusmodi tantum fidem adhibemus ex consideratione omnipotentiae divinæ, & per subjectionem intellectus nostri in obedientiam fidei, & obsequium Christi. Nam hoc modo quod erat incredibile naturaliter, sit credibile. Igitur, qui secundum hominem non credo Christum de virgine natum, tamen quando additur hoc factum esse supra naturæ terminos per operationem Spiritus sancti, tunc vere assentior & credo.

‘Ita quando dicitur Christum ex mortuis resurrexisse, humanitus non credo; sed cum id factum esse per divinam, quæ in ipso erat, naturam affirmatur, tunc omnino credo.

‘Eodem modo licet tantum Regem in medio exercitus, tot stipatum militibus, ab uno simplici & imbelli religioso occisum esse, secundum prudentiam carnis, & intellectum humanum, sit incredibile, vel omnino improbabile; tamen considerando ex altera parte gravissima Regis peccata, & specialem Dei omnipotentis in hac re providentiam, & quam inusitato & mirabili modo justissimam voluntatem suam erga ipsum impleverit, omnino & firmiter credo. Rem etenim istam tam grandem & inusitatam alio referræ, quam ad parti-

disgusted for it, and accused to be a setter forth of new, or strange gods; and some, as St. Luke reports, mocked him, others said, We will hear thee again of this matter. Of such things therefore, which befall not according to the laws of nature, and the ordinary course thereof, speaketh the prophet, viz. that none shall believe it, when it shall be told them. But we give credit unto it, whilst we consider the omnipotency of God, and by submitting our own understandings to the obedience of faith, and the commands of our Saviour Christ; and, by these means, what was incredible before, by nature, becometh credible by faith: We therefore, that, as mere men, cannot believe Christ to be born of a virgin; when this is further added, that it was wrought supernaturally, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, then we truly assent to it, and faithfully believe it.

So likewise, when it is said, that Christ is risen again from the dead, naturally we believe it not; but when it is affirmed, that this was done by the power of the divine nature which was in him, then we readily, and without any kind of doubting, believe it.

In the same manner, though to natural reason and human capacity it may seem a thing incredible, or altogether improbable, that such a mighty King should be murdered in the midst of his army, environed round with his guards and soldiers, by a poor simple, weak religionist, or friar: Yet, considering, on the other side, the great and grievous sins of this King, and the special providence of the Almighty herein, and by what a strange and wonderful way he hath accomplished his most just will and judgment against him, then we fully and firmly be-

cularem Dei providentiam (sicut quosdam ad alias causas ordinarias, vel etiam ad fortunam & casum, aut similes accidentarios eventus perperam referre intelligimus) prorsus non licet; sicut ii, qui totius facti seriem pressius observant, facile videre possunt, ubi plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine, nisi Dei speciali concurrente auxilio, expediri non quiverant. Et sane Regum ac Regnorum rationes, cæteraque tam rara tantique momenti negotia, a Deo temere administrari non est existimandum. Sunt in sacra historia nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quidquam potest alio, quam ad Deum autorem referri: tamen nihil est, ubi magis claret superna operatio, quam in isto, de quo nunc agimus.

* Libr. Macchab. 1 Cap. 6. Legimus Eleazarum, ut Regem populi Dei persecutorem ac hostem tolleret, seipsum certæ morti obtulisse. Nam in conflictu conspiciens elephantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo videbatur Rex esse, concito cursu in mediam hostium turmam se conjiciens; hinc inde viam vi sternens, ad belluam venit, atque sub eam intravit, subjectoque gladio percutit, quæ cadens oppressit Eleazarum & extinxit. Hic quoad zelum, & animi robur, rei que tentatæ exitum, aliquid hujus nostri simile cernimus, tamen in reliquis nihil est comparabile. Eleazarus erat miles armis & pugna exercitatus, in ipso prælio constitutus, adoremque animi, & furore (ut fit) accensus: Iste monachus præliis ac pugnis non erat assuefactus, & a sanguine vitæ suæ instituto ita æthorrens, ut nec ex venæ incisione

lieve it; and therefore this great and miraculous work we are to ascribe to a particular providence of God only; not as those that erroneously refer all things unto some ordinary causes, or unto fortune, or such like accidentary events; but as those who (more nearly observing, and looking into the course of the whole matter) do easily see that there were many things intervening in it, which could not have been brought to pass, and dispatched, without the special help of God. And truly the state of kings and kingdoms, and all other such rare and weighty affairs, should not be thought to be governed of God rashly, and unadvisedly; there are some instances in holy writ of this nature, and none of them can be referred unto any other cause, but God only; but yet there is none wherein the celestial operation more appeareth, than in this, whereof we are now speaking.

We read in the first book of Macchabees, Ch. vi. how Eleazar run himself upon a certain death, to kill the King that was an enemy and a persecutor of the people and children of God: For, in the battle, espying an elephant higher and more stately than the rest, whereon it was like the King rode, with a swift pace, casting himself into the midst of his enemies troops, here and there making his way by force, he came to the beast at last, and went under her, and thrust his sword into her belly, and slew her, who falling, with the great weight of her body, pressed him to death, and killed him out of hand. Here in this instance we may see something not unlike to ours, viz. as to zeal, valiantness of mind, and the issue of the enterprise; but in the rest there is no comparison to be made. Eleazar was a soldier ex-

exercised in weapons, and trained up in wars, set in battle, emboldened with courage, and inflamed with rage and anger. This a friar, not inured to fighting, and so abhorring blood by the order of his profession, that perhaps he could not abide the cutting of a vein.

He knew the kind of his death, as also the place of his burial, namely, that he should be entombed under the fall of the beast, and so buried in the midst of his triumph and victory. This man looked for a certain death, and expected nothing but unknown and most cruel torments, and did not doubt before, but that he should want a grave to rest within. But there are many other things, wherein these two instances can suffer no comparison. The famous history of the holy woman, Judith, is sufficiently known; who determined with herself (God, no doubt, moving her to it) that she might deliver the city and the people of God, to murder Holophernes, the general and commander in chief of the enemies forces; which she most effectually accomplished: Wherein although there appear many and most manifest signs of heavenly direction, yet far greater arguments of God's providence are to be seen in the killing of this King, and the delivering of the city of Paris, far more difficult, and harder to be brought to pass, than was the enterprise of Judith.

For this holy woman discovered her intention to some of the governors of the city, and passed through in sight and presence of the elders and princes of that place, and by that means was not subject unto their examination and searching, which is always used so strictly,

examine egredi queat, non potuerit esse subjecta.

* Apud hostes vero, per quorum castra & varias excubias transeundum erat, sæpius explorata & examinata, cum fœmina esset, nec quidquam haberet vel literarum, vel armorum, unde suspicio oriri potuit, deque adventu in castra, & a suis, fugæ probabiles reddens rationes, facile dimittebatur. Sicut tam propter easdem causas, quam propter sexum & formæ excellentiam, ad principem impudicum introduci, & in temulentum, facile, quod designavit, perficere valuit. Ita illa.

* Hic vero religiosus aggressus est, & confecit rem longe majorem, pluribusque impedimentis, ac tantis difficultatibus, periculisque obstitam, ut nulla prudentia aut astutia humana, nec alio modo, nisi aperta Dei ordinatione, ac succursu, confici potuerit. Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab iis qui erant contrariæ factionis; transeundum erat peream urbis portam, qua itur ad castra hostium; quæ ita, sine dubio, in illis obsidionis angustiis custodiebatur, ut cuncta haberentur suspecta; nec cuiquam sine curiosissima exploratione de literis, nunciis, negotiis, armis, pateret exitus. Sed iste (res mira!) vigiles pertransiit sine examine, etiam cum literis credentiæ ad hostem; quæ, si fuissent interceptæ a civibus, sine mora, ac sine ulteriori judicio, de vita fuisset actum; atque apertum hoc divinæ providentiæ argumentum: sed majus miraculum est illud, quod idem mox sine omni exploratione transierit quoque castra hostium, varias militum excubias, ipsamque corporis Regis custodiam, ac totum

in times of siege and war, that a fly can hardly without examination escape them.

She, being come to the enemy, through whose company and watches she was to go; and oftentimes searched and examined, being a woman; and carrying no letters nor weapons about her, from whence any suspicion might arise; and, withal, yielding reasons of her coming thither, and abandoning her relatives, was easily discharged; and not only upon the forementioned causes, but also for her sex and exquisite beauty, being brought before this lewd and unchaste prince, she might perform that which she had determined before. This is Judith's case.

But this religious man undertook and performed a matter of greater weight, encompassed with so many impediments, difficulties, and dangers, that no subtlety of man, no human policy, nor any worldly wisdom, but only the clear and visible providence of God, and his special aid, could bring it to pass. First, letters commendatory were to be procured of the contrary party; then was he constrained to go through the gate of the city that led to the enemies camp; the which, without doubt, was so narrowly kept and watched, in the extremity of that siege, that every trifle bred suspicion, and none were suffered to go forth without narrow searching before, touching their letters, messages, business, and affairs they had. But he (a wonderful thing!) passed through the watch unexamined, yea, with letters credential unto the enemy; which if they had been intercepted by the citizens, without any delay and further trial, he should have been executed presently; and therefore this is a manifest argument of God's provi-

denique exercitum, qui fere erat confectus ex hæreticis, ipse religiosus existens, & in habitu ordinis sui, qui ita erat exosus talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis, quæ paulo ante prope Parisios vi ceperant, monachos quosque vel occiderint, vel pessime tractaverint.

‘ Judith erat femina, minimeque odiosa; tamen examinata sæpe, illa nihil secum tulit, unde sibi oriretur periculum; iste monachus, & propterea odiosus, ac suspectissimus, etiam cum cultello ad hoc propositum præparato, non in vagina condito (unde pòterat esse probabilis excusatio) sed nudo, ac in manica abscondito, quem si invenissent, mox fuisset in crucem actus.

‘ Istæ omnia clariora sunt particularis providentiæ divinæ argumenta, quam ut negari queat; nec aliter fieri potuit, quam ut a Deo occurrerentur oculi inimicorum ne agnoscerent illum.

‘ Nam, ut antea diximus, licet quidam ista absurde tribuant fortunæ, aut casui, tamen nos hoc totum non alio referendum censemus, quam in divinam voluntatem.

‘ Nec profecto aliter factum crederem, nisi captivarem intellectum in obsequium Christi, qui, hoc modo admirabili, & liberare civitatem Parisiensem (quam variis viis intelleximus fuisse in summo discrimine, maximisque an-

dence. But this is a far greater miracle, that he, without searching, went also through the enemies camp, by divers watches and centinels; and, which is more, through the King’s guard du corps; and, finally, through the whole army, which was made up mostly of hereticks; he being a religious man, and clad in the habit of his order, which was so odious a garb to those men, that they either killed, or severely treated, all those friars, whom they found in those places, which, not long before, they had taken about Paris.

Judith was a woman, and nothing odious, yet examined often; she carried nothing that might have turned to her danger and destruction. This man, a friar, and therefore hated, and most suspected, having also a knife prepared for that purpose, not in a scabbard (which might have made his excuse probable) but naked, and concealed in his sleeve; which, if it had been found about him, he would, questionless, have been put to death immediately.

All these are such clear arguments of the particular providence of God, that they cannot be denied; neither could it otherwise be, but that God blinded the eyes of the enemy, that they could not see nor know him.

For, as we have said before, although some do absurdly ascribe this unto fortune, or chance, yet none can refer the whole matter to any other cause, but the will and holy purpose of God.

And, indeed, I could not believe this to have been done otherwise, unless I should captive, or submit my understanding to the obedience of Christ, who determined, by these miraculous means, to deliver, and set at liberty, the

gustiis constitutam) & istius regis gravissima peccata punire, eumque tam infausta & infami morte e medio tollere statuit. Atque nos, dolentes sane, aliquoties prædiximus fore, ut quemadmodum erat familiæ suæ ultimus, ita aliquem insuetum & dedecorosum vitæ exitum esset habiturus. Quod me dixisse non solum Cardinales Joiosa, Lenocortius, & Parisiensis, sed etiam, qui tunc apud nos residebat orator testes esse possunt.

Neque enim hic mortuos, sed viventes, in testimonium huiusmodi verborum nostrorum adhibemus, quorum isti omnes probe meminisse possunt. Quidquid tamen in hunc infelicem regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, nullo modo volumus, ut pertineat ad nobilissimum illud Galliæ regnum, quod nos imposturum, sicut hactenus, semper omni paterno amore ac honore prosequemur. De persona ergo regis tantum ista cum dolore diximus, cujus infaustus finis eximit quoque ipsum ab iis officiis, quæ solet hæc sancta sedes (quæ est pia mater omnium fidelium, & maxime Christianorum principum) imperatoribus & regibus post mortem exhibere: quæ pro isto libenter quoque fecissemus, nisi id fieri in hoc casu sacræ scripturæ vetarent.

Est, inquit S. Ioannes, peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis: quod vel intelligi potest de peccato ipso, ac si diceret, pro illo peccato, vel pro

city of Paris, which, as we have heard, was in great danger and extremity; and to punish the notorious sins of that king, and to deprive him of his life by such an unhappy and infamous kind of death; and we truly, not without great inward grief, have oftentimes foretold, that, as he was the last of his name and family, so was he like to have, and make, some strange and shameful end of his life. And, that I have, several times, said this thing, not only the Cardinals Joiosa, Lenocortius, and Parisiensis, but also the ambassador, at that time here resident, can sufficiently testify.

For we mean not to call the dead to attest our words, but the living; some whereof at this very present do yet well remember them. But, whatsoever we have been forced to speak against this unfortunate king, we would, by no means, have it thought to be intended against the noble realm of France; which we shall embrace and foster hereafter, as we have hitherto always done, with all fatherly love, honour, and affection. This, therefore, which we with grief have spoken, concerns the king's person only, whose unhappy and unlucky end deprives him also of those honourable offices and respects, which his holy seat (the tender mother of all faithful, but especially of Christian princes) is wont to pay to emperors and kings; which we most willingly would likewise have bestowed on him, if the holy scriptures, in this case, had not altogether forbidden it.

There is, saith St. John, 'a sin unto death; I say not that any should pray for it;' which may be understood either of the sin itself, as if he should say, for that sin,

remissione illius peccati nolo ut quisquam roget, quoniam non est remissibile: vel, quod in eundem sensum redit, pro illo homine, qui peccat peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere etiam Salvator apud Matthæum, quod ille, 'Qui peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur, neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro.' Ubi facit tria genera peccatorum, nimirum in Patrem, in Filium, & in Spiritum Sanctum; atque priora duo esse minus gravia, & remissibilia, tertium vero irremissibile; quæ tota differentia, sicut ex scripturis scholæ tradunt, oritur ex distinctione attributorum, quæ singula singulis personis sanctissimæ Trinitatis appropriantur.

⁴ Licet enim, sicut eadem est essentia, sic eadem quoque est potentia, sapientia, & bonitas omnium personarum (sicut ex symbolo S. Athanasij didicimus, cum ait, 'Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus') tamen, per attributionem, Patri applicatur potentia, Filio sapientia, Spiritui Sancto amor; quorum singula eo modo, quo attributa dicuntur, ita sunt propria cujusque personæ, ut in aliam referri non queant; ex quorum attributorum contrariis, & distinctionem, & gravitatem peccatorum dignoscimus.

⁵ Contrarium potentiæ, quæ attribuitur Patri, est infirmitas; ut proinde id quod ex infirmitate, seu naturæ nostræ imbecillitate, committimus, dicatur committi in Patrem. Oppositum sapientiæ est ignorantia, ex qua cum quis peccat,

or for the remission of that sin, I will that none should pray, because it is not pardonable: Or else, which comes to the same sense, for that man who committeth such a sin unto death, I say not that any should pray for; of which sin, our Saviour himself has spoken in St. Matthew, saying, 'That he, that sinneth against the Holy Ghost, shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come;' where he setteth down three sorts, or kinds, of sins, to wit, against the Father, against the Son, and against the Holy Ghost; and that the two first are less heinous and pardonable, but that the third is altogether unpardonable. All which difference proceedeth from the distinction of the attributes, as the schools teach us out of the Holy Scriptures; which severally are appropriated to every several person of the Holy Trinity.

For although, as the essence of all the three persons is but one, so also is their power, wisdom, and goodness (as we have learned out of St. Athanasius's creed, when he says, 'The Father Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty') yet, by attribution, power is ascribed unto the Father, wisdom unto the Son, and love unto the Holy Ghost; whereof every several, as they are termed attributes, are so proper unto every several person, that they cannot be attributed and referred unto any other. By the contraries of which attributes, we come to discern the distinction and greatness of sin.

The contrary to power, which is attributed to the Father, is weakness or infirmity; and, therefore, that which we do amiss through infirmity, or weakness of nature, is said to be committed against the Father: the opposite

dicitur peccare in filium; ita ut ea, quæ vel ex humana infirmitate, vel ignoracione peccamus, facilius nobis condonari soleant.

‘Tertium autem attributum, quod est Spiritus Sancti, nempe amor, habet pro contrario ingratitude, vitium maxime odibile: unde venit, ut homo non agnoscat Dei erga ipsum dilectionem, aut beneficia; sed obliviscatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, ut obstinatus redatur atque impœnitens, atque his modis multo gravius & periculosius peccatur in Deum, quam ex ignorantia, aut imbecillitate; proinde hujusmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum. Et, quia rarius, ac difficilius, & non nisi abundantiori gratia condonantur, dicuntur irremissibilia quodammodo; cum tamen sola impœnitentia sit omnino & simpliciter irremissibilis: quicquid enim in vitia committitur, licet contra Spiritum Sanctum, potest per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem. Sed qui perseverat usquead mortem, nullum locum relinquit gratiæ ac misericordiæ: atque pro tali peccato, seu pro homine sic peccante, noluit apostolus ut post mortem oraremus.

‘Jam ergo quia magno nostro dolore intelligimus, prædictum regem ex hac vita sine pœnitentia, seu impœnitentem excessisse, nimirum in consortio hæreticorum; ex talibus enim hominibus consecrat exercitum suum: & quod commendaverat moriens regnum in successione Navarræ declarato Hæretico, & excommunicato; necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo fere

unto wisdom is ignorance, through which, when a man sinneth, he is said to sin against the Son; and, therefore, what we commit through natural infirmity, or ignorance, is more easily forgiven us.

The third attribute, which is the Holy Ghost’s, is love, and hath, for its contrary, ingratitude, a vice most detestable and odious, which causeth men not to acknowledge the love of God, and his benefits bestowed upon them; but to forget, despise, yea, and to hate them; and from hence, at last, it comes to pass, that they prove obstinate and impenitent. And thus to sin against God is far more dangerous and dreadful, than if it was done either through ignorance, or natural infirmity, and therefore it is termed a sin against the Holy Ghost; and, because such sins are seldom and hardly, and not without great abundance of grace pardoned, in some sort, they are said to be unpardonable: whereas final impenitence only is really and simply unpardonable. For whatsoever is done amiss in this life, although it be against the Holy Ghost, yet, by repentance, it may be wiped out, or done away, before we die; but they that persevere therein till death, are excluded from all grace and mercy hereafter. And, therefore, for such sins and sinners, the apostle hath forbidden to pray after their decease.

Now, therefore, because we understand, not without great grief, that the aforesaid king departed this life without repentance, or impenitent, to wit, in the communion and fellowship of hereticks (for all his army was made up almost of none other but such men) and that, by his last will, he commended and made over his crown and kingdom to the succession of Navarre,

vitzæ spiritu, ab eodem & similibus circumstantibus petierit, ut vindictam sumerent de iis, quos ipse judicabat fuisse causas mortis suæ. Propter hæc, & similia manifesta impenitentiz indicia, decrevimus pro ipso non esse celebrandas exequias; non quod præsumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipsum Dei iudiciis, aut misericordiis, qui poterat secundum beneplacitum suum in ipso exitu animæ suæ convertere cor ejus, & misericorditer cum illo agere; sed ista locuti sumus secundum ea, quæ nobis exterius patent.

‘Faxit benignissimus Salvator noster, ut reliqui, hoc horrendo justitiæ supernæ exemplo admoniti, in viam salutis redeant, & quod misericorditer hoc modo cœpit, benigne prosequatur, ac perficiat, sicut eum facturum speramus: ut de crepta ecclesia de tantis malis, & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

‘In quam sententiam cum dixisset pontifex, dimisit consistorium cum benedictione.

long since declared an heretick, and excommunicated; as also, in his extremity, and now ready to yield up the ghost, desired of him, and such as he was, then standing by, that they would revenge his death upon those whom he judged to be the cause thereof. For these, and such like manifest tokens of his impenitency, we have decreed not to solemnise his death with funerals; not that we presume any thing by these, concerning God’s secret judgments against him, or his mercies towards him, who could, according to his good pleasure, convert and turn his heart, even when his soul was leaving the body, and deal mercifully with him: but this we have spoken, being thereunto moved by these external signs and tokens.

God grant that all, being admonished and warned by this fearful example of heavenly justice, may repent and amend; and that it may further please him to continue and accomplish that which he hath thus mercifully begun for us, as we firmly hope he will, to the end we may give everlasting thanks to him, that he hath delivered his church from such great and imminent dangers.

When his holiness had thus ended his speech, he broke up the consistory, and dismissed them with his benediction.

THE
WHOLE AND TRUE DISCOURSE
OF THE
ENTERPRISES AND SECRETE CONSPIRACIES,
THAT HAUE BENE MADE AGAINST THE PERSON OF
HENRY DE VALOIS,
MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRAUNCE AND POLAND:

Wherupon followed his death, by the hand of a young Iacobin Frier, the first day of August, 1589; whereby the Enemies of the Crown thought to haue reduced and brought all Fraunce to their will and Deuotion. Together with the Assembly, that the King, before his Death, made of the Princes of the Blood, Lordes, and Gentlemen, that were in his Armie, with the heads of the straungers, to whom he declared his last will.

Englised out of the French copie, printed at Caen in Normandie. Imprinted by Thomas Purfoote, and are to be seculde at his shoppe, without New gate, ouer against S. Sepulchers Church. 1589. In black Letter. Octavo, containing twelve pages.

YF the holy scripture, yea, God himselfe expresly forbid vs, and that with threatning vs to fal into the indignation and iudgment of the higher power, that we should not in any wise touch or hurt the anoynted of the Lord, it is a matter worthy to bee wondred at, that hee, who calleth himselfe the preacher of the gospel, should so far forget himselfe, as that hee neither knewe, nor vnderstoode the will of God, who so greatly esteemeth, and ordaineth to bee honoured and respected, the partie to whom hee committeth the gouernment of a common weale, although hee vse rigoure and seueritie.

And who, I pray you, from time out of mans memorie, can giue vs testimonie of so wretched an act, and so worthie of euerlasting blame, to haue hapened, and to haue bene committed and perpetrated in all Christiandome, as that, which is yet all bloodie in our Fraunce, committed against our so gracious and mercifull King, Henrie de Valois, King of Fraunce and Polande? An act, verily, vtterlie vnworthy a Christian, and that would not be belieued to haue bin exercised amongst the most barbarous nations of the world.

We find, yea in the holy scriptures themselues, that there haue bine reuoltings, discontentments, contradictions, and murmurings; and that, in the ende, many people haue raysed wars against their kings and princes, by reason of the great subsidies, impostes, and heauie burthens,

and other charges, that were layde vpon their shoulders, very hard and vnease to be borne; but it is not found, that there hath an assault and murder ben done, nor conspired, against the soueraigne authoritie.

Wee read of Salomon, who had imposed and layd vpon the backes of the people, that were committed vnto him by the authoritie of God, importable burdens, wherewith the subiects felt themselves ouerturned and wholly oppressed. Ieroboam, his welbeloued seruaunt, albeit hee had received news by Abias, the auncient prophet of God, that hee should raigne ouer tenne tribes of Israell, and that there should but one of the tribes remaine in the house of Dauid; yet the saide Ieroboam, being at difference and diuision with his mayster, had rather to flie from the face of his mayster Salomon, and to go into Egipt, then to quarrell with him; notwithstanding, when Salomon was dead, and his eldest sonne, Roboam, succeeded in the kingdome, Ieroboam, by the aduertisement of the people, was enformed howe all matters went; who, when hee was returned, together with the people, exhibited a supplication to the King to ease them of those heauie burdens, that his father had layde vpon them. Whereto King Roboam woulde not yeilde, and they went there waies, very greatly discontented. And the saide Ieroboam raigned ouer tenne of the tribes of Israell, who crowned him Kinge and ruler ouer them: but they long continued not in that estate, but the vengeance of God fel vpon them after the death of the saide Roboam. And amongst all that is written of this goodly historie, in the book of Paralipomenon, the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, and in the firste booke of Kinges, the firste, seconde, thirde, fourth, and other chapters following, there is no mention made (though there wanted no meanes) of the practising amongst them of any other meanes, nor of any other kinde of assaulting the King, though hee were constrained to flie vnto Ierusalem) nor of Abias his sonne, that raigned after him. Wee finde also, that, in the warres, many kinges haue bene smitten and slaine; others also, by the iust iudgment of God, haue bene killed and wounded by diuerse straunge mortall woundes. The reuerence due to the king, aswell in the warres, as otherwise, hath bene, and yet is in so great accompt, that there is an obseruation in the warres, when the King is there in person, to crie aloud, 'Saue the Kinge, saue the Kinge.'

They will aledge, it was done vpon wrath and indignation, for that which was executed vpon Mounsire de Guyse by hys Maiesties commaundement.

I aunswere them: It is not the part of a seruaunt, nor of any other whomsoever, to make himselfe equall and euenlyke, nor to compare himselfe with the auctority, power, or highnes of an emperor, kinge, or magistrate, who executeth and disposeth of his affaires, as pleaseth himselfe, and according to his good counsell: after whose example, and in imitation of hym, if perticuler persons shoulde take vpon them to make ordinaunces, and to entermeddle in the rule and gouernment of the ciuill estate and the affaires of the kingdome, what order, what gouernment, what iustice shoulde wee haue therein? To whom might it bee saide, that the obedience were due, which wee protest to yeild, in the name of God, to our superiours, whome hee hath ordeined and established ouer his people.

There is no question, nor controuersie, but that a long time there hath bene verie secret practising against the Kinge; for his Maiesties owne selfe hath often discouered verie euident tokens thereof, whereby hee might easilie bee perswaded of their canckred heartes toward him; as may appeare by the serching and sifting, that the house of Guyse hath made, as being descended from Charlemaine, vpholding the bull of Pope Stephen, in the behalfe of Pepin, Kinge of Fraunce, and of his wife, with their two issues males, one of the which was the same Charlemaine: the which bull (next after the consecrating and anoynting of the regality, in the person of the saide Pepin and his wife, by the same pope) containeth a iudgment of curse against them that shoulde presume to enterprise the French scepter, and preuaile to obtaine the same, except they were such, as shoulde discend from the saide Pepin and his race. There haue bene other sufficient occasions brought to light, which I will passe in silence.

But I wonder why they laid that so long aside, and opposed not themselves, to them that have raigned sithence that time. I wotte well that they have ruled and gouerned in Fraunce in their time, and that nothing was done, but what they allowed for the most part.

And to alleadge at this daie, that the king had hardely dealt with them: Hee that had brought to light so many dealinges, and enterprises, they indeuoring and purposing to aide and defend themselves with a league and association (in a manner) of all the townes and communalities of all Fraunce, where they could get audience. This kinde of proceeding was, in truth, concluded and determined from the counsell of Trent: and being assured of a great number of people, as well churchmen, as gentlemen, and of the thirde estate, vnder colour of the reuiving of fayth and religion, and also of the asswaging and lessening of the impositions, taxes, and subsidies, that the Kinge demanded, by reason of the necessity of the affaires of his kingdome; and of other pranks, wherwith, I may well say, a great number of folke were bewitched, forsaking their kinge, who onely hath power and authoritie in his kingdome to take order in all such matters, the which people stayed themselves upon certaine perticuler persons, that haue not any meane to accomplish the same, but only by taking their swordes in hande, and altogether to inforce the Kinge to graunt to their minds, or else to constraine him to yeld up his scepter; and intending thus to winne the authoritie that they seeke to haue ouer all Fraunce; to bring all things into confusion and disorder; to murder all them that should refuse to be obedient to their will; to sease their goods and possessions; to recompence the heades of these warres, for their good seruice employed for this league, at their costes. These matters are wel ynough knowne to many, by the actions that they haue committed, yea, and after what sort they haue led the Kings Maiestie about, who, for a certaine space, distrusted not their hipocrisie and dissimulation. But they could not so couertlye and cunningly playe their game, but it was espyed, how they had deliberated to shutte the Kinge up in a religious house, there to finish the rest of his dayes.

Now when this confederacie and league was thus confirmed and

settled, and the time of the execution of their intent drewe neere, we know howe the Kinge was constrained to withdrawe himself from Paris, and all those matters that ensued therevpon, vntill the assembly of his general estats at Bloys. At which place, in the beginning, the Kinge of Nauarra, and all those of his race, are declared to be vnmeet and vncapable to succeed to the crowne of Fraunce, as men attained and convicted of heresie, in their onely judgement, with confiscation of all their possessions. In which place they thought verily to have accomplished and attained to the perfection of their secrete intents and complots. But when matters stirred and turned otherwise then they expected, and the estates ceased, they must needs open the closet of their heartes, whereby were reuealed their fautors and assisters. And, even as there was left but one tribe of the children of Israell in the house of David, in the handes of Kinge Roboam, the lawfull and naturall sonne, and rightfull successor of his father Salomon; so did the Kinge finde himselfe stripped of all his good townes, noblemen, and an infinit number of men at armes, so that that he had no sure accesse nor place of retrait, saving in the lesser part of his kingdome, though there were many of his side in the protestant townes, but the force was not in their hands. Seeing themselues then thus strong, they cried, 'God saue the League, God saue the League!' The which word, because it seemed odious, they hate changed into Vnion.

The Kinge weighing and considering this kinde of proceeding, and perceiuing their demeanors, pride and ambition, setting and rooting in the heartes of these hypocrites, the taking of his townes, borroughes, castels, and strong holdes, with double assurance of men in pay, and out of pay; it was necessarie for him to craue aid els where; and as hee was alwaies well assured of the good will of the Kinge of Nauarra, his brother-in-law, toward him, so did he not sticke nor make any difficultie to call him to his aide: Whereunto the saide lord would not in any respect disobey, notwithstanding the rigour of the edicts and declarations that the saide King of Fraunce had made against my saide Lord the King of Nauarra, and his aiders, and had caused their goods and possessions, both mouable and unmouable, to bee solde, according to the desire of his enemies the leaguers, besides other matters which they caused the saide deceased kinge to doe by force, for the most part, and wherein most often hee knew not what hee did. Which matters the saide lord, the Kinge of Nauarra, hath sufficiently set downe at large in all his protestations that he hath made to his Maiestie.

Now Sathan, seeking like a roaring lion whom he may deuour, perceiuing this good and holic agreement and reconciliation, with the good will of the faithfull protestantes of the Kings side, he could no longer stay himselfe in assurance, forasmuch as his deuises went euill forward. For these of the Kinges side, taking courage, haue brought manie sheepe backe againe to their owne fold. Herewithall, hee perceived howe the straunger tooke the cause in hand, and stirred against the disturbers of the common tranquillitie. They coulde not otherwise judge, for the behoof of the cause, but to persecute the head, that the members might be the sicker.

In this iudgment and opinion, there bee many sortes of folke. For some of them ought to bee plaine and continent in their willes; others are bolde and ignorant, ledde by their owne affection without iudgment; other some, contrarie to their solitarines, are forerunners, who, contrarie to their profession, entermeddle to doe things cleane contrarie to all honest conuersation, which causeth them to be euill liked, of such as desire to walke plainlie in their vocation. All the which kindes of folke, thus put together, cannot, in their particular passions, which are without all holines and pietie, rightly nor fitly giue any good counsell for such matters as are to be done; for they prefer their wicked intention (which is transported with pride and vnsatiable couetousnes) before all good affection, and the saftie of the common weale. And all of them so put together, without foresight of that which is to come, reiecting all manner of knowledge of God, cannot deliberate any other thing, sauing onely the cutting away of the head of the tree, that the braunches might wither away the sooner.

This counsell was holden at Paris, whereat were present at that time the principall heads of this league, in which place, Sathan offered one worse then Iudas, for Iudas kissed his maister after he had sold him, and acknowledged his offence afterwards. But this young man, a Iacobin frier of religion, hath made no difficulty nor sticking, to wound to death him, that so hartily loued that order aboue all the whole nations of religious persons, who had cherished them, as they that were welcome about his person. This will I say, it is no noueltie that they begin to doe euill. I will produce an emperour that was poysoned by a halowed hoast, empoisoned notwithstanding, which was presented unto him by a Iacobin. This order of friers preachers haue alwaies bene very desirous to bee welcome amongst men of high calling, and to undertake odious offices, as to be of the inqysition of sayth, and others. These of the league, upon consideration thereof, prouoke and styrre more and more thys poore cursed wretch, within whose hart Sathan lodged, to keepe him alwaies in this cursed mind. Upon the resolution hereof, they prepared him a knife for this purpose, which they double poysoned with such kind of poyson, that, though the party stryken with thys instrument dye not presentlie, yet it shall not be possible for him to escape, nor liue long after.

Upon Tuesday, the first of August, very early in the morning, this diuelish person taketh his iorney, purposing to find his Maiesty at S. Clou, two small leagues from Paris: attending his vprising, for feare of losing the occasion to speake with him; being well assured to haue entrance to him, in respect of the fauor that the Kinge bore vnto them; hauing in his hand a letter or missive, to deliuer vnto him from the first president of Paris, as the report goeth, whome they detainee prisoner.

Assoone as hee was aduertised that hee might conueniently speake with the Kinge, hee entereth with a bolde face, as hardy as a lyon, and, like a bloody traitor, gave him the tube, with a very lowe and humble curtesie, offering vnto him the said pretended writing of the

same president; and comming neer to his Maiestie, hee signified unto him, how hee had another secret to declare vnto him. The King, hearing the same, caused two gentlemen to goe out, that serued him at his vprising. Then this Iacobin, continuing in his wicked mind, drew this knife, and therewith thrust the Kinge into the little belly, as they call it; the which stroke entred not into his body, neyther dyed hee presentlie. The Kinge seeing this, and being mooued, laid hold of a dagger that lay neere unto hym, and therewith stroke the saide monke, who, being hurt with the stroke, and much affrighted, fell presently down for feare: howbeit not dead, but, as is commonly sene, a malefactor is never settled and assured in conscience, when he goeth about to execute such a crueltie. Thys wretched monk, being worse feared then hurt, had leysure to speake.

Upon the which noise, the saide gentlemen sodenly came in againe, with others, who, by the Kings commandement, slue him not, but tooke him up. After the Kinge was dressed, euen so far, that hee had seuen stiches with a needle, as the report goeth, hee gaue commandement for the examination of the saide monke, which was accomplished; and he declared who set him on, the authors, and all other informations, with his name and vocation, and that he was not counterfayted, but of the saide order. Which being finished, through impatiency he was kylled, suffering aboue a hundred thrusts with daggers; and, which is worthy the maruayling at, it is reported, that the said monkes flesh became as black as a uery rauens, which ys easie to be beleueed, because Sathan dwelt wythin hym, and then the iudgement of God that appeareth to men in diuerse sorts; behold here a pytyfull tragedy.

But, as God will serue his purpose with men, by many and diuerse sortes, the Kinge, being yet of good chere, with the hope which hee had conceiued that his wound might mend, sent with speede for his brother-in-lawe the King of Nauarra, the lordes of his court, gouernours, captaines that were in his armie, and especially the heads of the straungers that were in his countrie, to the intent that, if it so fell out that hee did, the disorder and misrule should not be so great, that all the armie should be broken up, nor an unmeasurable confusion ensue therevpon. When they were all thus assembled, God put into the Kinges mouth so stedfast and stated speach, as though he had felt no grieffe, and began to signify to the assemblie, that the lawfull succession of the royall estate of Fraunce fell not to any other, sauing in the person of Burbon; and, declaring at that time the Kinge of Nauarra first successor, he prayed and exhorted the whole companie so to acknowledge him, and to be faithfull vnto him; and to protest all with one voice the acknowledging and taking in good part of this deede, and true obedience, as to the true and lawfull heire, and to cause the like promise and acknowledgment to bee made in the campe by all true and faithfull captaines and souldiers, that could not bee present at the saide assembly, aswell naturall Frenchmen as straungers, who all, with gladness of hart (though otherwise sad and sorrowfull for his Maiesties wound) swore to execute the Kinges will.

Vpon the ordering and disposing of all matters in this sorte, the Kinge sent letters into all places, where he had yet the full gouernment,

and especially to Caan to Mounsyr de la Verune, gouvernour and bayly at Caan, and to the court of parliament established at the saide place, with hope, that there was no daunger of death. Asmuch was written vnto them from Mounsyr de Mountpensier, gouvernour-general for his Maiestie in Normandy, who was then at Andely upon the riuer of Seyne, where hee caused his whole armie to take the like oath; exhorting the heades to maintaine the Kinges will. Whiche was accorded vnto him, with hope, as the saide lord gouvernour demed, that there shold be no daunger of the Kinges death, by Gods helpe.

But, the next daie following, the saide lord gouvernour chaunged that kind of language, writing to the saide bayly of Caan, whereby hee gaue him to vnderstand, how the Kinge dyed the Wednesdaie next following the daie wherein he was wounded.

An assembly was holden at Caan, vpon Sondag the sixt daie of August, of all the citzens and inhabitantes of the same place, in the presence of the bayly of Caan, and the court of parliament, the bodie of the towne, and the gentlemen of the countrie, where the skilful person Mounsyr de Lisoires, President in the saide court of parliament, did sit as president; and when he had deliuered and shewed to all the whole company what matters had happened, with admiration of the speech of thys lord, as protesting perfect loyalty on his owne behalfe: publication of his Maiesties letters, and of Mountpensiers letters, was publicly made, where all vniformally sware their acknowledgment and fidelity, every man protesting to mayntayne the will of Henry de Valois, thus deceased, in all thinges that it containeth.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

SPANISH FLEET INVADING ENGLAND,

IN THE YEAR 1588,

AND

OVERTHROWN BY HER MAJESTY'S NAVY,

UNDER THE CONDUCT OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD,

High Admiral of England.

Written in Italian by PETRUCCIO UBALDINO, Citizen of Florence, and translated for A. RYTHER; to be sold at his Shop, being a little from Leadenhall, next to the Sign of the Tower. MDXC.

The constant attempts which the Romish powers have made upon our religion and liberties; the many private treasons they have fomented against our establishment in church and state; their vast armaments that have been made from time

to time, since we forsook the superstition of Rome, and believed in the gospel only; and especially the late combined force of France and Spain, to ruin us by sea and land, calls upon us to be thankful to God, who still continues to fight for us, as he did in the infancy of the reformation; as will better appear by comparing our present state with the following account.

The Pope had suffered so great a loss in his revenue by the utter separation of England from his authority, when Queen Elizabeth confirmed and established the reformation begun and continued by her father and brother, that he tried all means to take her out of the way; and working more especially with the potent King, Philip of Spain, they both determined either to cut her off by private artifices, or, if those should fail, to subdue the nation by open force. The Pope leads the way. For, it being so shocking to human nature, to contrive the death, and to take away the life of God's anointed, or the governor of his people, he, with his pretended dispensing power, was to strive to quiet the consciences of those bigots to be made use of on that occasion. The first step was to excommunicate the Queen and all her council, and their adherents; and then to absolve all those her subjects, that were willing to be rebels and traitors, from their obligated allegiance. Then he assumed a right to dispose of the crown of England; gave it to the King of Spain, and exhorted Philip, to reduce it to his yoke by force of arms; engaged other states, and largely assisted him otherwise to enable him to make a successful invasion and to conquer, and decreed it a virtue and a merit, deserving of heaven, in those English subjects, that could be so rajoled to arm for Spain, and rebel against their lawful sovereign. Philip of Spain, thus prompted and supported, resolved upon the execution of a design that would, if successful, add so much power and riches to his crown: but still he pretended friendship, disavowed his intention, and solicited Queen Elizabeth's reconciliation to the Romish religion, that he might the better cover the wicked design of taking away her life privately or by treason. For, in the year 1584, William Parry, whose trial is proposed to be printed at large in this collection, instigated by Eenedicto Palmio, and Christophero de Salazar, secretary to King Philip, undertook to murder her Sacred Majesty; and Hannibal Codreto, a Spanish priest, approved the same diabolical design. But this was providentially detected; and so her Majesty escaped the bloody hands of that monster of ingratitude, whom she had before saved from the gallows; yet again, in the year 1586, Babington and Ballard agreed with Bernardin Mendoza, then the King of Spain's ambassador, to betray the land to a Spanish invasion, or to kill the Queen; but they were both preserved from their wickedness by the Almighty power and goodness of God. Thus Philip hoping for no success in this private scheme, his intentions being so often detected, and his armaments already compleated, resolved to fight against God and his servants, by the help of the Pope and the whole strength of his own power; and, in consequence of that resolution, in the year 1588, he sent from Lisbon, on the 19th of May, that sea armament, which he called, The Invincible Navy, or, as the Pope Sixtus the Fifth termed it, The great, noble, and invincible army, and terror of Europe, consisting of 134 sail of tall towering ships, besides galleys, galliasses, and galleons, stored with 22000 pounds of great shot, 40200 quintals or hundred weights of powder, 1000 quintals of lead for bullets, 10200 quintals of match, 7000 muskets and calievers, 1000 partizans and halberts; besides double cannons, mortars, and field-pieces for a camp, upon disembarking, and a great many mules, horses, and asses, with six months provision of bread, bisquet, and wine; 60500 quintals of bacon, 3000 cheese, 12000 pipes of fresh water, besides a full proportion of other sorts of flesh, rice, beans, pease, oil, and vinegar. To which he added a great quantity of torches, lanterns, lamps, canvas, hides, and lead, to stop leaks, &c. according to some accounts.

The English fleet gave them such a reception, that, by the blessing of God, it soon defeated and dispersed that Invincible Navy, and made it vincible. In memory of which great and miraculous deliverance from the Spanish and Popish tyranny, there was a day set a-part, by authority, to be kept holy, throughout all her Majesty's dominions; and it is much to be regretted, that so great a mercy and duty should be now laid aside: for, as a certain great writer observes, Doubtless, all men and women, who would not have bowed the knee to (Spanish) Baal, had then been put to the sword; their children had been tossed

at the Pike's end, or else their brains dashed out by some ill-faced Dons or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that time of England's deliverance, amongst whom I shall only mention the reverend and religious Theodore Beza (of pious memory) whose pathetick Poem gatulatory on that occasion, in Latin, inscribed to the Queen, I shall give you here translated by an excellent pen into the language of those days:

Spain's King, with navies huge, the seas bestrew'd,
 T'augment, with English crown, his Spanish sway.
 Ask you, what caus'd this proud attempt? 'Twas lewd
 Ambition drove, and Av'rice led the way.
 'Tis well Ambition's windy puff lies drown'd
 By winds; and swelling hearts, by swelling waves.
 'Tis well the Spaniards, who the world's vast round
 Devour'd, devouring sea most justly craves.
 But thou, O Queen, for whom winds, seas, do war,
 O thou sole glory of the world's wide mass,
 So reign to God, still from ambition far,
 So still, with bounteous aids, the good embrace,
 That thou do England long, long England thee enjoy,
 Thou terror of all bad, thou every good man's joy!

TO THE READER.

Who list to hear and see what God hath done
 For us, our realm, and Queen, against our foe,
 Our foe, the Spaniard proud, let him o'er-run
 This little book, and he the truth shall know:
 Which, when you read with care, retain this thought,
 That, howso'er the means deserved well,
 'Twas chiefly God, against our foe, that fought,
 And sent them quick through midst of sea to hell.
 Whither both quick, and thick, let them go down,
 That seek to alienate the title of our crown.

T. H.

THE Queen's Majesty having divers ways understood the great and diligent preparation of the King of Spain, in divers parts, both by land and sea, not only of the strongest ships of all places within his dominions; but also of all sorts of provision and ammunition necessary for a mighty fleet, which was to come from Spain and Portugal (for the furnishing and better direction wherof he had drawn together, into the places aforesaid, the most principal and antient captains and soldiers, as well of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, as of Lombardy, and other parts of Italy, and the more remote parts of India, as by every one was long before very evidently perceived, by reason that the preparation of these things, together with the number of the ships, mariners, and soldiers, the divers sorts and quantities of victuals, the great number and divers kinds of artillery, with the sum of

every several kind, were sufficiently specified unto all countries, by certain pamphlets, laying forth at large his whole intent; the which pamphlets were printed and published in Spain and Portugal, and other provinces of Christendom, with this title. 'The most puissant and most happy fleet of the King of Spain, against the realm of England:*) her Majesty, I say, having in this manner received so open and manifest information hereof, as also certain intelligence of horsemen and footmen, sent in so great number, that they were sufficient for the furnishing of divers camps in the Low Countries, under the government of the Duke of Parma, his lieutenant-general for those provinces, and withal knowing the multitude of the ships of war, and the possibility that the said King had to transport his soldiers out of Flanders, and land them in England, not sparing to give out thereupon open and free report, that all that provision was for the invasion and conquest of England: and for so much also as at the same time the King himself, by means of his aforesaid general, the Duke of Parma, pretended a certain treaty of peace to be made with her Majesty (albeit this offer was in truth known, in England, not to have been made, but only to take advantage of the time, and to make her Majesty negligent in preparing for her defence, although she notwithstanding desirous openly to declare her good inclination unto that, which is a just and Christian commendation, in a prudent princess) refused not in any point this treaty and offer of peace, greatly desired of all Christian people; and, therefore, for that purpose gave commandment to certain noblemen of her privy council and others, with certain governors of her forces in Flanders, to deal in this matter with the commissioners that should be there appointed, in the name and behalf of the said King; and our commissioners after their departure and manifest declaration, that they began to parley to some purpose concerning this treaty, being driven off a long time to small effect, and without any manifest hope of agreement likely to ensue, until such time as the Spanish fleet was not only discovered in the English channel, but also withheld and bridled from their purpose, in joining with the forces of the Duke of Parma, and transporting an army into England; and, finally, until such time as it was inforced to withdraw itself, and seek some better fortune in the Northern seas, being every where else unable to make any forceable resistance. Therefore, her Majesty, as well to declare her propense readiness, if on their part any sincere intent of peace had been, as her vigilant providence, not to be deluded by so subtle and malicious an enemy, furnished herself by sea with a mighty fleet, and by land with a no less diligence to resist so great forces, as by all nations were reported to come against her. For it was never known in the memory of Man*, that so great preparation was ever heretofore at one time made, either by King Philip himself, or yet by the emperor Charles the Fifth, his father, although his power were much more, and his occasions of war far greater.

The diligence therefore of the Englishmen, answerable unto the care of the Prince, was such and so great, that her Majesty was pro-

* See the particulars above in the introduction to this tract, and in one of the other pamphlets.

vided of a mighty fleet to defend her by sea from the enemy, between the first of November, 1587, and the twentieth of December next ensuing, a time in truth very short for such a provision, in regard of so many years spent by the said King in preparing of his fleet, which, notwithstanding, did shew of what force it was, by experience, afterwards made thereof against the English navy, gathered together within fifty days, and provided and most excellently furnished of all things necessary for such a purpose. The care and charge of this navy was commended unto the Right Honourable Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who, for his place and office, noble courage, experience in martial affairs, and nobility of blood and descent, was thought most fit and worthy to be employed in that service. He had in his company a sufficient number of honourable, worshipful, and valiant personages, famous both in respect of their birth and the gifts of mind, desirous to serve their prince and country in such a cause as this, being judged of the whole English nation both just and necessary; likewise of sea-faring men and private soldiers so competent a number, as might be answerable unto the power of so great a prince in so weighty a cause. The Lord High Admiral, therefore, with these forces, keeping for a season the narrow seas and channel between England and Flanders, Sir Francis Drake, knight, mentioned here also in honour of his good deserts, was, by the advice of the lords of the council and his honour so commanding it, sent towards the west parts with certain of the Queen's ships and others from certain ports of England therabouts, being in all not above the number of fifty sail of all sorts, there to attend the lord high admiral his coming with greater forces, if occasion should so require. In the mean season the lord admiral with his vice admiral, the Lord Henry Seymour, kept the narrow seas, accompanied with twenty ships more, very well furnished at the charge of the citizens of London, besides many other from divers parts on that side of the realm, that lieth from the town of Dover up to the northward, which met all together in good order, and well appointed for the wars.

And here the lord admiral understanding, for a certainty, that the fleet of the enemy was already launched and at the sea, he weighed anchor, and leaving the Lord Seymour with sufficient forces of the Queen's ships and other vessels to watch what the Duke of Parma would do, or was able to undertake by sea, and parting from thence the twenty-first of May, 1588, to the westward with her Majesty's navy, and twenty ships of London, with some others, he arrived at Plymouth, the twenty-third of the same month, where Sir Francis Drake, with fifty sail that he had under his charge, met with the lord admiral in very good order. And then, the two navies being joined together into one, the lord admiral made Sir Francis Drake his vice-admiral.

Arriving then at Plymouth, his lordship presently gave order for provision of victuals for the whole navy, that it might want nothing, that should tend to the necessary service ensuing. The whole navy was at this present about ninety sail of all sorts.

This provision being compleat, he resolv'd with himself to put forth to the sea again about the thirtieth of May aforesaid; but, the wind not serving his turn, he kept himself abroad, sailing up and down within the Sleeve between Ushant and Silley, attending some sight or report of the enemies fleet. Where having waited a certain time, sometimes drawing near to the coast of France, and sometimes to the coast of England, he returned, being thereto inforced by a great tempest, with his whole navy into the Port of Plymouth, the sixth of June, to refresh his company there.

In the mean season, there were discovered, between Ushant and Silley, certain ships of the Spanish fleet, not above the number of fourteen, which were known to be severed from the whole fleet, by violence of the aforesaid tempest. But, before they could be encountered withal by any of the English navy, the wind came about, whereby they had opportunity to return back again, saving themselves from all perils in their haven, called the Croin, into the which also the rest of the Spanish fleet was put to provide themselves enough of other things, which they wanted, and especially of fresh water. Of this thing the lord admiral had intelligence and advertisement from sundry parts, as also that the Spanish fleet was, by great fortune, dispersed and severed into divers places, through penury of many, and those necessary things, through diseases and mortality of men, although the report hereof could not afterwards be verified, whereof the certain truth was, that, being troubled with tempest, they were commanded to come a shore at the Croin.

The lord admiral therefore, seeing the coast of England, and France, clear and free from all danger, as, by diligent search, it was understood, resolved, by the advice and opinion of his council, to take the advantage of the next wind that should blow from the north, that, passing to the coast of Spain, he might find the enemies fleet so dispersed in the Croin, and in other parts of Galatia, where they had been driven by the storm.

This was put in execution. between the eighth and tenth of the same month, the wind being then at the north, which within a while changing unto the south, after that he was come within forty leagues, or thereabout, of the coast of Spain, made him to cast a doubt of that, which afterwards happened indeed. For laying this before him, as his principal care, according to the charge laid upon him by her Majesty, to be diligent and careful for the defence of the coast of England, and considering that, with the wind, which was now changed, and very good, to make for England, the enemy might set out, and pass for England, without discovery of his fleet, he returned back with the whole navy, and the twelfth of the same month he arrived at Plymouth, there accordingly to provide himself of all that was necessary.

The nineteenth of June, his honour had intelligence by a bark, or pinnace, whose captain was Thomas Fleming, amongst other behind him in the Sleeve for discovery, that the Spanish fleet was discovered near unto the Lizard, the wind being then south and by west. And

therefore, albeit, that, by reason of the great number of English ships which were in Plymouth, it was, with that wind, very hard to bring them forth from hence (as the military art of the sea, and the condition of their affairs required) yet was there such diligence used by the lord admiral, and the rest by his example, as they endeavoured therein, with such advice and earnestness, that many of the ships at the length warped out of the haven, as if the wind had been wholly favourable unto them: which thing could not have fallen out, but through the long and certain skill, which the English masters generally have in marine discipline. To the which reason, this may be added, that they were all of one nation, of one tongue, and touched with a grievous and equal hatred towards their enemies, being mightily persuaded of their forces. Whereupon we may in such cases assure ourselves of what importance it is, in sea-faring matters, for a fleet of any prince whatsoever, invading any foreign state or kingdom, to encounter with a fleet, ready for defence in such a manner as the English navy was, for so much as the fleet invading being provided diversly of masters and officers, differing one from another in custom, language, and conceit, cannot, in any measure, give any assured hope of certain victory, how honourable soever the commander be. Many of the ships, therefore, came forth, by reason that the men were moved in the aforesaid respects to labour diligently; and so much the rather, by how much the captains and chief officers, both by counsel and hand, shewed themselves more diligent and industrious.

By these means, the twentieth day of June, the lord admiral, accompanied with fifty-four ships, came forth with the same wind that the enemy had from the south-west: which thing certainly was not esteemed a small thing to be done, in regard as well of the wind, as of the narrowness of the place itself.

The Spanish fleet being manifestly discovered about a hundred and forty miles from Edestone, and clearly seen of every one, towards the west, and so far off from Foy, as the English fleet was, that is twenty-five ordinary English miles: the next morning, being the twenty-first of June, all the ships, which were now come out of the haven, had gotten the wind of the Spaniards, and, approaching somewhat nearer, found, that their fleet was placed in battle array after the manner of a moon crescent, being ready with her horns, and her inward circumference, to receive either all, or so many of the English navy, as should give her the assault, her horns being extended in wideness about the distance of eight miles, if the information given have not deceived my pen. The reason of their arranging, in this order, arose upon the foresight of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, general of the Spanish fleet, who, approaching the coast, sent out a small ship, to espy somewhat concerning the English fleet; and hearing by certain fishermen taken prisoners, that our fleet was in Plymouth, he prepared himself as aforesaid, for the avoiding of all such chances as might after befall. Whereupon, about nine of the clock, before noon, the lord admiral commanded his pinnace, called the *Disdain*, to give the defiance unto the Duke of Medina: after which, he himself, in the Queen's ship

called the Ark, went foremost, as was convenient, and began hotly to fight with a great ship, which was admiral of the Spanish fleet, in which ship, he thought, by reason of certain likely conjectures, the Duke of Medina to be, considering also the said ship was so well accompanied by others. The fight with her continued so long, and so hot, that divers other ships, yea, the most part of the Spanish fleet, came to her succour.

In the mean season, the vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake, with Master John Hawkins and Master Martin Frobisher, fought with a galleon of Portugal, wherein they thought Don Martin de Ricaldes the vice-admiral to be.

This fight was so well maintained for the time it continued, that the enemy was enforced to leave his place, and to give way, gathering towards the east. In the which point of removing, a great galleon, wherein Don Pedro de Valdes went as captain, falling foul with another ship of their fleet, was deprived of her foremast, so that she could not follow the body of the fleet that forsook her, to the great marvel of the Englishmen themselves, whereby Don Pedro became prisoner, as afterward shall be declared.

Furthermore also, there was, at this time, a great ship of Biscay, about eight hundred ton in burthen, that was spoiled by fire upon this occasion: the captain of the soldiers that went in her, having small regard, as is reported, of an orderly and civil life, did insolently beat a certain Flemish gunner: what cause he had, I know not, whether upon occasion of words, touching his charge, or by means of the gunner's wife, whom he had abused, according to the custom of that nation. Whereupon, the perplexed man seeing himself among such a kind of people, as not only made him serve their turns, at their own pleasure, but disgraced him in as vile manner, as if he were a slave, despairing both of life, wife, and his young daughter, and perchance rather moved with the dishonour of them, than by his own misfortunes (which mind is many times in men, even of mean condition) he set himself on fire, in a barrel of gunpowder, procuring thereby, through the loss of his own life, and the extreme hazard of those that belonged unto him, and the loss of many men's lives besides, a cruel revenge of his injuries received by one only man. This example may serve to instruct such as command over others, how they ought to behave themselves, with less insolency: inasmuch as the mind of man is always ready to revenge, after the custom of this our bloody age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick wit, and lively spirit.

Through this mischance of theirs, all the upper decks were blown up, all her furniture marred, and much other spoil done, besides the death and maiming of her men, so that, being utterly unable all that night to help herself, she was succoured by the galliasses, and, for the time, saved in the body of their fleet.

But to return unto our purpose. This first skirmish continued not above two hours, because the Lord Admiral, considering, that he wanted as yet forty ships, which could not so readily come forth of the haven, thought he should do better service, if he stayed their coming, before he proceeded any further, beating behind upon the enemy, lest

he should bring the rest too much in hazard, and, therefore, he thought it not profitable, too much, to embolden and prick those forward that he had with him, in a matter, that was not greatly convenient, either for the honour of the realm, or his own person; neither did the military discipline of the English nation, purchased by long experience at the sea, give him leave to do it. And, therefore, he put forth his flag, to call the other captains to counsel; who, agreeing unto his determination, received instructions concerning the order that they were to keep in following the Spanish fleet. Then, having given liberty to every man to return to their charge, he gave order, likewise, to his vice-admiral, Sir Francis Drake, to appoint the watch for that night, and bear out the light.

The same night the Spanish fleet lay about fourteen miles off from the Start. The next day following, early in the morning, it was under the wind, not so far off as Berry.

In the mean time, the English fleet wanting light, because, the Vice-Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, leaving his place, to follow five hulks, which were discovered in the evening, very late, it came to pass, that all the other ships staid behind, not knowing that they were to follow, or whither to direct themselves: So that there might have followed some great inconvenience, had they had to do with an enemy more practised in our seas. But as it seemed, by report, the said Vice-Admiral was moved to do this, by means of a certain curious diligence and a military suspicion, growing in his mind upon certain and very probable conjectures, grounded on circumstances of matter considered in his mind: And, therefore, he gave them the chace, thinking that they had been enemies.

But, being overtaken, and their officers examined, and being known to be friends, or, at the leastwise, not enemies, he permitted them to go their way, returning himself unto the fleet the day following.

The Lord Admiral, notwithstanding, accompanied with the Bear and the Mary Rose, coming a little behind his stern, by reason of the clearness of the air (which, at that time of the year, is ordinarily very great throughout all England) followed the enemy all that night, within a culverin-shot. By occasion whereof, the rest of the fleet was cast so far behind, that, the morning after, the nearest part thereof could hardly descry the tops of the other ships, and many of them were clean out of sight; so that with all the force of their sails, they could hardly come all together the whole day following, until the evening.

The next day the Vice-Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, being in the Queen's ship, called the Revenge, having also the Roebuck and a pinnace or two in his company, took Don Pedro de Valdes, who, as was said before, had lost the foremast of his ship: And having received the said Valdes, as his prisoner, and certain other gentlemen of most account that were therein, he sent the ship, together with the prisoners, unto Dartmouth, under the conduct of the Roebuck, and he himself made toward the Lord Admiral, under whose lee he came that night.

The same day, being the twenty-second of the month, a little before the Vice-Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, was returned unto the fleet, the Spaniards forsook the ship, which the day before was spoiled by fire.

To the which ship, the Lord Admiral sent the Lord Thomas Howard, and with him, Mr. John Hawkins, who, being in the cockboat of the Victory, went a-board her, and there found a lamentable sight. For, all the uppermost decks of her being torn and spoiled by the fire, there were in her fifty men miserably burnt with the powder. The stink in her was so great, and the ship itself so filthy, that the Lord Howard departed presently from her: And returning, with Mr. John Hawkins, to the Lord Admiral, they informed him of that they found and saw there. For which cause, there was presently commandment given, that the little pinnace of Captain Fleming should conduct her unto some port of England, where they might most commodiously help themselves. Whereupon, it was carried to Waymouth, the next day following. For all the mishap that befel this ship, they understood that the Spaniards had taken out of her all the best things that they could, casting off the bulk of her, together with certain gross stuff therein, as for that time altogether unprofitable.

About this time, her Majesty, seeing that all hope of peace was frustrate, called home again her commissioners from Flanders, who were, by the Duke of Parma, most courteously dismissed, very honourably accompanied, and themselves and their carriages safe conducted to the marches of Calais, which way they took their journey.

But to the matter: The night last before mentioned, there befel a great calm, and thereupon four Spanish galliasses severed themselves from the rest of their fleet. This thing made the Englishmen to doubt, that that night they had resolved to give the onset upon some of their lesser ships, imagining that they might annoy them the rather, for that they were the rereward of the fleet. But afterwards the galliasses (whatsoever the occasion was) enterprised nothing, either for that they saw they could not safely do it, or else because their minds were not thoroughly settled upon that which before they thought to do; a thing many times falling out in such persons as are but poor in counsel and resolution, that they continue in their perplexed conceits, without any effect or commodity ensuing thereof.

The morning following being Tuesday, the twenty-third of the month, the wind was at north-east, whereupon the Spaniards came back upon the Englishmen, with the advantage of the wind, directing their course toward the land; the which course was not profitable for the Englishmen. Therefore, to take the advantage of the enemy, they cast about toward the west, with a reasonable compass, their ships being very good both of sail and stirrage, that they might bring about their purpose. Now the Spaniards, to hinder their intent, after they perceived it, offered to come near a-board to fight with them, trusting in the huge greatness and height of their ships. The which offer of theirs the Englishmen refused not, but began presently to bring themselves into battle array, which the enemy perceiving, he also did the like.

In this case the Ark, the Lion, the Bear, the Elizabeth Jonas, the Victory, and certain other ships were content to follow the ship, called the Non Pariglia.

In the mean season the Triumph, with other five ships of London, namely, the Merchant Royal, the Centurion, the Margery Joan, the

Mary Rose, and the Golden Lion, were so far to the rearward, and so far severed from the rest of the fleet, that the galliasses undertook to give them an hard assault. But they were well entertained by the ships, for the space of an hour and an half, until at the length, some of the Queen's ships, coming to succour the Triumph and the Londoners, dealt so well in the matter, that the galliasses were driven to retire. The wind came about at this present, to the south-east, and afterwards, to the south-west and by south, at which time a certain number, or squadron of the Queen's, together with other merchants ships, gave assault unto the Spanish fleet, and that, so furiously to the westward of them, that the Spaniards were all inforced to give them way: For which cause, the Lord Admiral considering both the discommodity and danger, whereinto the Triumph, and the other five ships were come, he called other of the Queen's ships that were not far off, and gave them straight commandment to follow him, and to charge the enemies which were to the westward with all their force; giving further order to them all, not to discharge any one piece of ordnance, before they should come within a musket-shot of the enemy, inasmuch, as that was the only way to succour the ships of their friends with the greater damage of the enemy. This was well performed by the Ark, the Elizabeth Jonas, the galleon Leicester, the Golden Lion, the Victory, the Mary Rose, the Dread-nought, and the Swallow. Which thing the Duke of Medina perceiving, he also came forth with sixteen of his best galleons, to hinder and impeach the Englishmen in the defence of the Triumph, seeming in this case to pretend, that the reason of the fight did so require; whereas the regard of his honour did no less inforce him unto it; because it seemed inconvenient that he should in every thing be inferior to the Englishmen; and, therefore, he made large promises unto those, by whose means the victory should be gotten. Howbeit that fell out in the end, that was prefixed by the stars, that is, that the success of the conflict falling out on his side, as hardly, as in such a case might be, the Spaniards, in the end, were inforced to give place, and to retire unto their array of battle. In this conflict, one William Cocks, captain of a little pinnace, called the Violet, belonging unto Sir William Winter, behaved himself very valiantly against the enemy, in the greatest heat of this incounter; but, within a little while after, he lost his delight, wherewith he was not very well acquainted, and his life, by a great piece of ordnance, fortune not being correspondently favourable unto his courage, which, therefore, was no whit profitable to the perfection of his purpose.

Toward the evening, four or five Spanish ships came out from the rest of the fleet, from the south-eastward, against whom, certain of the English ships came, and namely, the May-flower of London, which discharged certain pieces upon the enemy, with a very honourable declaration of the marine discipline; and being accompanied by other ships, that were there found, they all behaved themselves no less diligently (which thing was not at the first hoped for) shewing their desire tempered with a wish of other company. The conflict continued from the morning unto the evening, the Lord Admiral being at all times ready and vigilant, in all adventures that might fall out: And, thereupon, he was sometimes more, and sometimes less eager in the conflict, as necessity

required, giving thereby evident example, how others should behave themselves. It might well be said, that, for the time, it was not possible to see, before this battle, in this sea, so hard a conflict, nor so terrible a spoil of ships, by reason of the pellets* that flew so thick every way: To conclude, there was never seen so vehement a fight, either side endeavouring through an headstrong and deadly hatred the other's spoil and destruction. For, albeit the musquetiers and harquebusiers were in either fleet many in number, yet could they not be discerned or heard, by reason of the more violent and roaring shot of the greater ordnance, that followed so thick one upon another, and played so well that day, on either side, that they were thought to be equal in number, to common harquebusiers in an hot skirmish. The battle was not only long, but also near at hand, within half a musket-shot, and that to the great advantage of the Englishmen, who with their ships, being (as was aforesaid) excellent of sail and stirrage, yet less a great deal, than the Spanish ships, and therefore, more light and nimble, sought not at all, according to their manner otherwise, to board them, but keeping themselves aloof at a reasonable distance, continually beat upon the hull and tacklings of their enemies ships, which being a great deal higher, could not so conveniently beat the English ships, with their ordnance. This long conflict being finished, and every one retiring unto his part, the next day following (which was Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of the month) was passed without any thing done, because, by reason of the fight that day before, there was spent a great quantity of powder and shot; whereupon, the Lord Admiral sent divers barks and pinnaces to the shore, for a new supply of such munition. For her Majesty, prudently foreseeing each thing necessary for her men, ordained that there should be sufficient provision made, according as should be needful, as well of victuals as of munition. It seemed moreover that day, that the Spanish fleet was nothing grieved with that day's respite, but were all of them indifferently glad of that breathing, inasmuch as, thereby, they had good opportunity to look to their leaks, whereof no doubt they had a great number; for they had carried away many shrewd stripes from their enemies, their hurts being of great likelihood so much the more, in that the Spaniards were penned up in a narrow room. This day, the Lord Admiral, for certain convenient reasons, divided the whole body of the fleet into four squadrons, by means of which division the enemy might be greatly, and more continually troubled. The first squadron he kept for himself, the second he assigned unto Sir Francis Drake, his Vice-Admiral, the third to Mr. John Hawkins, the fourth to Mr. Martin Frobisher; and after noon he gave order, that in the night six of the merchants ships in each squadron (for that, as they were of sundry parts of the realm, so they were equally divided into each squadron) should charge the Spanish fleet in as many parts, at one and the same time, that at midnight the enemy might be kept occupied. This order taken (as it was very likely) might have had as good effect, as it was wisely given; but by reason of a great calm, which fell out, no part of this advisement could be accomplished, fortune interrupting good counsel.

* i. e. Bullets.

The next day, being the twenty-fifth of the month, and St. James's day, there was a great Spanish galleon left behind her company to the southward, near to the squadron of Master John Hawkins; so that the barks, belonging unto the greater ships, were within musket-shot of her. By reason hereof, three of the galliasses, and another ship, that was in manner of a galleon, and well appointed, came from the Spanish fleet to succour this galleon. Against whom went out the Lord Admiral in the Ark, and the Lord Thomas Howard in the Golden Lion, and drew so near, being towed by their boats, that they did them much harm, whereby one of them, requiring the help of the rest, being succoured by them, returned unto the fleet: And from another, by means of a shot coming from the Ark, there was taken away her light, and thrown into the sea; the third lost her beck. Whereby these two ships, the Ark and the Golden Lion, declared this day to each fleet, that they had most diligent and faithful gunners, desirous as well of the common good, as of the private honour of their leaders, the Lord Admiral and the Lord Thomas Howard, which went in them; which commendation might rightly be imparted with them, concerning this happy event, because the calm was so great, that, albeit the two fleets were well able to behold the fortune of each of their friends, yet, notwithstanding, they could not help them at all; at the length, the wind beginning somewhat to arise, the Spaniards took the opportunity thereof, and put themselves forward to help those of their side, and succoured them honourably. After this time, the galliasses, in whose puissance the greatest hope of the Spanish fleet was founded, were never seen to fight any more, such was their entertainment that day.

The two fleets, notwithstanding, approaching nigh one unto another, began a conflict, but they continued it but a while, except one ship, called the Non Pariglin, and another, called the Mary Rose, which, having taken in their top-sails, staid themselves there, to make as it were a certain experience of their manhood, upon the Spanish fleet, behaving themselves honourably for a season. In which time, the Triumph, being to the northward of the Spanish fleet, was so far off, that doubting, that certain of the Spanish ships would assault her to the windward, they succoured her with divers boats, that got the wind easily; for the Bear and the Elizabeth Jonas, even at one instant, having knowledge of the danger, wherein the other were, drew near unto them, desiring both in regard of the honour of their commonwealth, and also for the preservation of their friends and countrymen, to be partakers of the like danger and difficulty.

Whereupon each ship doing her duty, they jointly saved the Triumph from all harm, and recovered the wind. And thus this day's work ended; whereof I may say, that the conflict was no whit shorter than the day itself.

At this present, the Englishmen considering the great waste of powder and shot, that had heretofore been made, the Lord Admiral determined not to assault the enemy any more, until he were come nigh unto Dover, in which place, he knew, he should find the fleet under the charge of the Lord Seymer and Sir William Winter, who were ready to join with him, that thereby he might both fortify himself with a great

number of ships, and in this manner provide themselves of munition, from that part of the realm. Upon Friday, therefore, being the twenty-sixth of the month, ceasing from fighting, the Lord Admiral (as well for their good deserts and honourable service, as also to encourage others to like valour) was desirous to advance certain personages to the degree of knighthood, for that, behaving themselves manfully as well with their ships as their good advice, they were worthy that degree of honour; and so much the more worthy, in that, being far separated from all courtly favour, which many times imparteth the chiefest honours unto the least deserving men, they declared their valour in the eyes of either fleet.

Therefore the two Lords, viz. the Lord Howard, and the Lord Sheffield: Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Frobisher were called forth, and the order of knighthood given them, by the Lord Admiral, as their general.

This day there came to the service of her Majesty, in her fleet, divers gentlemen, honourable both by blood and place, but much more in respect of their courage and virtue, for that, in these publick affairs and so necessary service of the wars, they willingly offered their service in the defence of their country and honour of her Majesty.

This day also, and the next, being the twenty-seventh, the Spaniards followed their course quietly, before the English fleet. In which time the Earl of Sussex, the Lord Buckhurst, Sir George Cary, Knight, and the captains of the forts and castles thereabout, sent their men with powder, shot, and victuals, to the Lord Admiral, to assist and help the army. The same Saturday towards the evening, the Spaniards drew nigh to Calais under the coast of Picardy, and there suddenly cast anchor, almost right against the left hand of the haven, to the westward, a little less then five miles from Calais cliffs. The English fleet also cast anchor, within a culverin-shot of the enemy to the westward.

In the mean season, the Lord Seymer and Sir William Winter joined with the Lord Admiral, whereby the English fleet increased to the number of one hundred and forty ships, of all sorts. But the Spaniards, with all speed, sent tidings unto the Duke of Parma of their arrival, who at this present was at Bruges; who, having retained with him all his seafaring men, many days before to this purpose, yet proceeded no farther, in the matter, for that time, although, for such time, as the King had limited him, he for his part took as much care as might be looked for at his hands. For, having already embarked a certain number of his soldiers, he was careful in like manner to dispatch the rest, as soon as they should be ready, that they might take opportunity to come forth, furnishing them abundantly with victuals and munition. But, in the mean time, such a chance fell out, as made frustrate, not only his, but the conceit also of the Duke of Medina, and wholly overthrew their enterprise, in that her Majesty was not a little careful and troubled in mind, concerning the success of these affairs, albeit she herself had committed her whole fortune into the hands of Almighty God.

Moreover, also the Lord Admiral, having, by certain notice, understood, that the Duke of Parma had prepared a great number of tuns of water, and ten thousand chosen footmen, to be embarked for the joining

with the fleet, which could not be avoided, if the Duke of Medina were not compelled to avoid that place; knowing also the evident peril, that was to be feared, if the Spanish fleet should be suffered to refresh itself, and to be furnished with so many soldiers, he applied his wits so, in the deliberation of these matters of weight and importance, having the consent of others more practised, that no time might be lost, for the furtherance of this service; and, for so much as the forces of the enemy were not yet united and joined together, therefore the twenty-eighth of this month, at midnight, he provided eight small ships, dressed with artificial fire *, to the intent to drive the same upon the Spanish fleet. This thing was diligently and effectually brought to pass, under the charge of Captain Young and Captain Prowse, two valiant and courageous men. By reason hereof, the enemy was not only inforced to break his sleep, but, the fire coming so suddenly upon him (not remembering himself, at the very instant time, of any other remedy, either more safe for himself, or more excusable) to cut his cables, to let slip his anchors, and to hoist up sails, as the only way to save his fleet from so imminent and unexpected a mischief. Furthermore, by means of this tumult and confusion (which, in truth, was very great) the chief galliass fell foul with another ship, upon the cable of whose anchor, her stern was set so fast, that they could not loose her all the night long, so that the next day following she was inforced with her oars to make toward the land, and to draw nigh to the haven's mouth of Calais, to save herself in that place; but, not knowing that water, and having no profitable and convenient counsel for the time, she fell upon a shelf. This thing being, in good time, espied by the Lord Admiral, he sent thither his greatest boat, under the charge of Amiens Preston, his lieutenant, and together with him, Thomas Gerrard and Mr. Harvie, two of her Majesty's gentlemen and servants, and others of the court, and of his own servants, who fought with her, but unequally, for that the ship, being gravelled, could, with her force, prevail but little. In this conflict it chanced that a musket-shot struck Hugo de Moncada, chief captain of the galliass, a noble and valiant man, in the head. The which mishap, joined with the difficulty of stirring themselves in their defence, bred such a despair in every man, that the greater sort leaped into the water, to save themselves by swimming into the haven, although many of them perished in the water. By this disorder of the enemy, the Englishmen being more secure, took her, and sacked her to their great commodity, above an hundred men being entered into her, and their company increasing more and more.

Whereupon Monsieur Gordon, Governor of Calais, a man of good estimation in respect of his prerogative in that place, sent his nephew, to give the Englishmen to understand, that they should content themselves with the ordinary spoil, and that they should leave behind them the great ordnance, as a thing belonging unto him by virtue of his office. The which embassage, sent the second time unto men more intentive unto their prey than other men's reason, made the gentleman to be evilly entertained by our men, in such sort, that they would have forceably taken from him some trifling things about him, thinking him to be

* This is the first occasion on which we read that fire-ships were used in a sea-fight.

a Spaniard. Whereat M. Gordon, being offended, caused certain pieces of ordnance to be discharged from the town, and then the Englishmen departed, leaving the galliass at his pleasure, after the loss of some soldiers, having, notwithstanding, sacked 22000 duckets of gold, appertaining unto the King, and fourteen coffers of moveables of the Duke of Medina, with some other both money and moveables of other particular men, and some prisoners, among whom was Don Roderigo of Mendoza, and Don John Gonzales de Solerzano, under captain of the galliass.

During the time of surprising of which galliass, Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admiral, being in the ship called *The Revenge*, accompanied with Tho. Fenner, captain of the *Non Pariglia*, with the rest of that squadron, set upon the Spanish fleet, giving them a hot charge. Within a while after, Sir John Hawkins, in the *Victory*, accompanied with Edward Fenton, captain of the *Mary Rose*, with George Beeston, captain in the *Dreadnought*, and Richard Hawkins, in the *Swallow*, with the rest of that squadron, put themselves forward, and broke thro' the midst of the Spanish fleet; where there began a vehement conflict continuing all the morning, wherein every captain did very honourable service. Among the rest Captain Beeston deserved special praise. Unto this fight came the Lord Admiral, accompanied with the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Lord Sheffield; and in that place, where the fight was made, and the victory was gotten, they were publickly commended, that of their own accord had made shew of the fruits answerable to the hope before conceived of them. Not far from this place there was a great Spanish galleon seen, which was set upon on the one side, by the Earl of Cumberland and George Ryman, in the *Benaventure*, and on the other side, by the Lord Seymer, in the ship called the *Rainbow*, and Sir William Winter, in the *Vanguard*, yet she saved herself valiantly, gathering into the body of the fleet, although with ill success; for she was so beaten, and so terribly rent and torn with our great ordnance, that the night following, in the sight of her own fleet, she sunk, her men, as is thought, being saved. After this, Captain Fenton, in the *Mary Rose*, and a Spanish galleon met together, being east and west one of another, yet no nigher then that her shot could play safely, and fly between them without any great hurt. Captain Fenton, notwithstanding, and those that were with him, were worthily commended for their service begun and accomplished with such prosperous boldness. The same day the deeds of Sir Robert Southwell were evidently seen; for, being a man born to virtue and commendation, and desirous to purchase honour, to the end that he might not make frustrate the judgment of his Sovereign, who before time had made him a knight, divining how much, in time to come, he would further the profit of the commonweath of England, he enforced himself not only to satisfy either in counsel or pains the publick intent, but also the private commodity of the Lord Admiral, his father-in-law, in that he had dutifully promised him sure and faithful service, whereupon for the same he received condign praise of every man. There was also particularly praised Robert Cross, captain, who in the ship called *The Hope*, gave a sign of fruit to be looked for in him, not inferior unto that which the ship, wherein he went, did, by the name it carried, cause us to hope for.

It fell out, also, the same day, that the Lord Henry Seymer and Sir William Winter did so thoroughly beat two Spanish galleons, although they were of the chiefest of them, and the best provided, that they were enforced to withdraw themselves to the coast of Flanders; where, forasmuch as they were in a very evil taking, as well in respect of the murder of their men, as the manifold leaks of their ships, they were surprised, and, without fighting, rifled by the Zeelanders, and, with all the men in them, carried as prisoners unto Flushing. Among these, the chiefest was Don Diego Pimentello, a man very famous among his country people.

It seemeth hereby that we may with reason gather, that in these conflicts many of the Spanish ships perished, albeit that most men think, that few of them miscarried. After this battle, which was made the twenty-ninth of the month, the Lord Admiral the thirtieth day ordained, that the Lord Seymer and Sir William Winter should return with their fleet unto their appointed office in the channel, which was to keep the coast from the danger that the Duke of Parma seemed to threaten. The which Duke had already lost the opportunity of being able to do any thing for the accomplishing of the common intention of the Spaniards, or according to the instructions received from the Spanish King, whatsoever they were; because the sudden and unlooked for departure of the Duke of Medina with the whole fleet, from the coast of Calais, and his small abode upon any other coast, caused the whole care of the aforesaid Duke, that he took upon the main land, to become void, so that he did not embark the rest of his men to join with the Duke of Medina.

The lord admiral, therefore, determined to follow the Spanish fleet only so long until they might be shut up to the northward, whither the Spanish fleet directed her course, but to what end it was not known. And that he with the same wind might come to the Firth, which is upon the coast of Scotland, if so be that he saw the enemy pass those parts. Whereupon he thought moreover, that it was good to stay his fleet from attempting aught upon the Spaniard, until he should have good intelligence of their purpose, thereby to work a mean utterly to disperse and overthrow them. But the Spaniards kept their course about the islands of Orkney, declaring thereby, that they minded to return that way into Spain, along by the north-coast of Scotland, which, as skilful men conjectured, would be to their evident danger, as it fell out afterwards. Perceiving, therefore, the purpose of the enemy, when he was shut up fifty-five degrees thirteen minutes to the northward, and thirty leagues off from Newcastle, the lord admiral resolved with himself to let the Spanish fleet keep on her way; albeit at the first he was minded to give them a strong assault upon the second of August; but, persuaded otherwise by a more safe advice and counsel, he wisely staid himself from that action, leaving the event that should ensue unto fortune, who might work some farther matter upon them, seeing the enemy had taken that way to save himself. Moreover, he considered the scarcity of munition, whereof at that present he had but little, and that upon this occasion, for that the ships that lay on the coast, appointed by order from her Majesty

to carry such provision, know not where to find our fleet in time convenient.

The Spanish fleet, therefore, as for her own welfare it was requisite, having gone on far before, the lord admiral resolved to put into the Firth in Scotland, as well to refresh himself with new victuals, as also to dispatch certain other matters, which he thought necessary. But, the wind being much westward and against him, the day following he changed his course, and returned to England, with his whole fleet, the seventh of August, although, by reason of a tempest which befel them, part of the ships put into Dover, part into Harwich, and the rest into Yarmouth.

Hitherto I have described, according to the instructions and directions which I received of those things that fell out between the Englishmen and the Spaniards, adjoining thereunto such particular discourses as I thought to be necessary, and such ornaments of speech as the matter and the Italian tongue did specially require. Now, therefore, it remaineth, for the finishing of our former discourse, briefly and evidently to set down the issue of all the things beforementioned.

The Spanish fleet, passing, as aforesaid, into those seas, which, for the most part, are quiet and calm enough, whether it were driven to add fro in them with contrary winds, or by some other fatal accident that fell out, it continued therein tossed up and down until the end of September, with fearful success and daily shipwreck along the whole coast of Ireland, so that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was, enforced to leave there behind him about the number of seventeen good ships, besides those fifteen that were thought to be lost in the months of July and August, and so to return into Spain.

The persons, lost in Ireland, were esteemed to be about 5500. So that, all being accounted together, it is certainly avouched, that all the ships that were lost amounted unto the number of thirty-two, and the men accounted, one with another, arise to the number of 13500 or more. The prisoners also of all sorts, in England, Ireland, and the Low Countries, arise to the number of 2000 and more. As for the loss of the ordnance, and the common or private treasure, or whether the Duke, after he was preserved from the former fearful and mortal dangers lost any more ships, or no, or last of all, how many he brought home with him again into Spain, I mean not to occupy or trouble my pen with any such superfluous curiosities, being willing to leave that matter unto such as have received certain tidings thereof; because I study (so far forth as is possible) for brevity, without procuring unto any man either hatred or evil report.

And, therefore, to knit up this present treatise, this is reported, that, after her Majesty was thoroughly assured of the return of the duke into Spain, and that her seas were free and clear from all her enemies, and having called home the lord Seymer with his fleet, it seemed good unto her, as a convenient thing, that her people should render unto Almighty God as great thanks as might be, for that it had pleased him thus to work and bring about the deliverance of them all. And, therefore, the nineteenth of November, by publick edict

and order from her Majesty, there was generally made, throughout the whole realm, a most frequent assembly of all sorts of people publickly to give thanks unto God all the day long, for so singular a benefit received, with this intention, that the remembrance of the said benefit should, upon the same day of every year to ensue, be renewed in the mind and eyes of all men throughout the whole nation, with an evident and religious acknowledgement, that the common safety of them all was accomplished by the special favour of God, the father of all good things.

Her Majesty also, being afterwards desirous, to do the like in her own behalf (as it was convenient) came into St. Paul's church, in London, on Sunday, being the twenty-fourth of the same month, with a most decent order, and assemblies of all the magistrates and companies of the city standing in a rank in the street, replenished most abundantly with people, through which her Majesty was to pass, being accompanied with such a princely train of all those that had been instruments of that notable victory, that it seemed her Majesty, together with the rest, having gotten the victory, was desirous in triumphing manner to shew her thankful mind unto the Londoners also, for the charges and pains they had undertaken, all the year before, in the service of the crown and the common wealth, together with the increase of their own reputation, being accounted the foundation and chief stay of all the other parts of the realm. Wherein her Majesty followed the example of divers kings, her predecessors, who, upon special favour, according as good occasions moved them thereunto, have given many large privileges and liberties unto the said city, which at this day is, doubtless, more populous, more wealthy, more mighty, and more free, than ever it was heretofore;

THE
ENGLISH ROMAYNE LIFE:*

DISCOVERING

The Liues of the Englishmen at Rome; the Orders of the English Seminarie; the Dissention betweene the Englishmen and the Welchmen; the Banishing of the Englishmen out of Rome; the Popes sending for them againe; a Reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in Rome: theyr Vautres vnder the Ground; their holy Pilgrimages; and a Number other Matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of euery one. There vnto is added, the cruell Tyranny, vsed on an Englishman at Rome, his Christian suffering, and notable Martirdome, for the Gospel of Iesus Christ, in Anno 1581. Written by A. M. sometimes the Popes Scholler in the Seminarie among them.

Houos alit Artes.

Scene and allowed: Imprinted at London by Iohn Charlwoode, for Nicholas Ling, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, Anno 1590. In Black Letter, Quarto, containing seventy-two pages.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Lord Chaunceller of Englande; William, Lorde Burleigh, and Lorde Treasurer; Robert, Earle of Leicester; with all the rest of her Maiesties most Honourable Priue Councell, A. M. wisheth a happy race in continuall Honour, and the Fulnesse of Gods Blessing in the Day of Ioy.

THIS booke, right honourable, as I haue been careful to note downe nothing in it, that might impeach me either with error or vntueth, mallice, or affection to any, but euen haue ordered the same according to certaintie and knowledge; so, when I had fully finished it, and doone the vttermost of my endeuour therein, I considered with my selfe, I was to present the same to such personages of honour, wisdom, and grauitie, as, did mallice rule me, they could quickly espie it; or, affecting my selfe to any, they would soone discerne it; then would honour reprocue me for the one, and theyr noble nature reprehende me in the other.

To discharge my selfe of both these, and purchase the fauour, wherewith your honours are continually adorned; I directed my

* Vide the 223d article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

compasse by trueth, perswading my selfe, that, albeit in some, *Veritas odium parit*; yet, in your honours, *Magna est veritas et preualet*. Fewe wordes sufficeth your wisdomes, and circumstance, without substance, may incurre disliking: according, as when I presented your honours with my booke, called the Discouery of Campion, I promised; so nowe, in my English Romayne lyfe, I haue performed; thinking my selfe in as safe securitie, vnder your honourable fauor, as Vlisses supposed himselfe vnder the buckler of Ajax.

Your honours euer in duetie,

ANTHONIE MUNDAY.

To the courteous and freendlie Reader.

THE thinge longe promised, gentle reader, is nowe performed at last; and that which my aduersaries thought I would neuer set foorth, to theyr disprooffe and thy profit, I haue nowe published. Thou shalt finde a number of matters comprehended within this small volume; some that will irritate the minde of any good subiect, and, therefore, to be read with regard; others, importing the whole course of our Englishmens liues in Rome, with the odde conceits, and craftie iuglings of the Pope (whereto our Englishmen are likewise conformable) they are in such true and certain order set downe, as if thou were there thy selfe to beholde them. I will not vse many wordes; now thou hast it, read aduisedlie, condemne not rashlie; and, if thou thinkest me worthie any thanks for my paynes, then freendlie bestowe it on me.

Thyne in courtesie,

ANTHONIE MUNDAY.

CHAP. I.

First, How the Author left his native Countrey of Englands, betaking himselfe to Trauall; and what happened in his Iourney toward Rome.

BECAUSE a number haue beene desirous to vnderstand the successe of my iourney to Rome, and a number besides are doubtfull whether I haue beene there, or no, albeit the proofes thereof sufficiently are extant to be seen; as wel to content the one, as remooue the doubt of the other, I will (God ayding me) heere set downe such a certaintie thereof, if it happen not to please bothe, yet, if they will, it may profyte bothe.

When as desire to see straunge countries, as also affection to learne the languages, had perswaded me to leaue my native country, and not any other intent or cause, God is my record, I committed the

small wealth I had into my purse, a traueellers weede on my backe, the whole state and condition of my iourney to Gods appointment, and, beeing accompanied with one Thomas Nowel, crossed the seas from England to Bulloine in Fraunce.

From thence wee trauelled to Amiens in no small daunger, standing to the mercie of dispoyling souldiers, who went robbing and killing thorowe the countrey, the campe beeing by occasion broken vp at that time. Little they left vs, and lesse would haue doone, by the value of our liues, had not a better bootie come, then wee were, at that time. The souldiers, preparing towards them, whom they sawe better prouided for theyr necessitie, offered vs the leysure to escape; which wee refused not, beeing left bare enough both of coyne and clothes; but, as then weestoode not to account on our losse, it sufficed vs, that wee had our liues; whereof beeing not a little glad, wee sette the better legge before, least they should come backe againe, and robbe vs of them too.

This our misfortune vrged vs to remembraunce of our former quiet being in Englande, carefullie tendered by our parents, and louingly esteemed among our freendes, all which wee vndutifullie regarding, rewarded vs with the rodde of our owne negligence; being, as then, fearefull of all company on the way, such cruell and heauie spectacles were still before our eyes; but yet this did somewhat comfort vs, wee had nothinge woorth the taking from vs, but our liues, which wee had good hope to saue, either by their pittie, or our owne humble perswasion.

When wee were come to Amiens, wee were giuen to vnderstand, that there was an olde English priest in the towne, whose name was maister Woodward, of whom wee perswaded our selues, for countrie sake, to find some courtesie; in hope whereof wee enquired for his lodging, and at last founde him. After such salutations, as passe betweene countrey-men at their meeting, I began to tell him, how wee had left our countrey, for the earnest desire wee had to see forrain dominions; how wee had beene spoiled by the way of all that wee had, and that wee hoped for some freendship at his hands, which, if God vouchsafed vs safe returne, should not be cast out of remembraunce.

Alas, my freendes, quoth he, I am your countreyman, I will not denye, but not suche a one as you take me for; I am a poore priest, and heere I liue for my conscience sake, whereas, were thinges according as they shoulde be, it were better for me to be at home in mine owne countrey; and yet, trust me, I pittie to see any of my countrey-men lack, though I am not able any way to releue them: there be dayly that commeth this way, to whome, according to my hability, I am liberall, but they bee such as you are not; they come not for pleasure, but for profite; they come not to see euery idle toye, and to learne a little language, but to learne how to saue both theyr owne and theyr freendes soules; and such I woulde you were; then I could say that to you, which, as you be, I may not.

Trust me, sir, quoth I, I hope wee haue learned to saue our soules already, or els you might esteeme vs in a very bad case. If you haue, quoth he, it is the better for you; but, I feare me, one day, they,

that teach you to saue your soules after that manner, will paye for it deerlie, and you with them for companie.

With these wordes, he began to be somewhat melancholie, which I perceiuing, and remembring that our necessitie stooke not in case to plead pointes of controuersie, rather sought to please him, in hope of some liberallitie, then to contend with him, wee being vnable, and so fall into farther daunger. Wherevpon, I desired him not to be offended at any thinge wee had sayd, for wee woulde gladly learne any thinge that might benifit vs, and, beside, would followe his counsaile in any reasonable cause. Then he began to be somewhat more gentlie disposed, saying, he could not greatly blame vs, if wee were obstinate in our opinion, comming from such a young hell as we did, but he had good hope that, ere long, it woulde be harrowed.

Then he willed vs to walke with him, and he woulde bring vs where wee shoulde lodge that night, at his charges; all the way rehearsing vnto vs, howe beneficiall the Pope was to our countrymen, and howe highlie wee might pleasure our selues, our freendes, and countrey, if wee woulde follow his counsell. Beside, such horrible and vnnaturall speeches he vsed against her Maiestie, her honorable counsell, and other persons that he named, as the very remembraunce maketh me blush, and my hart to bleede. To all which wee gaue him the hearing; but, God knowes, on my parte, with what anguise of minde; for I woulde haue perswaded my selfe, that duety shoulde haue withheld the subiect from reuiling his princesse, and nature from slaundering his owne countrey; but it sufficeth, where grace is absent, good qualities can neuer be present. When wee were come to our lodgeing, he talked with our hostesse what she shoulde prouide for vs, and afterward, taking his leaue, tolde vs, he would haue more talke with vs in the morning; in the meane time, wee shoulde thinke on that which he had opened vnto vs, and resolute our selues on a certaine determination, for he meant us more good than wee were beware off. He being departed, we fel to such simple cheere as was prepared for vs, which was simple indeede, scant sufficient to the good stomacks wee had to our victualles; but, because wee had soone done, wee went the sooner to bed, sparing as muche time as wee could, in remembraunce of the priests words, till the wearines of our iourney compelled vs to take our rest. In the morning, the priest sent a poore fellowe, whome he kept to make his bed and run about his erraundes, to our lodgeing, that wee shoulde come to his maister presently, because he had occasion to goe into the towne, and his returne was vncertaine; therefore he woulde speake with vs, before he went. Vppon these so hasty summons, wee addressed our selues towards him, finding him in his chamber, reading vppon his portesse: to him wee gaue thanks for his courtesie, promising to requite it, if he came where wee might doe it: In breefe, among great circumstance of talke, wherein he manifested the treason toward Englande, he behaued himselfe, in speeches to vs, according as I haue already declared in my 'Discouerie of Campion;' where you maye perceiue the Popes determination, and our Englishmens vnnaturall consent, to bee traytors to their owne princesse, to shorten her life, and ouerthrowe theyr native countrey, wherein they were borne.

When he had mightely besieged vs with a multitude as well threatnings as perswasions, to conform our selues vnder that obedience; as well to auoyde peril that might otherwise happen, as also to gayne somewhat toward our releefe, wee promised him to doe as he woulde haue vs, and to go whether he would appoint vs. Whervpon he presentlie wrote two letters to Doctor Allen at Rheimes; one of them concerned our preferment there, how wee should be entertained into the English seminarie, and take the orders of priesthoode, because wee might doe good in our countrey an other day. The other letter was of such newes as he heard out of Englande, howe matters went forward to theyr purpose, and, beside, other things which I am not to speak of heere, because they are not to be read of euery one.

The letters finished, and sealed up with singing cake, he deliuered vnto us, saying: I thank God that I am ordained the man, both to saue your soules, and a number of your freendes heere in Englande, whom I coulde wishe heere present with you, for that I pittie their estate, as well that they are in, as that which is worse, and I feare me will fall on them shortlic.

I put vp the letters, and gaue him to understand, that wee coulde hardly trauell from thence to Rheimes, hauing nothing wherewithall wee might beare our charges. Trust me (quoth he) and I haue done as much for you as I am able, for I haue nothing heere, but to serue mine owne necessity. Then wee offered to sell our cloakes, which the souldiers, against their willes, had left vs. Indeepe, quoth he, to trauell in your cloakes will do nothing but hinder you; I will send my man to a freend of mine, as much to say, as his chest, to see what monney he can get for them. The fellowe tooke our cloakes, after his maister hadde whispered him in the eare, and went downe the stayers, returning quickly with two French crownes; which the priest deliuered to vs, with foure or fiue French souces out of his owne purse; so, willing ys to doo his commendations to Doctor Allen, and to labour earnestlie in that wee went about; Maister Woodward and wee parted, he into the towne, and we on our iourney.

When wee were about three or foure miles from Amiens, wee sate down on the side of a hyll, recounting what the priest had said vnto us, and also the cause why he sent vs to Rheimes; the remembraunce of the true and undoubted religion, vsed in our owne countrey, and wherein we were trayned vp, was of force sufficient to perswade ys from yeelding to that, which we iudged rather to bee a mummerie, and derision of the true doctrine, then otherwise: so that, notwithstanding many matters my companion alleaged vnto me, what daunger we might come vnto, if wee went not to deliuer the letters, as also the hard penurie wee should finde in trauell, being destitute of money, apparell, and all other needefull thinges, by the onelie appointment of God, who, no doubt, put it in my minde at that time, I willed him to follow me, and, come wo, want, miserie, or any other calamytie, I woulde neuer leaue him to the death. But if any exercise might get it, any paines compasse it, or the extreeme shift of begging attaine it: I woulde dooe all my selfe, whereby to maintaine ys, onelie that he woulde but beare

me company; for I would trie all meanes that might be, ere I would forsake my fayth.

This to be true, I am sure and certaine himselfe will not denie, who, seeing my earnest intreaty, and the promises I made to the uttermost of my power, agreede to goe with me; and so wee left the way to Rheimes, and wente on strayght to Paris.

In Paris wee met with a Frenchman, who coulde speake a little broken English, and he conducted us where my lord the English ambassador laye; to whom I gaue the letters, and after certain talke he used with us, he bestowed his honorable liberallitie vpon vs, wishing vs to returne backe again to Englande.

Leauing my lord, and walking into the cittie, wee met certaine English gentlemen; some of them, for the knowledge they had of me in Englande, shewed them selues verie courteous vnto me, both in money, lodging, and other necessities. And through them wee became acquainted with a number of Englishmen more, who lay in the cittie, some in colledges, and some at their own houses; where, vsing daillie companie among them, some time at dinner, and some time at supper, we heard many girdes and nips against our countrey of Englande, her Maiestie verie vnreuerently handled in wordes, and certaine of her honorable counsell vndutifully tearmed.

Greate talke they had about Doctor Saunders, who, they said, eyther as then was, or shortly would be ariued in Irelande; howe he had an armie of Spaniardes with him, and howe himselfe, vnder the Popes standarde, woulde giue such an attempte there, as soone after shoulde make all Englande to quake; beside, there were certaine Englishmen gone to the Pope, for more ayde, if neede shoulde be; at whose returne certaine noblemen, Englishmen, then being in those partes, whose names I omitte for dyuers causes, woulde prosecute the matter, with as much speede as might be.

The very same did the priest at Amiens giue vs to vnderstand off, almost in euery point agreeing with this; which made vs to doubt, because in euery mans mouth her Maiestie still was aimed at, in such manner as I tremble and shake to thinke on their wordes. All this time that wee remained amongst them, dyuers of the gentlemen and others, who were like factors for the Pope, as Maister Woodward at Amiens, Doctor Bristow at Doway, and Doctor Allen at Rheimes were, to increase his seminaries with as many Englishmen as they might, very earnestlie perswaded vs to trauell to Rome, assuring vs that wee should be there entertained to our high contentment; beside, they woulde giue vs letters for our better welcome thither. Wee were soone intreated to take the iourney on vs, because wee thought, if wee woulde goe to Rome, and return safely into Englande, wee shoulde accomplish a great matter, the place being so far off, and the voyage so daungerous. Vpon our agreement to vndertake the trauell, wee receiued of euery one liberallie towarde the bearing of our charges, and letters wee had to Maister Doctor Lewes in Rome, the Archdeacon of Cambra, and to Doctor Morris, then the rector of the English hospitall or colledge in Rome, that wee might there be preferred among the Englishe students.

Taking our leaue of them, and yeelding them thanks for their great courtesie, wee iourned to Lyons, where, in the house of one Maister Deacon, the wordes were spoken by Henry Orton, one of them condemned, and yet liuing in the Tower, which in my other booke I haue auouched. From thence wee went to Millaine, where, in the Cardinall Boromehos pallace, wee found the lodging of a Welchman, named Doctor Robert Griffin, a man there had in a good account, and confessor to the aforesayde cardinall. By him wee were very courteouslie entertained, and sent to the house of an Englishe priest in the cittie, named Maister Harries, who likewise bestowed on vs very gentle acceptaunce, as also three English gentlemen, whoe lay in his house, being verie latelie returned from Rome; they likewise, bothe in cost and courtesie, behaued themselues like gentlemen vnto vs, during the time that we made our abode in Millaine.

Our comming from Millaine was on Christmasse Euen, and hauing lyeen that night at Osteria, where Maister Harries appointed vs, on Christmasse daye wee dined with Doctor Griffin, where wee had great cheere, and lyke welcome. In dinner time he mooued many questions vnto vs, as concerning the state of Englande, if wee hearde of any warres towardes, and howe the Catholiques thrived in Englande; and, at the last, quoth he, haue you not seene three gentlemen that lye at Maister Harries his house?

Yes, that we haue, quoth I, to vs they seeme meruailous courteous, and offer such freendship as wee haue neuer deserued. Oh, quoth he, if all thinges had fallen right to theyr expectation, they woulde haue been iollie fellows. I am sure you haue heard what credite Captaine Stukelie was in with the Pope, and howe he was appointed with his armie to inuade Englande; he being slaine in the battaill of the King of Portugall, thinges wente not forewarde according as they shoulde haue done.

The three gentlemen came foorth of the north partes of Englande, taking vpon them to go foreward with that, which Stukelie had enterprised, which was, to haue the Popes armie committed to theyr conduction; and so they would ouer-runne Englande, at theyr pleasure; then they would make kinges, dukes, and earles, euerie one that they thought well off. To helpe them foreward in the matter, they purchased the letters of Doctor Saunders, Doctor Allen, Doctor Bristow, and others, who thought verie well of theyr intent, and therfore furthered them in theyr letters, so much as they might, to Doctor Lewes, Doctor Morris, Doctor Moorton, and diuers other doctors and gentlemen at Rome; all of them verie earnestlie following the sute heereof, to the Popes holinesse, informing him, howe they had already wun such a number in Englande, to ioine with them, when the matter came to passe, that, graunting them his holines armie, they would presently ouer-run all Englande, and yeelde it wholly into his hand.

But, when the Pope had scanned on his hastie businesse, well noting the simple and arrogant behauior of the men, and their vnlikelihood of performing these thinges, euen according as they deserued, they were denyed their request, and sent away without recompence. The Pope was not to trust to any such as they; he well knowes Eng-

lande is to strong yet, and tyll the people be secretly perswaded, as I doubt not, but there is a good number, and more and more still shalbe, by the priestes that are sent ouer daylie; and they must war within, while others holde them playe without; tyll then, Englande will not be conquered any way.

Other talke wee had, not heere to be rehearsed; but trulie it would astonish a hart of adamant, to heare the horrible treasons inuented against her Maiestie, and this realme, and so greedilie followed by our owne countreyemen.

But some perhaps will demaund, howe wee behaued our selues to the knowledge of such trayterous intentions, iudging that they woulde rather keepe them secret, then reueale them to any? to aunswer such as doo so question, thus it was:

When I was at Paris, the gentlemen tooke me to be a gentlemans sonne heere in Englande, whome I refuse heere to name; but, as it seemed, they were somewhat perswaded of him: I, perceiuing they tooke me for his sonne, called my selfe by his name; where through I was the better esteemed, and, beside, loued as I had bene he in deede. When they vnderstood my fellowes name to be Thomas Nowell, they whispered among themselues, and sayde, vndoubtedlie, he is kinne to Maister Nowell, the deane of Paules; and, if they wist certainlie it were so, they would vse him in suche gentle order, as they woulde keepe him there; so that, one day, he shoulde stand and preach against his kinsman. This suppose, seruing so well our necessitie, wee were glad to vse; which made vs well thought on of all, and, keeping companie so familiarlie with them, wee were made acquainted with a number of more matters, then may heere be expressed.

While wee were in Millaine, wee visited Maister Doctor Parker, who likewise tolde vs the same tale, that Doctor Griffin had before rehearsed; beside, he told vs that priestes were appointed from Rome and Rheimes, for Englande; and that, ere long, they shoulde be sent.

Soone after, wee departed thence, to Bologna, Florence, Scienna, and so to Rome, where howe wee were receiued, the chapter following shall ampie unfold. Thus, as wel to certifie the incredulous, and also to content those desirous, howe I attained to Rome: I haue breeflie done my good will to please bothe.

You haue heard heerein, howe at sundrie places, and by seuerall speeches, there was a generall agreement of treason, expected and dailie looked for, to the harme of our gracious soueraigne, and hurt of her whole realme; all these matters wee heard, before wee came to Rome, from whence the treason should cheeflie proceede; wee seeing such deuillish deuises to be talked on by the way, wee might well iudge Rome to be hell it selfe, in that all thinges shoulde go forward, as it was there determined. You are not altogether ignorant of theyr intentes at Rome; for that my other booke hath trulie reuealed some of theyr trayterous and disloyall practises: and such as modestie will suffer mee to vtter, and you to reade, you shall heere finde faithfullie discoursed.

CHAP. II.

The Author beeing come to Rome, entereth into Conference with a Priest in the English Colledge; who sheweth him a Paper, containing villainous and traiterous Determinations, against her Maiesties most Royall Person, her honourable Councell, and other Personnes of Credite and Account.

OUR entraunce into Rome was vpon Candlemasse euen, when as it drewe somewhat towards night: for which cause, wee refused as then to goe to the English colledge, taking vp our lodging in an Osteria, somewhat within the citty, and determining to visite the English house on the next morning. On the morrowe, by enquiring, wee found the English colledge; where, after wee were once entered, wee had a number about vs quickly, to know what newes in England, and howe all matters went there.

Not long had wee stooode talking with them but one entered the colledge, with a greate many of waxe candles in his hand; who gaue them to vnderstand, that the Pope had sent to euery scholler in the colledge a candle, which, that day at high masse, he had hallowed, for it was Candlemasse day. They receiuing them with great account, both of the Popes fauour, as also the holinesse they credited to consist in the candles, went euerie one to lay them vp in their chambers: in the meane time, Maister Doctor Morris, the rector of the house, came to vs, to whome wee deliuered the letter sent to him, on our behalf from Paris; which when he had read, he sayd, wee were welcome, allowing vs the eight dayes entertainment in the hospitall, which by the Pope was granted to such Englishmen, as came thither. Then he brought vs to Doctor Lewes, the archdeacon of Cambra, to whome wee deliuered his letter likewise, and with him wee staied dinner, ignorant whether he were an English man, or no, for that he gaue vs our entertainment in Latin, demaunded a number of questions of vs in Latin, and beside dined with vs in Latin; whereat wee meruayled, tyll, after dinner, he bade vs walk againe to the colledge, with Doctor Morris, in English. Wee were no sooner come to the colledge, but the schollers, who had already dined, and were walking together in the courte, came about vs, euery one demaunding so many questions, that we knew not which to aunswer first: at last, one of them tooke my fellowe aside, and one of the priestes likewise desired to talke with me, because, he sayd, he knew my father well enough, vsing the name that I did; so, he and I sitting together in the garden, among other talke, he asked of me, wherfore I came to Rome? Trust me, Sir, quoth I, onelie for the desire I had to see it, that when I came home againe, I might say, once in my life, I haue beene at Rome.

Then I perceiue, quoth he, you come more vpon pleasure, then any deuotion; more desirous to see the cittie, then to learne the virtues containd in it; in sooth, I see you remaine in the same wildenesse you did, when I lay at your fathers house; but I do not doubt, now

we haue you heere, to make you a stayed man, ere you depart, that your father may haue ioy of you, and all your freendes receyue comfort by you.

In deed, Sir, quoth I, I haue alwaies addicted my mind to so many youthfull deuises, that I little regarded any religion; which my parentes seeing, and fearing, I would neuer be bridled, sent me ouer to Paris, where I should remaine at my booke. But there I found gentlemen of mine acquaintance, who wysshed me to trauell hether; whereto I quicklie gaue my consent, beeing, as I haue told you, desirous to see a thing so famous.

I thinke very well, quoth he, of your wordes, as well for your parents sake, as also for your owne. But this will I saye vnto you, there ought none to come hether, the place beeing so holie, auncient, and famous, but onelie such, as, with earnest endeouour, seeke and thirst after the Catholique faythe; beeing heere taught and maintained, according as Christe ordained it, the apostles deliuered it, Peter himselfe planted it, and all the fathers of the church, since, have followed it.

They must denounce that damnable heresie, crept into the church of Englande, that proude vsurping Iezabell, meaning our dread and gracious princesse, whome, quoth he, God reserueth, to make her a notable spectacle to the whole worlde, for keeping that good Queene of Scottes from her lawfull rule: but I hope, ere longe, the dogges shall tear her fleshe, and those that be her proppes and vpholders.

Then, drawing a paper out of his pockette he sayd, I haue a beade role of them heere, who little knowes, what is prouiding for them, and, I hope, shall not knowe it, tyll it fall vpon them. Then he reade their names vnto me, which to be sette downe according, as he rehearsed them, woulde mooue offence.

Then, opening the paper farther, at the end thereof, was a great many of names, of magistrates, and other belonging to this cittie, amonge whome, was Maister Recorder, Maister Nowell, deane of Paules; Maister Foxe, Maister Crowley, and sundry other, whose names I cannot verie well remember; and therefore am lothe to sette downe any thinge, but that whereof I am certainenlie assured; but verie well I remember, there was no one named, but he had the order of his death appoynted, eyther by burning, hanging, or quartering, and suche lyke.

Then, putting vp his paper againe, he beganne after this manner: As I haue sayde before, so nowe I saye the same; such as come to this holie place must faithfullie bende his lyfe and conuersation, to honour and reuerence our prouident and holie father the Pope, in all thinges that shall lyke him to commande; to holde and confesse him the vniuersall supreamme heade of Christes church, and embrace his decrees, as the onelie ordinaunce and will of God. For he is the personne of God on earth, and he cannot sinne, because the spirite of diuine grace guideth him continuallie: he hath auctoritie ouer all kinges and princes, to erect and suppress whome he pleaseth, and that shall Englande well knowe ere longe, that he hath suche power and auctoritie. To honour and obey him, to be a true and faythfull member

of his church, and to liue and die in his cause; this ought to be the intent of all that commeth heere.

This long tale, containyng a number of more circumstaunces then I canne vnfolde, made me studie what aunswere I shoulde make him; which, after some pause, came foorth as thus:

Credite me, Sir, I am but a nouesse in these matters, and therefore you might as well haue disputed with me in the deepest schoole pointes that is, and I shoulde haue censured both alike.

Nay, quoth he, I thinke not your ignoraunce so great, albeit it seemeth great enough; though you haue beene looselie brought vppe, yet you haue beene with me, bothe at masse and at confession, diuers times, at such time as I serued my Lady B.

Beside, there are a great many of priestes in Englande, as in Warwickshire, at Maister I. T. in Staffordshire, at Maister G. of C. and at S. T. F. in the same shyre: All these be neere your fathers, and not one of them but visiteth your fathers house, three or four times euerie yeare, as they did when I was there (for there is no long tarience in one place for a prieste, but he must shift still, least he be taken) and I am sure your father woulde see you duellie confessed.

Nowe I was put to a hard shift, that I knewe not well what to say: I knewe none of these men he named, but one; and indeede he had a prieste, whoe, after his long raunging about his master the Popes businesse heere in Englande, I thanke God, I haue caused to be stayed. Likewyse, I knewe not the gentleman, whom both they at Paris and he sayde to be my father, neither where he dwelt, nor what he was; which made me stand in feare to be disprooued, hauing auouched my selfe before to be his son: Wherefore, referring my case to God, whoe had so prouided for me till that time, in his name I resolued my selfe on this aunswere, not knowing howe it might happen to speede.

In deede, Syr, I cannot denie, but that I haue oftentimes hearde masse, as also beene at confession; but my deuotion thereto hath beene slender, as you your selfe haue scene, knowing me to be so wilde, and, as it were, without gouernment: But, when you departed from my fathers, I tarried there but a small time after you, for I obtayned leaue of my father to goe lye at London, at a kinsemans house of his, because I woulde studye the French tongue, to haue some knowledge therein against I went ouer; for my father tolde me, longe before, that I shoulde goe to Paris and studye there.

When I was at London, I grewe in acquaintaunce with diuers gentlemen, in whose companie I frequented many delyghtfull pastimes; so that I coulde hardlye refrayne them, when my father sente for me, to the intent I shoulde trauille to Paris.

Well, quoth he, and though you did goe to London, so soone after I was gone, any of the priestes that resorted to your fathers, or he himselfe coulde haue certified you of such places in London, where you might haue heard masse, and beene confessed too, without suspect at all. For at Maister S. his house on the backe side of P. you myght diuers times haue heard masse, and beene confessed there lykewise: I lay there an indifferent while, and sayde masse there, whereat diuers were present;

also in the afternoone, when they haue beene at the play, in all that time I haue confessed many.

Likewise, you might haue gone to the Marshalsea, and enquired for Maister Pownde, and you should sildome haue missed, but haue found a prieste there with him: For sometimes, vnder the habites of gentlemen, seruimgmen, or what apparell they imagine most conuenient for them, priestes doe daily resort vnto him, where they confesse him, and giue him such hallowed things, as are sent him from Rome, as Agnus Dei's, Grana benedicta, and other things: There, if you had made him priue to your intent, he woulde haue appointed one that should haue done it for you. He likewise woulde haue bestowed on you some of those holie things: for he findeth such meanes, what with the priestes that come to him, and other, whom he hireth or intreateth to carrie a letter abroade nowe and then for him, that those holie things are deliuered to theyr hands, whoe, no doubt, a little reioyce in them.

My selfe once made Norris the pursuiuant carrie a letter for me, to one of my ladie B. her gentlewomen, and therein was two Agnus Dei's, a hallowed girdle, and aboue forty or fiftie Grana benedicta; which makes me to smile euerie time I thinke on it, that I could make him my man, when I durst not deliuer it my selfe.

Maister Norris, being tolde this, offereth his life, if any such thing can be proued; for he sayth, he neuer deliuered any thinge, to any of my ladie B. her gentlewomen. And, for his faithfull seruice to her Maiestie, I haue to shewe, vnder his owne hand, the penaltie he putteth himselfe to, if any vnjust seruice can be layde to his charge.

By this time, the bell rung for all students to come to supper, which made the prieste to staye at this periodus, else he woulde haue continued in discourse I knewe not howe longe: For what with the seuerall charges, wherewith he sounded me, my care still howe to shape a sufficient answer, and the tediousnesse of his tale, mixed with so many wordes, farre distant from ciuill and duetifull regarde, he was not so readie to goe to his supper, as I was glad for that time to breake off companie.

So after certaine familiar behauiour, vsed betweene him and I; he glad to see me at Rome, and well hoping in short time to make me a newe man; I applyable with thankes, for euerie thing, for that it stooode with wisdom to accept of all thinges; he went into the Refectorium, which is the name of theyr dining hall, and I to the chamber, appointed for me and my fellowe, whom I found there sitting with Dr. Morris, staying my comming, that we might sup together, which in deede we did. Maister Morris vsing vs very courteously, passing away the supper time with much variety of talke, amonge which Maister Doctor sayde his pleasure of diuers persons in Englande: Which, for that it would rather checke modestie, then challenge any respect of honestie, I admitte it to silence, the talke being so broade, that it woulde stand as a blemish to my booke.

CHAP. III.

In what Manner our English Men passe away theyr Time in the Colledge, the Order of the House, and other Things to be regarded.

IT is vnpossible for me to note downe halfe the speeches, that passed betweene the schollers and me, as also my fellowe; but, as for that was vsed to hym, I coulde sildome come acquainted with all, except I had stood by and heard it, for either they had fully perswaded him, or he ioined into consent with them: So that he would neuer reporte any thing that had passed betweene them, he liked so well of euery thinge. But, letting these matters passe a while, I thinke it expedient heere to set down, before I goe any farther, the orders vsed in the English colledge, how the English men spend the time there, and within what compasse they limitte themselues, which so breefelie as I can I will passe ouer.

The English colledge is a house both large and faire, standing in the way to the Popes pallace, not far from the castle Saint Angello. In the colledge, the schollers are deuided, by certaine number into euerie chamber as in some foure, in some sixe, or so many as the rector thinketh conuenient, as well for the health of the schollers, as the troubling not much roome. Euery man hath his bedde proper unto himselfe, which is, two little trestles, with four or fiue boordes laide alonge ouer them, and thereon a quilted mattresse as we call it in Englande, which, euery morning after they are risen, they folde vp theyr sheetes handsomelie, laying them in the middest of the bed, and so rowle it vp to one ende, couering it with the quilt, that is theyr couerlet all the night time.

First in the morning, he that is the porter of the colledge ringeth a bell, at the sound whereof, euery student ariseth and turneth vp his bed, as I haue said before. Not long after the bell ringeth againe, when as euery one presentlie, kneeling on his knees, prayeth for the space of halfe an howre: At which time the bell being touled again, they arise and bestowe a certaine time in studye, euery one hauing his deske, table, and chayre to himselfe very orderly; and, all the time of studye, silence is vsed of euery one in the chamber, not one offering molestation in speech to another.

The time of studye expired, the bell calleth them from theyr chambers, downe into the Refectoriun: Where euery one taketh a glasse of wine, and a quarter of a manchet, and so he maketh his collatione. Soon after, the bell knowleth againe, when as the students, two and two together, walk to the Romayne colledge, which is the place of schoole or instruction, where euery one goeth to his ordinary lecture, some in diuinitie, some to phisique, some to logique, and some to rhetorique. There they remaine the lecture time, which being doon, they return home to the colledge again: Where they spend the time till dinner, in walking and talking, vp and downe the gardens.

And an order there is appointed, by the rector and the Iesuites, and obeyed by all the students, that whosoever doth not in the morning turne by his bed handsomelie, or is not on his knees at prayer time, or heareth not masse before he goe to schoole, or after he comes home, but forgetteth

it: Or els if he go forth, and put not the pegge at his name in the table. For there is a table hangeth by the doore which hath a long box adioyn- ing to it: Wherein lyeth a great company of wooden peggs, and against the name of euery scholler written in the table, which is obserued by order of the alphabet, there is a hole made, wherein such as haue occasion to go abroad, must duly put a peg, to giue knowledge who is abroad, and who remaineth within.

Beside, diuers other orders they haue for sleight matters, the neglecting whereof is publique penance at dinner time: When as all the students are placed at the tables, such, as haue transgressed, goeth vppe into the pulpit, which standeth there, because one readeth all the dinner time, and there he sayth: Because I haue not fulfilled this or that, whatsoeuer order it be that he hath broken, I am adioyned such a penance: Either to kneele in the midst of the hall on his bare knees, and there to say his beades ouer, or to say certaine *Pater nosters*, *Aue Marias*, or to stand vp right and to haue a dish of pottage before him on the grounde, and so to bring vp euery spooneful to his mouthe, or to loose either one, or two, or three of his dishes appointed for his dinner, or to stand there all dinner time, and eate no meate; and diuers other, which according as it is, either afterwarde he hath his dinner or supper, or els goes without it. And all these penances I haue been forced to doe, for that I was alwayes apt to breake one order or other. As for the priuate penances, it shall not be greatly amisse to rehearse them here too, so longe as I shall desire you to stay, from hearing the manner of the students dinner. The priuate penances are appointed by the ghostlie father at confession; which are fulfilled without publique knowledge of the cause, and likewise of the person. If his penance be, to whip himselfe openly in the hall at dinner time; then the rector ordereth it after this manner, that he shall not be knowne, to be reproached by any of his fellowes, or that they shall certainelie say, it is such a one. At the dinner or supper, that this penance is to be accomplished, the rector causeth scauen or eight to keepe their chambers, and commonlie but one that time in a chamber; their doores must be made fast to them, and they not so much as looke out at their windowe, to see from which chamber he comes that doth the penance. When they are all set at the tables, he commeth in, clothed in a canuas vesture downe to the grounde, a hood of the same on his head, with the holes where through he hath sight, and a good bigge rounde place bare, against the midst of his backe; in this order he goeth vp and downe the halle, whipping himselfe at that bare place, in somuch that the bloode doth trickle on the ground after him. The whip hath a verie shorte handle, not much aboue a handfull longe, and fortie or fiftie cordes at it, about the length of halfe a yard, with a great manie hard knots on euery corde; and some of the whippes hath throughe euerie knot at the end crooked wiers, which will teare the flesh vnmmercifullie.

The Iesuites haue some of them, to whip themselves, whippes with cordes of wier, wherewith they will beate themselves, tyll, with too much effuse of blood, they be readie to giue vp the ghoast. And this they will doo in their chambers, either before a crucifix, or the image of our Ladie, turning their backes when they bleed toward the image,

that it may see them. One of the iesuites, because they could neuer get me to whip my selfe (for that I wel knew God sayd, Rent your harts, and not your skin; and, that a contrite and sobbing harte is more acceptable to God then a bleeding bodie) tooke me once with him into his chamber, saying, I shoulde see, because I was so fearfull, what he woulde inflict vpon his owne bodie. So, when he was vnapparellled, he tooke a whip the cordes whereof was wier, and, before the picture of our Ladie, he whipped himselfe verie greuously, saying, *Sancta Maria, mater Dei, suscipe dolorem meum: Sancta Maria, mater Dei, accipe flagitium meum: Et ora pro me, nunc et in hora mortis.*

Which is as much as to say, S. Marie, mother of God, receiue my dolour: Saint Marie, mother of God, accept my whipping, and pray for me, nowe and in the howre of death. These, with other like wordes, he vsed to the picture a great many times, and then he went to the crucifix, which stood vpon his deske, and, whipping himselfe stil, he said these, or the verie like wordes: *O Iesu, obtestetur te virgo gloriosa Maria Mater, quæ, quod pro certo noui, pro me nunc tecum agit. Flagitii tui, sanguinolenti tui sudoris, crucis tue, mortis ac passionis tue, pro me passæ, memoria ad hoc me faciendum impulit: Eo quod perpeussus sis his decies pro me grauiora:* In English thus, O Iesus, be thou intreated by that glorious virgin thy mother, whoe I am sure at this time maketh intercession to thee for me. The remembraunce of thy whipping, bloody sweat, crosse and passion, maketh me to do this, in so much as thou hast suffered ten times more for me.

In these and such like acclamations, he continued whipping himselfe, almoste the space of halfe an howre, bleeding so sore, as it greeued me verie much to see him. Afterward, he willed me to trie it once, and I should not finde any paine in it, but rather a pleasure. For, quoth he, if Christ had his flesh rent and torne with whips, his hands and feete nayled to the crosse, his precious side goared with a launce, his heade pricked with a crowne of thornes, that his deere blood ran trickling downe his face, and all this for you: Why shoulde you feare to put your body to any torment, to recompence him that hath doone so much for you? I desired him to beare with me a while, for I was not indued with that strength and fortitude, as to abide and suffer the paines he did: But yet in time I doubted not to fulfill any thinge on my bodie, he woulde command me. My aunswer pleased him indifferently; so I left him in his chamber, and went downe, lamenting to see a spectacle of so great follie.

Now as for the other penaunces, as they be diuers, so be they diuers wayes fulfilled, either by fasting, wearing a shyrt of heaire, trudging to the seauen churches, lying vpon the bare boordes, going into the darke vaultes vnder the grounde, or traueilling on pilgrimage; and a number more, which exceedeth my memorie to vnfolde, they haue amongst them, as there be diuers can beare me witnesse, and some of them my confessor hath constrained me to doo.

Returne we now to the students, whoe being come from the schooles, and hauing recreated themselues somewhat, either in the house or in the gardens, are nowe at the sound of the bell come into the Refectorium to dinner. The custome is, that dailie two of the students take it by turnes,

to serue all the other at the table, whoe, to helpe them, haue the butler, the porter, and a poore Iesuite, that looketh to all the schollers necessities, to bring them their cleane shirts, and foreseeeth, that neither their gownes, cassocks, dublets, breeches, hose, nor shooes, want mending. These bring in their hands, each of them, a rounde boorde, which hath a staffe about halfe a yarde long, made fast through the middle of it; and rounde about that boord is set little saucers wherein the cooke shareth euerie man a little quantitie, which they bring, and hold ouer the table, when as euerie man taketh his own messe.

As for their fare, trust me, it is verie fine and delicate; for euerie man hath his own trencher, his manchete, knife, spoone, and forke laide by it, and then a fayre white napkin couering it, with his glasse and pot of wine sette by him. And the first messe, or antepast, as they call it, that is brought to the table, is some fine meate to vrge them to haue an appetite; as sometime the Spanish anchouies, and sometime stued prunes and raysons of the sun together, hauing such a fine tart sirope made to them, as I promise you a weake stomache would very well digest them. The second is a certaine messe of pottage of that countrey manner, no meate sod in them, but are made of diuers things, whose proper names I doe not remember; but me thought they were both good and wholesome. The third is boilde meate, as kid, mutton, chicken, and suche like; euerie man a prettie modicum of eache thinge. The fourth is roasted meat, of the daintiest prouision that they can get, and sometime stude and bakte meate, according as pleaseth Maister Cooke to order it. The fift and last is sometime cheese, sometime preserued conceites, sometime figges, almonds and raysons, a limon and sugar, a pomegranate, or some such sweete geere: For they knowe that Englishmen loue sweete meates.

And, all the dinner while, one of the schollers, according as they take it by weekly turne, readeth, first, a chapter of theyr Bible; and then, in theyr Martirilogium, he readeth the martirdome of some of the saintes, as Saint Fraunces, Saint Martin, Saint Longinus, that thrust the speare into Christes side, Saint Agatha, Saint Barbara, Saint Cecilia, and diuers other; among whome they haue imprinted the martirdome of Doctor Storie, the two Nortons, Iohn Felton, and others, calling them by the names of saintes, who were heere executed at Tiborne, for high treason.

The dinner done, they recreate themselves for the space of an howre, and then the bell calleth them to their chambers, where they staye a while, studying on their lectures giuen them in the forenoone; anon the bell summoneth them to schoole againe, where they stay not past an howre, but they returne home againe, and, so soone as they be come in, they go into the Refectorium, and there euerie one hath his glasse of wine, and a quarter of a manchete againe, according as they had in the morning.

Then they depart to their chambers, from whence at conuenient time they are called to exercise of disputation: The diuines to a Iesuite appointed for them, and euerie studie to a seuerall Iesuite, where they continue the space of an howre, and afterwarde, till supper time, they are at theyr recreation.

After supper, if it be in winter time, they goe with the Iesuites, and sit about a great fire talking; and, in all theyr talke, they strue whoe shall speake worst of her Maiestie, of some of her counsell, of some bishop here, or suche like: so that the Iesuites themselues will often take vp theyr hands and blesse themselues, to hear what abominable tales they will tell them.

After they haue talked a good while, the bell calleth them to theyr chamber, the porter going from chamber to chamber, and lighteth a lamp in every one: so, when the schollers come, they alight their lamps, laye downe theyr beddes, and go sitte at theyr deskcs and studie a little, till the bell ringes, when every one falles on his knees to prayers.

Then one of the priestes in the chamber, as in every chamber there is some, beginneth the Latin letany, all the schollers in the chamber answering him: and so they spend the time till the bell ringes againe, which is, for every one to goe to bed.

CHAP. IV.

Other matters of our English Students in the Colledge, theyr dayes of Recreation at theyr Vineyard, theyr Walke to the seauen churches, a Report of some of the Romish Reliques, and other thinges concerning theyr Behavior.

THE English students euerie thirde or fourth day goe not to the schooles, but haue accesse abroad, to sporte and delight themselues: sometime they walke to their vineyard, and the Iesuites with them, where they passe awaye the daye in diuers disportes; what game, what toy, anie one can deuise, they altogether in pastime ioyne to performe it.

An other day they goe to the seauen churches, which, according as I remember theyr names, I will here sette them downe: S. Peters, S. Pauls, S. John Lateranes, S. Maria maiore, S. Croce, S. Laurences, S. Sebastianes. In all these churches, there be diuerse reliques, which make them haunted of a meruaylous multitude of people: whereby the lazye lurden fryers that keepe the churches gettes more ritches, then so many honest men shoulde doe: for either at the comming into the church, or else at the aultar where the Reliques be, there standeth a basen, and the people cast money therein, with verie great liberallitie. And there standeth a fryer, with a forked sticke in his hand, and therevpon he taketh every bodyes beades, that layes them on the aultar, and then he wipes them along a great proportioned thinge of christal and golde, wherein are a number of rotten bones, which they make the people credite to be the bones of saints: so, wiping them along the

outside of this tabernacle, the beades steale a terrible deale of holynesse out of those bones, and, God knowes, the people thinke they doo God good seruice in it: Oh monstrous blindnesse!

But because euery good subiect may see into the Romish iuglinges, and perceiue the subtiltie of antychriste, the eldest childe of hell: I will rehearse some of these reliques, as many of them as I can possibly call to my remembraunce.

A breefe Rehearsall of some of the Romishe Reliques, whereby the Pope deceiueth a Number, and hath good gaines, to the Maintenaunce of his Pompe.

In Saint Peters Church.

AS wee enter into the courte before Saint Peters church, there standeth the forme of a rocke made of brasse, an old and auncient thinge: the which is kept there, that the ignoraunt people shoulde beleue that to be the rocke, which our Sauour spake off to Peter, when as, vpon Peters confessing him to be Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God, he answered: 'Vpon this Rocke will I builde my Church;' which rocke he ment by himselfe, and not by Peter. This peece of brasse they make the ignoraunt to beleue to be that rocke, and therefore a number, as they goe into the church, fall downe on their knees, and worshippe this brasen rock with their prayers.

Going thorowe the churche, wee come to a chappell, wherein is an high aultar, whereon standeth a picture of S. Peter and S. Paule: Within that aultar, they say, lyeth halfe the bodies of these two apostles and saintes, and therefore that aultar is daylie worshipped.

Comming backe againe into the church, wee come to a square aultar, wherein, say they, is the head of the speare that was thrust into our Sauours side: but the point thereof is broken off; and is in an other place. And, in the same aultar, is the hankercher which Christe wiped his face withall, when he caried his crosse sweating, and left the perfect print thereof on the cloath: this is called *Vultus sanctus*. Howe this aultar is honored, you shall read more in the chapter, which talketh of the Flagellante night.

What other reliques be in in this church, I certainlie know not; but they say, there is the bodies of diuers saintes, whose names, because I can not remember, I will let passe, because I will not be found in any vntrueth.

In Saint Paules Church.

IN this church, vnder the high aultar, is sayd to be the other halfe of the bodies of S. Peter and Paule: this aultar is likewise adored with meruaylous reuerence.

Not farre from this church, there is a place called Tre Fontana; at this place, they say, Saint Paule was beheaded: and, when his head

was cut off, it leaped three times, and, in those places where it leapt, there sprung vp presently three fountaines; there is great deuotion likewise vsed at this place.

In Saint John Lateranes Church.

AS wee come first to the little chappelles before the church, wherein, they say, our ladie hath bene diuers times seene, and therefore hath left such holinesse there, as they pray there a good while, there standeth a round pillar of stone, seeming to be but latelie made: on this stone, say they, the cock stode and crowed, at what time Peter denied Christe: and therefore they doe vse to kisse it, make courtesie to it, and rub their beades on it.

Neere to this stone is a broad gate, being the entraunce into the aforesayde chappelles; and on the one side of this gate there is two round ringes of yron, whereon sometime a gate hath bene hanged to open [and shut: in these ringes, say they, the Iewes did stick banners all the while that Christe was crucified; and therefore, for the holinesse of them, they will draw their beades thorowe the sayde ringes, and kisse them when they haue done.

From thence we goe to a fayre large place, in the midst whereof standeth a font, wherein, they saye, Constantinus Magnus was christened: In this font everye yeere on Easter-euen, they doo christen Iewes, such as do chaunge to their religion. For there is a certaine place appointed for sermons, whereat the Iewes, whether they will or no, must be present, because one of their owne rabines preacheth to them; to conuert them, as himselfe hath bene a great while.

In Rome the Iewes haue a dwelling-place within themselues, being locked in their streetes by gates on either side, and the Romaynes every night keepeth the keyes: all the daye time they go abroad in the cittie, and will buie the oldest apparell that is; an olde cloke, dublet, or hose, that a man would thinke not woorth a penny, of the Iewes you may haue the quantitie of foure or fise shillings for them. Nowe, that the Iewes may be knowne from any other people, every one weareth a yellow cap or hatte, and, if he goe abroad without it, they will vse him very yll fauouredly.

In this order they come to the sermon, and, when any of them doth chaunge his faith, he taketh his yellow cap or hatte off from his head, and throwes it away with great violence; then will a hundred offer him a blacke cap or hatte, and greatly rejoyce that they haue so wun him. All his ritches he then must forsake, that goes to the Popes vse, being one of his shifts; and to this aforesayde font he is brought, clothed all in white, a white cap, a white cloke, and every thing white about him, and a holie candle burning, that he beareth in his hand. Then is he there baptized by an Englishman, who is named Bishop Goldwell, sometime the Bishop of S. Asaph, in Wales: he hath this office, maketh all the English priestes in the colledge, and liueth there among the Theatines very pontifically. After the Iewes be thus baptized, they be brought into the church, and there they see the

hallowing of the paschall, which is a mightie greate wax taper; and then a deuise, wherein is inclosed a number of squibs, is shotte off, when thorowe all the church they crye, *Sic transit gloria mundi*. From thence they goe to a colledge, which the Pope hath erected for such Iewes as in this manner turue to his religion; there they staye a certaine time, and after they be turned out to gette their liuing as they can; none of their former ritches must they haue againe, for that goes to the maintenaunce of the Popes pontificalitie. This aforsayde font is a holy thing, and there must prayers be likewyse sayde.

From this font wee goe vppe into a fayre chappell, wherein is an altar dedicated to our ladie, in gold and sumptuous shewes surpassing; and all about the chappell are hanged little wooden pictures, tapers, and wax candles, which are the pilgrimes vowes to our ladie, and there they leaue them to honour her. Heere must be vsed great deuotion.

From thence wee goe into an olde roome, wherein is an olde wall standing alonge in the midst of this roome, and in this wall is three olde doores, hauing painting on them that is not very olde: thorowe one of these doores, they say, Christe went into iudgement; when he came backe from iudgement he went thorowe the second; and thorowe the thirde to be whipped; these doores are worshipped euery day.

From thence we goe alonge thorowe an olde gallery, and there is a fayre paire of stayres of stone, that commeth vppe into this gallery, being in number of steppes about four or fve and twenty: vppe these stayres, they say, Christe went to iudgement, and, as he came backe againe, he let fall a drop of bloode on one of the steppes, ouer the which place (because the people, with kissing it and rubbing it with their beades, haue fretted a deepe hole in the stone) is made a little yron grate. The people must neither goe vppe nor downe these stayres on theyr fete, but creepe them ypon theyr knees, and on euery steppe say a *Pater Noster* and an *Aue Maria*; so that, with the number that creepe vppe and downe these stayres dayly, they are kept as cleane as the fine houses in London, where you may see your face in the boordes. These stayres haue no small reuerence.

Neere to the head of these stayres, on either side of the gallery, there is in the walles two halfe pillers of stone, much like to alablaster; which they say to be the vale of the temple that rent in the midst when Christe yeilded vppe the ghost; vpon these two halfe pillers they rubbe theyr beades, in signe of great deuotion.

Somewhat neere to these halfe pillers, there is a longe marble pillar, at which pillar, they say, Christe was faste bound when he was whipped in Pilates Hall. This pillar is much adored.

Harde by wee goe into a little chappell, which hath a very ritch and costlie altar, wherein they say to be some of the milke that come out of our ladies breastes, and as yet remaineth pure and sweete. To this relique is vsed meruailous worship.

And in the same chappell, harde by the doore as wee come in, there hangeth, tyed with an yron chayne, a peece of wood, which is crossed euery way with diuers plates of yron: this peece of woode they name

to be a peece of the crosse whereon the theefe was hanged, to whom our Sauour sayde, 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise'. To this is giuen much deuotion.

Beneath in the Church.

IN the church at the altar, there is, as they say, the first shirt that our Ladie made for Christe when he was young.

In the same altar are the two sculs, or scalps, of the heads of S. Peter and S. Paule, with the haire as yet on them, which are set in golde and silver verie costly.

There is also a glasse viall, which is full, as they say, of the bloode of our Sauour, that ran out of his precious side, hanging on the crosse: the people, when this is shoven, will take their handes, and hold the palmes of them toward the glasse, and then rub all theyr face with theyr handes, with the great holinesse they receiue from the glasse.

Then there is a peece of Christes cote without seame, and it is the part of the coate, which, when it was turned downe ouer his bodie that he should be whipped, the bloode did trickle downe vpon; and vpon this peece of his cote, say they, the bloode yet remaineth as fresh as it was the first day when the bloode fell on it. This is a meruailous precious relique too.

Likewise there is the whole chayne of yron wherewith S. Iohn the Euangelist was led bounde to Ephesus: this chaine is a little olde one, I am sure little aboue halfe a yard longe.

There is also one of the nayles wherewith our Sauour Christe was nayled on the crosse; and it hath the bloode yet fresh on it.

And, among all the rest, there is a great proportion, or quantitie of the crowne of thornes, wherewith, they say, our Sauour was crowned.

Diuers other reliques there be in that church, which I canne not nowe verie perfectlye remember; but these I am certaine they make the people beleue to be there, for I haue stode by among a multitude of people, that come thither to see them on the day they are shoven, and there haue I hearde all these named: almost all the English students can beare me witnesse, for I haue gone in their company, as it is a custome and an order among them, to goe from church to church all the Lent time, to the stations as they call them, and then, each day in Lent, one church or other hath their reliques abroade to bee scene. And then they tell the people, this is the reliques of such a saint, and this is such a holie and blessed thing; but they be either couered with golde, silver, or christall, so that wee can not tell whether there be any thing within or no, except it be sometime in a broade christall tabernacle, and there you shall see a company of rotten bones, God knows of what they be.

In Saint Maria Maiore.

There is an olde rotten crib, or maunger, wherein, say they, our Sauour lay betweene the oxe and the asse, when the sheepehardes came to honour and reuerence him: this is a thing highlie honoured.

There is likewise Aarons rod, as they call it, which is in the forme of a bishops staffe: a holie relique.

There is also of the haire that grewe on our Ladyes head: this is there reserued ritche, and worshipped for a singuler relique.

There is the forme of a finger in siluer, wherein, say they, is the finger of S. Thomas, which he thrust into the side of Christe: this is no simple relique.

There is the point of the head of a speare, which they say to be broken off from the speare that was thrust into our Sauours side on the crosse: a relique of no small worshippe.

There is also certaine peeces of money, which they name to be of those thirty pence which Iudas receiued when he betrayed his maister, wherewith (after he had hanged himselfe) they bought a feeelde, called, The Feeelde of Blood: these are reliques of great estimation.

There is likewise an olde rotten peece of wood, which they make the people to thinke to be a peece of the crosse whereon Christe was crucified: to see this relique the people will come creeping on their knees, and behaue themselues with meruailous deuoutnesse.

There is also certaine of the thornes, which sometime, as they say, was on the crowne of thornes, wherewith our Sauour Christe was crowned: reliques of great auctority among them.

In Sancta Croce.

There is an other of the nayles wherewith Christe was nayled on the crosse; and, as they saye, the blood still freshe upon it.

There is also three or foure of the pence which Iudas receiued for the betraying of his maister Christe.

There is a good big peece of wood, which they likewise say to be a peece of the crosse whereon Christe was crucified.

There is a whippe, which they reporte to be one of those whippes wherewith Christe was whipped in Pilates hall; this is a holy and verie precious relique.

There is a tabernacle of christall; the pillars thereof are of silver, wherein is diuers olde rotten bones, which they say to be the bones of saintes and holy martirs.

In Saint Lauraunce.

There is made fast, in a wall, a great marble stone about two yarden in length, and a yarde in bredth, which is closed in with a great yron: upon this stone, they say, Saint Lauraunce was broyled. This is a relique much sette by.

There also, they say, to be the gredyron whereon Saint Lauraunce was broyled; but that I neuer sawe, therefore I will not make any certain reporte thereof.

There, at the high aultar, they say the heade of Saint Lauraunce is, which they haue set in siluer meruailous costlie.

In Saint Sebastians.

There, vnder the high aultar, they say lyeth the bodye of Saint Sebastian, to whose shrine they offer verie much worshippe.

At all these seauen churches, there are a number more reliques then I can well remember, which maketh the people to resorte to them almost daylie; and our Englishmen, they are as zealous, in these matters, as the best, and belecue that those reliques are the verie certaine thinges whereof they beare the name, so great is theyr blindnesse and want of faith.

To these places they trudge commonly once euerie weeke, and sometime twice; or, as the Iesuites thinke it conuenient; but, when they haue beene at these seauen churches, and honoured all these paltrey reliques, they thinke they haue done a most blessed and acceptable seruice to God.

There are reliques beside these, at most of the other churches and chappels, but, what they be, I do not, as now, remember; yet thus much I can say, that, when the station hath beene at Saint Appolonias, all the way as we goe, the streetes are full almost of lame and diseased people, who, when they desire any almes of the passers by, say, they will pray to Saint Appolonia for theyr teeth, that she will keepe them from the toothach, or any other paine that may happen to theyr teeth: this they doe, because they reporte that, Saint Appolonia, being martired, had all her teeth, by violence, plucked out of her head; and therefore they imagine, that she can defend any body from hauing any paine in theyr teeth.

Likewise, Saint Agatha, whose brestes, they say, were clipped off with a paire of tonges, made red hot in the fire; to her they will pray (if the people will giue them any money) that, any woman passing by them, this saint will not suffer her to haue any paine in her brestes.

Other of their saintes, whoe had any thinge ministred by way of torment, either on theyr head, armes, bodye, legges, or feete, because the people shall giue them somewhat, these beggers will pray to any of those saintes, to defende them from paine, in any such place of their body.

Now, some lazy fryer, or some other craftie companion, whoe will compell the people to giue him somewhat; he getteth a pax, and every one, that commeth by him, must make homage to it, come and kisse it, and giue him money ere he goe any farther. This fellowe standeth as maister of the beggers; and all these knauries, and an infinite number more, are our Englishmen so insolent, both to like and alowe off.

And now, seeing I among the Popes pageants, I will blaze a little more

of his holy hell; that those (to whose handes this my booke shall happen to come, and are, by some of our secrete seducing preestes, any thing moued that way) may behold the egregious follies and deuillish drifts, whereby God is displeased, and men too much wilfullye blinded. So that, turning to the bare and naked trueth, which craueth neither shadowe, nor any coullored deuise, they may vomite vp that antechriste and his abominable inuentions, and cleaue to that which God himselfe hath commaunded.

CHAP. V.

A breefe Discourse of their darke Vautes vnderneath the Grounde, and how they beguile a Number by them. Of the Pilgrimage to Saint Iames in Gallitia, to Saint Maria di Loreto, to Saint Clare at Mount Falcon, and other Places of like Holinesse.

AMONG a number of theyr inuentions to vphold and maintaine their wicked dealinges, they haue certaine vautes vnderneath the ground, wherein they say howe, in the time that the persecutingemperours liued in Rome, the Christians were glad to hide themselues, and there they liued many yeeres, hauing no foode nor nourishment to maintaine them, but onlie that they were fed by angels. Sometime Christ himselfe came amongst them, and he fed them by his heavenly deitie: when, as he could not come, but was busied aboute other affaires, he sente his mother, the Virgin Marie, to them: at other times, the archangell Michaell, the angell Gabriell, or one angell or other, was still sent vnto them; and saintes, that were liuing on earth, came daylie and preached to them. This our Englishmen hath tolde to me and other, at diuers times; yea, and when they haue seene me offer doubte of those matters, they haue beene ready to swaie it to be certaine and true.

At a church there, called Saint Pancratia, there is a vaute, whereinto I haue gone with the Iesuites of the Englishe Colledge and the students; and there they haue shewed me in diuers places, made on either side in the vaute as we go, that there lay such a saint, and there lay such an other; there they were buried, and none was there but they were all saintes. Then, (hauing euery one of vs a waxe light in our hands, because it is vnpossible to see any light in the vaute, and for those lights the fryers, that keepe the church, must haue money, which we put into a basen that standeth at the going downe into the vaute) they looke on the grounde vnder theyr feete as they goe; and, if they chaunce to find a bone (as some sure are thrown in of purpose to deceiue the people) whether it be of a dog, a hog, a sheepe, or any beast, they can presently tell what saints bone it was, either Saint Fraunces, Saint Anthonie, Saint Blase, or some other saint that pleaseth them to name: then must no bodie touch it without he be a priest, and it must be brought home for an especiall relique; and thus (sauing your reuerence) encreaseth the genelogie of the holy reliques in Rome.

In this aforesayde vaute of Saint Pancratia, as one of the English priestes in the colledge gaue me to vnderstand, there was sometime a Franciscan fryer, who, hauing long time liued among his brethren in the monastrie, in chastitie of life, and deuoutnes in religion, walking one day without Rome, Saint Fraunces appeared to him in his fryers cowle, and, calling him by his name, sayd vnto him, I know, my good brother, thou hast long thus liued in my holy order, and hast obeyed me in euery thing; therefore I will, that thou be no longer a mortall man, but a saint, and from this day forward thou shalt leaue thy cloister, and go to the vaute vnder the church of Saint Pancratia, where thou shalt be worshipped of euery one that commeth into the said vaute, and to them thou shalt giue the bones and reliques of holy and blessed saintes, which they, in theyr churches, shall adore with great reuerence; what thou wilt haue shall be done, and what thou wilt not shall not be done.

After these wordes, Saint Fraunces vanished from him, and he went home to the monastrie, to tell his brethren what had happened; soon after, with burning tapers, and great shewes of holinesse, they brought him to the vaute of Saint Pancratia, wherein being entred, they found a seate ready prepared for him, which shined as bright as the sun, so that it dimmed the light of all the tapers; it was like vnto the clowdes, verie thick besette with twinkling stars, and, ouer the head of it, was couered with a goodly rainbowe. Nothinge coulde be seene whereon this seate depended; it neither touched the ground, the top of the vaute ouer head, nor any part of the wall on either side; therefore it was supported by angells, whome, though they coulde not discerne, yet they hearde them make verie mellodious harmonie, to welcome this saint to his new seate. Then the fryer, being bashful to see such a glorious seate provided for him, withdrew himselfe, as though he were vnworthy to sit therein; but then, out of one of the clowdes, stretched a hand (which they sayd to be Christes) wherein they saw the fresh bleeding wound, being pierced thorowe with the nayles on the crosse, and this hand pulled the fryer to the seate, and placed him verie roially therein. At the sight hereof, all his brethren fell downe and worshipped him; wherevpon he deliuered vnto euery one of them diuers holy reliques, as the heade of such a saint, and bones of diuers other saintes, which was put into his hand to giue them. Some of them, for pure zeale, woulde not depart from him, but stayed there many yeares, being fed and nourished by angells; the other, to looke to the good ordering of their monastrie, were forced to depart.

A longe time this saint remained in the vaute, and many other that came to him, whom he daylie made saints; so that, as well on the behalfe of this saint, as diuers other as good as he, this vaute is worshipped, as though it were a second heauen.

When he had ended this braue notorious fable, delyuered foorth with farre more reuerend iecture, than I can sette downe, or you imagine, he sayd: if a man shoulde tell this to the heretiques of our countrey, they would straite way condempne it as a lye and vntrueth: so mightily doth the deuill preuayle with them to deface the daylie myracles showne in the catholique church! Trust me, thought I, I knowe not

whether they woulde esteeme it for a lye, or no; but I do allow it for one of the notablest lyes, that euer I hearde in my life.

O my deere countrey men, thinke howe God hath giuen ouer these men, that repose credite in such abhominable vntruethes; whereby he is robbed of his glorie, and the worship, which wee ought of duetie to giue to him, is bestowed on a rable of rascall reliques, and dunghill of most irksome and noysome smell; and they themselues become spectacles to the world, following the whore of Rome, as the puddle of accursed filthinesse. Their impietie hath pearced the heauens, and offended the Almighty, to see that his creatures shall thus disdain their maker; and therefore, while they are glorying and triumphing in the midst of their wickednesse, he hath throwen them downe, accompted them as bastards, and not children, that they might be an example to vs how to liue in his feare, and howe to behaue our selues like christians; not to giue his honour to stocks and stones, not to lust after dreames and fantasies of the deuills inuention, but, while wee haue the light, to walke as becommeth the children of light; to keepe our selues true and faithfull subiects to her by whome wee enioy the light; and to pray to God to blesse her and vs all to continue in the light. *Amen.*

I will sette downe one discourse more, of an other like myracle, done in an other of their vautes, and then I will trouble you no longer with such friuolous and foolishe stuffe; which I will declare euen in the same manner as a priest of theys, as yet not taken, yet he is heere in Englande, told me, when he, I, and two of the schollers more went into the sayd vaute.

Without Rome, about the distaunce of halfe a mile from the cittie, there is a huge great vaute, which they call S. Priscillaes Grote; and within this vaute there is a great many of seuerall places, turning one this way, an other that way, as, in one street, there may be diuers streetes and lanes turning euery way; so that, when they goe into this vaute, they tie the end of a line at the going in, and so goe on by the line, else they might chaunce to loose them selues, and so misse of their comming out againe: or else, if they haue not a line, they take chalk with them, and make figures at euery turning, that, at their comming againe (being guided by torch light, for candles will go out with the dampe in the vaute) they make accompt, tyll they get forth; but this is not so ready a way, as by the line.

One day I was desirous to see this vaute; for my fellowe, Thomas Nowell, in the companie of the Iesuites and the schollers, had bene therein, and, I lying sicke in my bed, bothe he and they made such a glorious reporte thereof to me, what a heauenly place it was, what a number of saintes and martirs had bene buried there, and what precious reliques was dailie found there, that I very much desired to see the thing, whereto they gaue such an admirable praise; for, in sooth, my fellowe was euen all one with them; his company was required of euery one, and he as lewde in speeches against his countrey, as the best; so that I was esteemed I can not tell howe; they woulde not misdoubte me, for my parents sake, and yet they woulde giue me many shrewd nips; as, when they demaunded any thinge of me as

concerning our gracious princesse, or any of her honorable counsell, I shoulde aunswer, Her Maiestie, God blesse her; or, The Right Honorable such a noble man, of whome they asked me; whereat they woulde checke me very much for vsing any reuerence in naming her Maiestie, or any of the lords of her honorable counsell.

And this I may say boldly, for that it is true, as God is my witness: that, in all the time I was with them, I neither offered motie of misordred or vndecent speech, either of her Maiestie, nor any noble man in the court; no, nor so much as thought yl of any of them, notwithstanding the wordes they vsed, snfficient, had not God ordred all my dooinges, to haue moued a more stayed man then my selfe to an error. I appeale to God, whoe knoweth I sette downe nothing but trueth, and to him that is my cheefest enimie, if he can iustlie reporte otherwise by me; for, I thanke God, albeit I were so farre from my countrey, he gaue me the grace to consider I was a subiect, and I was bound by duetie to regard and honour my prince, so long as I liued. And, because my aduersaries obiect against me, that I wente to masse, and helped the priest my selfe to say masse; so that, say they, whoe is worst? I am as euill as he. I aunswer, I did so in deede; for he, that is in Rome, especiallie in the colledge amonge the schollers, must liue as he may, not as he will: fauour comes by conformitie, and death by obstinacie.

These rashe heades, being in Englande, woulde doe manie goodly matters at Rome; they woulde tell the Pope of his lasciuious and vnchristian lyfe; the cardinals, of their sodomiticall sinnes; the fryers, of their secrete iugling with the nunnes; and the priestes, of their painted purgatorie, their wafer God, and their counterfait blood in the chalice: all these they woulde doe, nowe they are in Englande; but I doubt, if they were at Rome, and beheld the mercilesse tiranny executed on the members of Christe, God hauing not endued them with the spirite of perseuerance to suffer and abide the like (for, what can this fraile carcase endure, if God doe not say, 'I will, that thou shalt suffer this?') I feare me, they woulde be as ready to doe any thinge for the safegard of their liues, as I was. You may note a speciall example, in those our countrey men lately executed, That neither their cause was esteemed of God, nor perfectly perswaded in themselues, yet they woulde die in a brauerie, to be accompted martirs at Rome; and, in the midst of their brauerie, all the world might note their false and faint hearts.

Sherwood, he ranne down the ladder, when death should arrest him, hauing killed one of his fellowe papists. Campion, their glorious captaine, he looked dead in the face, so soone as he saw the place of execution, and remained quaking and trembling vnto the death. Shert woulde haue the people thinke he feared not death, and yet he catched hold on the halter, when the cart was drawn away. Kirbie, quaking when he felt the cart goe away, looked styll how neere the end of it was, till he was quite beside. And Cottom, dismayng, died trembling, and in great feare. These are the martirs of the Romish church, not one of them patient, penitent, nor endued with courage to the extremitie of death; but dismayng, trembling,

and fearfull, as the eye witnesses can beare me recorde. We may therefore well know, that a good cause doth animate the martir, which belongeth to God; let Rome, hell, and all the deuilles set themselues against vs, they can touch vs no farther then God will suffer them. As S. Laurence, being broyled on the gredyron, to witnesse the inuincible courage wherewith God had endued him, he sayde, 'Thou tiraunt, this side is roasted enough, turne the other.' And Saint Isidore likewise sayde to the tiraunt: 'I knowe thou hast no farther power ouer me then my God will suffer thee from aboute.' But now to our matter.

As I haue sayde, through the great reporte they made of this vaute, one of the priestes, two of the schollers and I tooke with vs a line, and two or three great lightes, and so went to this aforesayde vaute: we going alonge, in farther and farther, there we sawe certaine places, one aboue another, three and three on either side, during a great way in length; and these places, they sayde, to be some of them the graues of persecuted saintes and martirs, where they hid themselues in the time of the cruell emperours of Rome, and there they died.

Proceeding on forwarde, wee came to an olde thinge like an aultar, whereon, in olde and auncient painting, which was then almost cleane worne out, was Christ upon the crosse, and our Lady, and S. Iohn by him; there the priest sayde, S. Peter, S. Paule, and many other saintes, had sayde masse to the Christians that hid themselues there. And besides this, quoth he, there chaunced not many yeeres since, a poor man of the cittie to come into this vaute, and, when he was come so farre as this aultar, the light he carried in his hand suddenly went out, so that he was forced to sit downe, and stay heere.

He being thus without any light, and ignoraunt of the way to gette out againe, fell in prayer to our Lady, who presentlie appeared to him, hauing about her little angells, holding burning lampes in their handes, where through the place was illumined verie gloriouslie. And there she questioned with him and he with her, about many and holy religious matters; then she, departing, left him, there accompanied with angells, so that he remained there ten dayes, at the end whereof he came forth, and went and told the Pope what he had seene, for which, when he died, he was canonized a saint; and in this order arise many of the Romish saintes.

As for the pilgrimage to Saint Iames in Gallitia, it is a thing that is vsuallie frequented all the yeere, by such a number of people, as you woulde scantlie judge; among whome diuers of our Englishmen be so holic, that they will not sticke to beare them company. There, they say, lyeth the bodie of Saint Iames the apostle; and there is the cock that crowed when Peter denied Christ; some of the heaire of our Ladies head; certaine of the thornes of the crown of thornes; the napkin that was about Christes head in the graue; certaine droppes of his blood; a peece of the crosse whereon he was crucified, and a number such like reliques, which are honoured and worshipped, as if they were God him selfe.

Then one of the chiefe pilgrimages is to a place called Santa Maria di Loreto, where within is an old little brick roome, which they name

to be the house our Lady dwelt in: there is the image of our Lady all in golde and siluer; the house rounde about her beset with challices of golde and siluer, which are oblations and offerings of diuers pilgrimes, that come in whole companies thither. And before her is a great barred chest of yron, wherein they throw money to our Lady, by whole goblets ful at once. Within this little house there is an aultar made right before our Lady, and there is sayde euery day fortie or fiftie masses, whereat the people will throng in great heapes, to gette into the house, for they thinke themselues happie, if our Lady haue once seene them. Aad all the churche is likewise hung with pictures, tapers, and waxe candles, which are the voves of the pilgrimes to our Lady. I haue hearde of some, whoe, by the counsaile of their ghostly father, haue made money of all their houshold stuffe, and haue come fife or sixe hundreth miles bare foote and bare legged, to giue it all to our Lady there; meane while the holy father hath had liberty to playe with the mans wife at, &c. In all my life I neuer sawe a place more frequented with people then this is daillie, only for the admirable myracles that be doone there. Some haue come thither for the eyesight; and, when they were there, they coulde see a little, as they say, but they haue come away starke blind as they were before. A man came thither, being greuously wounded on the sea by his enemies; and, after he had seene our Lady, he went to the hospitall, and within a quarter of a yeere after, at the farthest, the chirurgeons had healed him. When he was well againe, he went and hung vp his picture in the church, that he was healed of his hurte, so soone as he looked vpon our Lady. Diuers haue beene brought thither in theyr beds, some being sicke, some wounded, or otherwise diseased; and there they were sette before our Lady, looking when she shoulde saye, 'Take up thy bed and walke.' And because she coulde not intend to speake to them, being troubled with so many other suters: they haue beene carried to the hospitall, and there they haue beene either buried or cured; then such as recouer thyr health, must go set vp their picture in the church, how that the very looking on our Lady hath holpen them. Sundry other myracles, doone by our Lady of Loreto, I could rehearse, but they be so straunge, that no wise body will care for the hearing them; neuerthesse, the Pope findes her a good sweete Lady of Loreto, for the pilgrimage to her encreaseth his treasure many thousandes in a yeere.

To Mount Faulcon there is an other pilgrimage to see the body of S. Clare, which was buried I knowe not how many hundred yeeres agoe, and yet the body remayneth whole and sounde, without any perishing of bone or skinne. I haue beene at this place, and ther, in a long rich tabernacle of glasse, lyeth, as they say, the same bodie of S. Clare; the handes and feete are to be seene, which I can aptly compare to the manner of the anatomie, whereon the chirurgeons shewe euery yeere their cunning; as for any fleshe, there is none to be seene but the bare bones, and withered sinues, which, being kept so brauely as that is, standing still at one place, and neuer mooued, I iudge will continue a great while; and truelie I take it to be some anatomie, as diuers others haue doone, that haue seene it as well as I. The whole

body, if there be any, is couered with a gowne of blacke veluet, and the head couered, so that none can see it. There lyeth by her a thing which, they say, was her heart, which being cleft a sunder in the midst: the whole torment and passion of Christ was there in liuely forme to be scene. Then there is likewise by her a glasse of her teares, that she shed dailie in remembraunce of the bitter passion of our Sauiour; which teares, they say, are as fresh and sweet as they were on the first day.

There are a number other pilgrimages, as to Thuringe, to see the winding sheete wherein Christe was layde; wherein, as they say, he left the perfecte image of his body. This merueilous relique is neuer shoven, but once in fourteene yeeres; and then, to deceiue the people with the greater auctoritie, there must sixe cardinales come thither, and they muste holde it abroad, for euerye one to see it; no other but they may presume to touche it. To Paris, to Saint Dennis in Fraunce, to Poitiers, and in a number other places, there be daily pilgrimages, to see a number suche lyke reliques, as I haue declared before: all these helpe to vpholde the Pope, least his kingdome should decaye, and so his vsurping title be cleane worne out of memorie.

But nowe you shall heare of a newe proppe and pillar, wherewith the Pope is and will be merueilously strengthened, that is risen vp little more then two yeares since; and, at this newe holy place, is wrought myracles of great account. In the yeere of our Lord 1580, about the time of Easter, a certaine poore man, one that sawe the simplicity of the people, howe apt they were to beleeue euery fained inuention; he, being a subtile and crafty fellowe, thought he would come in with some deuise of his owne, whereby he might get a great deale of money, and, besides, be canonized for a saint when he died.

He hauing concluded his practise, with diuers other craftie companions, as subtile as himselfe, whoe should maintaine all that he did deuise; fained himselfe to dreame in his bed, that a vision appeared vnto him, willing him to make cleane his house, and to fall downe and reuerence an olde picture of our Ladie, which stode in his house, when presently there shoulde be merueilous myracles accomplished there. His companions noised this abroad, adding thereto such admirable protestation of speech, as euery one, that heard thereof, conceiued no small cause of wondering. This aforesaide vision appeared to this man twise, all in one manner, by which time it was spreade abroad sufficientlie; so that, when it came to the third time, he did according as the voyce badde him; he arose, made cleane his house, and fell downe and worshipped the picture of our ladie.

His companions had some of them bound vp their legs, and went on crutches; some of them fained themselues to be blind, so that they came no sooner before our Ladie, but the lame recouered his legs, and the blind his sight. Then these few crutches, that these counterfeit fellowes came withall, were hung vp by the picture, and a number more, to make the people beleeue that so many lame folks were healed; and likewise the report of the blind that receiued their sight: so that it was thoughte a merueilous number were healed at this new found holy place.

Upon this, the resort of people thither was truly incredible. Gentlemen would come thither, and there hang vp their veluet cloaks, as an offering to our Ladie; gentlewomen would come thither bare footed and bare legged, and there hange vp their veluet gowns, their silke gowns, with other costly apparell, and go home in their petticoates. As for money, iewelles, and other treasure, daily offered there, it is most merueilous to see; for therewith they haue builded a verie faire church where this house stoode. When they sawe they were grown so rich, they made no account of the olde picture, wherewith all the aforesaide myracles were doone; but they erected a costly aultar, and thereon made a sumptuous newe picture of our Ladie, which the people do dayly honour with merueilous resorte. This is faithfullie affirmed by one Iohn Yonge, an Englishman, whoe not long since came home from Rome; and, while he was there, he well noted the impudency of our Englishmen, in lauding and extolling this place, and the myracles there wrought; so that they as certaintie beleue in those myracles, as any Christian doth in God.

This Iohn Yonge once questioned with one of the English priestes, why God did not as well suffer suche myracles to be wroughte by his Sonne Iesus Christe, as altogether by our Ladie? Whereto the priest answered, because among the heretiques they vse little or no reuerend regard to our Ladie, but rather dispise and contemne her; therefore it is the will of God, to witnesse the power and heauenlye authoritie she hath, by these and many suche myracles, bothe heere and in diuers other places, rather then by his Sonne Christe. Heere may euery good Christian beholde the horrible abuses, vsed among this sathanicall crew: their pilgrimages, their reliques, and all their craftie inuentions, it is to be merueiled, that people will be so fonde as to beleue.

As for the nayles wherewith our Sauour was nayled on the crosse, it is euidently registred by learned writers, that they were no more in number then three; yet I am sure, in Rome, there is aboue a dozen nayles dispearsed there through diuers churches, and they are not ashamed to saye, that with euery one of those nayles Christe was nayled upon the crosse.

And for those three nayles, wherewith Christe was nayled on the crosse, Platina recordeth, that Queene Helena, the mother of Constantine the Emperour, searching in the ground, by chaunce found the crosse whereon Christ was crucified, and wherein the nayles were still sticking; for which cause she builded there a temple in the same place, where she founde the crosse. All these nayles she gaue to her sonne Constantine, which he bestowed in this order: one of them he caused to be fastened in the bridle of his horse, whereon he rode to the warres; an other he made to be wrought into his helmet, in the place where he set his plume of feathers; and the third he vsed to carrie about with him, till on a time, he sayling on the Hadriaticum sea, a tempeste arose, so that the sea waxed verie rough; wherevpon he cast the nayle therein, to asswage the rage thertof.

Thus haue you hearde, what became of the three nayles, wherewith our Sauour was nayled to the crosse; and yet it may be, that the

mayle, which Constantine threw into the sea, according as Ambrose dooth likewise affirme it was, tooke vpon it the nature of a fysh, and spawned a great manye of other nayles, whereof those may be some, that are held for such holy reliques.

And because you shall not doubt, whether this be the opinion of Platina, or no: I will heere set downe the wordes, according as they are in his woorkes: *Platina in vitis Pontificum, & in vita Siluestri primi anno 399, ab vrbe condita, 1191. Helena vero, ædificato eo in loco templo vbi crucem repererat, abiens clauos, quibus Christi corpus cruci affixum fuerat, secum ad filium portat. Horum vnus ille in franos equi transtulit, quibus in prælio vteretur; alio pro cono galeæ utebatur: tertium in mare Hadriaticum (vt ait Ambrosius) ad compescendas sæuientis maris procellas deiecit.*

Bishop Iewel, Bishop of Salisburie, preaching at Paules crosse, in the beginning of her Maiesties raigne, tooke occasion, by his text, to entreat of a company of the Popish reliques; where among, he named the nayles, that nayled Christe on the crosse, what a company the papistes had of them; two in one place, two in an other, and heere one, and there an other; so that he coulde reckon to the number of seauenteene, that they had. And then he tolde how, at a visitation in his diocese, he found a mayle at a gentlemans house, which the gentleman and diuers of his friends did reuerence for one of the nayles, wherewith Christ was nayled on the crosse; from him he tooke it, and sayde: I haue alreadie reckned seauenteene in diuers places, and this the eighteenth, which he pulled foorth, and shewed it to all the people. This is the merchandize of Rome; from reposing any credite in them, or him that is the capitoll maister of them, Good Lorde deliuer vs.

CHAP. VI.

The Manner of the Dissention in the English Colledge, betweene the Englishmen and the Welshmen; the banishment of the Englishmen out of Rome, and the Popes sending for them againe, with other matters worthy the Reading.

HAUING promised before in my booke, to rehearse after what manner the Englishmen and Welshmen fell at variaunce in the colledge: I thought good to driue off the time no further, but euen heere to sette downe howe, and in what sort, it was: The Pope, when he erected the colledge, gaue it the name of the English colledge, so that he supposed the Welsh and English to be all one, in that they came all out of one countrey, allowing them his liberallitye together. Nowe, in deede, there are sundrye Welsh doctors in Rome, whoe haue bene longest, and of greatest familiarity with the Cardinall Morone, whoe was the protector of the English colledge, to whome likewise he allowed greatest fauour; so that, imboldning themselves vpon him, the

Welshmen would be lordes ouer the Englishmen, and vse them according as they thought good.

Doctor Morris being a Welshman, and custos of the hospitall or colledge, would allow his owne countrey men greater preheminence then Englishmen; which, in deede, they began to stomacke, and would not esteeme him for their gouernour, but rather soughte to haue the Iesuites to rule them, by whome they applyed their studies, and, beside, they would be indifferent men on either parte.

When I had bene there a prettie while, I knowe not howe Doctor Morris conceiued anger against me, but he would not suffer me to tarry any longer in the colledge. As for my fellowe, his sincerity in theyr religion was such, his naturall disposition so agreeable with theirs, and euery thing he did esteemed so well, that Doctor Morris would suffer him willingly to remayne there, but he coulde not abide me in any case.

The schollers vnderstanding this, as well they that bare me affection, as they that made least accompt of me, agreede to take my parte, saying, that, if Doctor Morris would put euerye Englishman he thought good on out, in short time the colledge would be all Welshmen: so they badde me sticke to them, and, if I went awaye, they would go awaye too.

Beside, they moued a certaine speech amongst them selues, that if I were not receiued into the colledge amongst them, and vsed, in euerye respecte, according as they were; when I returned into Englande, being knowne to come from Rome, I might be compelled to tell the names of them that were there, and what conference I had among them, so that their parents and freendes should be discouered, and themselues be knowne against their comming into Englande. To auoyde, therefore, any suche doubt, untill they had me sworne to priesthoode, they would keepe me there, and then I shoulde be as deepe in any matter as they.

When I perceiued the scope of their deuise, I behaued my selfe more frowardly to Doctor Morris than euer I did before; euerye thinge that I hearde of him I tolde unto the schollers, and tarried there, dinner and supper, in spight of his nose; wherevpon, he went and complayned to Cardinall Morone, how the schollers used no regarde to him, being the rector, but maintained one lately come foorth of Englande, both to scorne at him, and to offer him too much abuse.

This being come to the schollers care, and howe on the next day they must appeare before the cardinall, they determined with them selues all one resolut opinion, which was, that Doctor Morris shoulde be rector ouer them no longer, but the Iesuites that were kept in the house for the profite of their studies, and vpon this they would all stand, denying any rectorship to Doctor Morris.

On the morrowe, they were sente for before the Cardinall Morone, where they founde Doctor Morris and Doctor Lewes, they hauing made sounde theyr tale before they came.

When they were come into the presence of the cardinall, and my selfe with them, these, or the very like speeches, he vsed vnto vs in Latine:

' You Englishmen, what meaneth this great disobedience, and vnciuill behauiour you vse in your colledge? Maister Doctor Morris, a man of auncient time, and well esteemed heere in the citty, being appointed to be your rector, and to gouerne you in good order, as a great while he hath done; you, contrarie to loue and dutie, behaue your selues rediculously against him, and, neither respecting his credite and countenaunce, nor your owne honestie, determine a mutenie or tumulte among your selues. What is the cause of this? You are sente for to manifest it; wherefore let me heare howe you can excuse this blame layd against you?'

Master Sherwin, whoe was executed with Campion, being there esteemed a singuler scholler, bothe for his eloquence, as also his learning, made aunswere for them all after this manner:

' I trust, my gracious Lorde, by that time you haue hearde the good cause wee haue to stirre in this matter, you will neither be offended at our proceeding, nor displeased with vs, the cause tending to your owne honor. It is not vnknowne to you, that the colledge, or hospitall, which, by the gracious prouidence of our deere father, the Popes holinesse, wee enioye our abiding in at this present, hath beene alwayes allowed such a sufficient stipende, that one shoulde not be better then an other, or excell his fellowe in common behauiour.

' This most godly and holy appointed estate wee bothe haue beene, and at this present are, content to obeye; but, when he that is head shall fayle in his duetie, and vrge an inconuenience among a quiet assemblie, no meruaile if the worrne turne, being trodden vppon, and wee speake, being vsed with too much spight.

' Maister Doctor Morris, whose age wee reuerence, and obey the title of his authoritye, dealing with vs so vnfreendly as he dooth, wee can hardly beare it, much lesse abide it: For, where his office dooth commaund him to deale both iust and vprihtly, and to vse no partiallitye to either for fauour or alliaunce; he dooth not onely abuse the credite of his authoritye, but also maliciouslye deale with vs, who haue not so much as vsed any euill thought againste him.

' When any Englishman commeth to the hospitall, if his learning be neuer so good, or his behauiour neuer so decent, except he be pleased, he shall not be entertained; but, if a Welshman come, if he be neuer so vilde a runnagate, neuer so lewde a person, he can not come so soone as he shall be welcome to him; whether he haue any learning, or no, it maketh no matter, he is a Welshman, and he must be permitted. Then which of vs hath the best gowne, he must receiue one that is all ragged and torne, and the newcome Welchman must haue the best, because he is the Custos countreyman; and many nightes he must haue the Welshman in his chamber, where they must be merry at their good cheere, wee glad to sitte in our studies, and haue an ill supper, because M. Doctor wasteth our commons vppon his owne countreymen; so that wee must be content with a snatch and a way.

' If there be one bede better then an other, the Welshman must haue it; if there be any chamber more handsome then an other, the

Welshman must lodge there; in breefe, the thinges of most account are the Welshmans at commande.

‘ This maketh many of vs to wishe ourselues Welshmen, because wee would gladlie haue so good prouision as they, and, being countreyemen to our Custos, wee shoulde be all vsed alike, excepting Maister Doctors nephew, Morganus Clenokus; he must be in his silke, though all the rest goe in a sacke.

‘ To mittigate, therefore, all inconueniences, that neither the Englishmen shall be despised, nor the Welshmen contemned, wee desire, that the Iesuites in our colledge may receiue the rectorship; they labour for the profite of our studies, and they, being none of our nation or countrey, will see equitie vsed to either side; so our discorde shall be quietlie reformed, our colledge a great deale better gouerned, our selues be encouraged to imploy vs more willingly to our studies, and wee shall jointlie liue together in quietnes: Where otherwise our emulation shall be knowne at home in our owne countrey, how wee fall at variaunce heeré, and can not agree; and then shall our names be knowne, our parentes and freendes openlie discovered; then, what the ende will be, I leaue to your honorable iudgement.’

When the cardinall had heard this discourse (being greatly affected to Doctor Morris, thorowe his long abiding in Rome) he woulde not graunt, that he shoulde be put from his office, but bad them departe home againe, and shewe them selues obedient to the rector, that bothe the Pope and him selfe had appointed, promising, if he hearde any more disturbaunce, he woulde enforme the Pope of it; which shoulde be but small to their profite.

So, the cardinall not minded to heare them any longer at that time, they departed home to the colledge, greatlie offended with them selues, that they had sped no better. And now I must out of the colledge, there was no remedie; but yet, thorowe entreatie of the Iesuites, I had leaue, for a fortnight, to lye in a verie sweete chamber, filled with olde rustie yron; and all the trashe of the house was put into that chamber, being a vacant place, and seruing for no other purpose, because it was next to the common house of office, which ayred the chamber with so sweete a perfume, that, but for names sake of a chamber, and feare of catching some disease, I had rather haue lyen in the streete among the beggers. Well, froward as I was, so was I frowardlie serued; which, I thinke, Doctor Morris did, onelie to tame my youthfulness; for in this place, not long before my comming to Rome, there laye one tormented with a deuill, and so distraught of his wittes, that they were fayne to binde him there in his bed,

So Doctor Morris, seeing I vsed my selfe bothe carelesse of them, and with little regarde to theyr religion, yet in suche an order, as they coulde haue small aduauntage of me, chambred me there, where I thinke the deuill was still left; for, euery night, there was suche a coyle amonge the olde yron, suche ratling and throwing downe the boordes, that, with the sweete smell came out of the counting house to my bedes head, I laye almoste feared out of my witts, and almoste choked with that pleasant perfume; so that, when I was layde in my bed, I durste not

stirre, till it was fayre broade day, that I might perceiue euery corner of my chamber, whether the deuill were there, or no.

Euery morning, the priestes and the schollers woulde come to visite me, giuinge me money to sende for my dinner and supper into the towne, because Doctor Morris, mine olde freend, watched them so neere, that I coulde not haue so much as a draught of wine in the house. Then I tolde them of the noyse, that was euerye nighte in my chamber, when they verily beleueed, that the deuill, hauing possessed a woman on the farther side of the garden, did euerye nighte take vp his lodginge in my chamber among the olde yron.

Wherefore, one nighte, two of the priestes came to hallow my chamber, and brought their holye water and their holye candles, and sprinckled about in euerye corner, giuing me also a pot of holye water to hang by my bedes side, that, when I heard the sturre againe, I shoulde, with the sprinckling brush, throwe it about the chamber: And they gaue me a payre of beades, whereon I shoulde say sixe *Pater Nosters* and *Aue Mariaes*; then, they woulde warraunt me, the noyse woulde be gone straight way.

Nighte came, and supping so well as I coulde, with two quatrines woorth of leekes, one quatraine bestowed in ricoet, which is hard cruds to make cheese, a baiock in bread, and a demie boccale of the vine romanesco, wherewith I supped so well as I might, albeit not so well as I woulde; yet a little thinge serues to quench hunger. I had not bene in my bed full an hower and an halfe, not daring to sleepe for feare, nor keepe my head out of the bed, because of mine accustomed ayre, but then began the noyse againe, more vehement then the nighte before; the olde yron was flung about the chamber; the boordes, that leaned against the wall, fell downe; and such a terrible coyle there was, that I thought the house woulde haue fallen on my head.

Then I put forth my hand to throwe the holye water about, which did as much good, as the thinge is good of it selfe; which set me in such a chafe, that, to make vp the musique among the olde yron, I sent the pot and the holye water with as much force as I coulde. As for my beades, I was so impatient with my selfe, that I gaue them the place which they best deserued; and then I called to olde Sir Robert, a Welsh priest, who lay in a prettie chamber harde by; but, before he woulde come, the noyse was indifferently pacified; for he, comming with a candle in his hand, which he vsed to keepe alight in his chamber, and being in haste, fell ouer a stone threshold, that lay in his way, so that he burst his knee very sore, and coulde not light his candle againe in the space of an houre; by which time all was quiet.

The feare, I tooke at this noyse, brought me to be very weake and sickly, so that I was very vnwilling to lye there any longer; but Doctor Morris, I thanke him, was so gentle to me, that he sayde, and if I liked not my lodging, Goe hardly, quoth he, and lye in the streete, for that place is more meete for thee, then any roome in the house.

Howe I receiued these churlishe wordes, I leaue to your iudgementes; but it suffiseth: I gaue him my blessinge, and, if I coulde haue gotten him forth of Rome, I woulde haue bounde him too.

On the nexte daye, vppon an other complainte of Doctor Morris, the studentes were all sent for againe before the cardinall, who plainly sayde to them, That, except they woulde liue in quietnesse one with another (because there was one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, of a hote nature, and he woulde many times fal together by the eares with some of the schollers, that sometime the blood ranne about theyr eares) lyke-wise that they shoulde confesse Doctor Morris for theyr rightfull rector, and to be obedient to what he appointed, or els to get them away out of Rome.

Well, home they came againe, incensed with such anger and choller, that they were nowe more disobedient then before, saying to Doctor Morris, That they woulde neuer consent vnto him; and therefore prouided themselves to be packing out of Rome. Doctor Morris, thinking to bring them violentlie to his bowe, enformed the cardinall so seuerely againste them, that they were sent for the third time, when he commaunded them to prouide them selues, for they shoulde stay no longer in the English hospitall, but banished them all from the cittie.

When they were come to the colledge, euerye man trussed vp his needefull thinges, determining on the next morning to depart: Then came Doctor Morris to me and my fellowe, willing vs to stay, because the other would be gon, and he would stande our freende meruailously. Trust me, no Sir, quoth I, since you woulde not stand my freende, when I was in great neede, nowe I mean not to receiue your courtesie, when I care not for it; for, since the students haue stoode my freendes so much, and you mine enemie so greatlie, I will beare a share in theyr trauell, howe euer I speede. As for my fellowe, since you haue loued him all this while, loue him nowe too if you please; and let him stay and doo what you thinke best, for I haue tolde you my minde.

Well, on the morrowe morning wee went our way, with bag and baggage, to an English mans house in the cittie, and, as I remember, his name was M. Creede; where, to make readie our dinner, euerye man tooke an office vpon him; one to fetch milke, and an other to make readie rice for the pottage, and some to make the fyre; so that euerye one was employed till our dinner was dispatched. Then they concluded to buie euery man an asse, to carrie his bookes and his clothes vpon; as for money, there were gentlemens sonnes of such credite amongst them, that Doctor Moorton, and the gentlemen in the cittie, would prouide them with as good as five-hundred crownes quickelie. Within an howre and a half after dinner, came Father Alfonso, the Iesuit of the English colledge, whome the students had chosen, and made sute to be their rector: He, I say, came running in such haste, that he coule hardly tell his tale, because he was almost out of breath. But this was the summe of his newes, that the Popes Holinesse had sent for them in all haste, and they must delay no time, but come to him with all speede possible.

Then he went with them to the Popes pallace, where, comming into the Popes chamber, and hauing euerye one kissed his foote, wee stayde to attende what was his pleasure. But, before he spake any worde, with a dissembling and hipocriticall countenaunce, he fell into teares which trickled downe his white bearde; and began in Latin with these

or the verie like wordes: 'O you Englishmen, to whome my loue is such as I canne no way vtter, considering that for me you haue left your Prince, which was your duetie, and come so farre to me, which is more then I can deserue; yet, as I am your refuge when persecution dealeth straightlie with you in your countrey, by reason of the hereticall religion there vsed, so will I be your bulwarke to defend you, your guide to protect you, your father to nourish you, and your frende with my hart blood to doo you any profite.'

Beholde what deceites the deuill hath to accomplish his desire! Teares, smooth speeches, liberallitie, and a thousand meanes, to make a man carelesse of God, disobedient to his Prince, and more, to violate vtterlie the faith of a subiect: These teares that he shed, these wordes that he spake, made diuers of them saye within themselues, as one of them, for example, presentlie to me sayde:

'Oh singuler saint, whose life, loue, and liberallite, may be a spectacle to the whole world. Whoe woulde liue in England, vnder the gouernment of so vilde a Iezabell, and may rest in safety under the perfect image of Iesus? Whoe woulde not forsake father, mother, freendes, goodes, yea, and the life itselfe, to haue the bountifull blessing of such a prouident father?' The Pope, recouering his health againe from his weeping, caused this deuout fellowe to stay his talke, because he began againe as thus:

'What is the cause that you will depart from me that haue so wel prouided for you, to thrust your selues on the rocke of your owne destruction?' Then Maister Sherwin began, and tolde him all the dealings of Doctor Morris towards them, according as he had done before to the cardinall, and how they woulde haue the Iesuites for their gouernours, for the causes before mentioned. Upon these wordes the Pope started out of his chayre, 'Why, quoth he, I made the hospitall for Englishmen, and for their sake haue I giuen so large exhibition, and not for the Welshmen. Returne to your colledge againe, you shall haue what you will desire, and any thinge I haue in the world to do you good.'

Then he commaunded one of the cheefe gentlemen of his chamber to goe with vs, and to certifie the Popes minde to Doctor Morris; and so, giuing vs his benediction, wee went all merrily againe to the colledge.

The gentleman gaue Doctor Morris to vnderstand he must be rector no longer; the Iesuite, named Father Alfonso, whome the schollers had chosen, must haue his office; then were the schollers glad that they had gotten the victory of the Welshmen.

On the morrowe the Pope sent four hundred crownes to newe reparation the house, to buie the students all needefull thinges that they wanted, and the house muste no longer be called a colledge but a seminarye.

The Cardinall Morone, because Doctor Morris should not loose all his dignity, caused the house to be parted, and so made both a seminarye for the students, and an hospitall for the entertainment of English pilgrimes when they came, whereof Doctor Morris continued Custos by the Popes appoyntment.

Thus was the strife ended, and my selfe and my fellowe admitted by

the Popes owne consent to be schollers there; but yet the sicknes that I got, with lying in my former chamber, hung still upon me, so that I was then remooued to a very fayre chamber, where the schollers everye day would come and visite me, vntill such time as I recovered my health againe.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Carne Vale in Rome; the Popes generall Curssing on Maunde Thursdaye! and the Manner of the Flagellante that Night.

DURING the time of Shrouetide, there is in Rome kepte a verie great coyle, which they use to call the Carne Vale, which endureth the space of three or fowre dayes, all which time the Pope keepeth him selfe out of Rome, so great is the noyse and hurlie burlie. The gentlemen will attyre them selues in diuers formes of apparell, some like women, other like Turkes, and euerye one almoste in a contrarie order of disguising: And either they be on horsebacke, or in coatches, none of them on foote; for the people that stande on the ground to see this pastime are in very great daunger of their liues, by reason of the running of coatches and great horssees, as neuer in all my life did I see the like sturre.

And all this is done where the courtizanes be, to shew them delight and pastime; for they haue couerlettes laid out at their windowes, whereon they stande leaning forth, to receiue diuers deuises of rosewater, and sweet odours in their faces, which the gentlemen will throwe vpps to their windowes.

During this time euerye one weareth a disguised visor on his face, so that no one knowes what or whence they be; and, if any one beare a secrete malice to an other, he may then kill him, and no body will lay hands on him, for all this time they will obey no lawe. I sawe a braue Romaine, who roade there very pleasaunt in his coatch, and suddenly came one who discharged a pistoll vpon him, yet no body made any accoumpt, either of the murtherer, or the slaine gentleman: Beside, there were diuers slaine, both by villany, and the horses or the coatches, yet they continued on their pastime, making no regard of them.

The first day of their Carne Vale, the Iewes in Rome cause an ensigne to be placed at the capitoll, where likewise they appoint certaine wagers at theyr owne coastes, and then they run starke naked from Porta Populo vnder the capitoll for them, the which I iudge aboue a myle in length. And, all the way, they gallop their great horssees after them, and carie goades with sharpe pointes of steele in them: Wherewith they will pricke the Iewes on the naked skin, if so be they doo not run faster then their horssees gallop, so that you shall see some of their backes all on gore blood. Then he that is foremost, and soonest commeth to the capitoll, he is set on a horse backe without any saddle, one going before him carrying the ensigne: But then you shall see a hundred boys, whoe haue provided a number of oranges; they will so pelte the poore

Iewe, that, before he can get vppe to the capitoll, he will be beaten beside his horse fowre or fiue times.

The next day there are certaine of the Christians that runne naked likewise, but no body pursueth them, either with horse or coach: And the wager, they runne for, the Iewes must pay likewise. Then the buffell and the asse runneth, but it is vnpossible for me to tel all the knauerie vsed about this: And therefore thus much shall suffice of the Carne Vale, letting you vnderstand, that they, whoe were most knauishly disposed in this sport, on Ashwednesday came to take ashes in such meeke order, as though it had neuer benee they.

On Maunde Thursday, the Pope commeth in his gallery ouer S. Peters, sitting in his chayre wherwith he is caried on mens shoulders: And there he hath a great painted holie candle in his hand burning, when as a cardinall on ech side of him, the one in Latin, the other in Italian, singeth the Popes generall malediction.

There he curseth the Turke, and her Maiestie, our most gracious Princesse and Gouvernesse, affirming her to be farre worse then the Turke, or the cruelllest tirant that is. He curseth likewise all Caluenians, Lutherians, Zwinglians, and all that are not according to his disposition. When he hath cursed all that he can, saying Amen, he letteth the candle fall; when as the people will scramble for it, and euery one catch a little peece if they can; yea, our English men will be as busie as the best, and one of them chaunced to get a peece of the waxe of the candle, whereof he made such a bragging when he came to the colledge, as you will not thinke, that he had got a peece of the candle, wherewith the Queene of Englande was cursed, and that he woulde keepe it so longe as he liued.

The same night a number of the basest people, and most wicked lyuers that be amongst the people, gather themselues together in companies: As the company of the Holie Ghost, the companie of Charitie, the company of Death and such like; euery company their Crucifix before them, their singers following them, on either side a number of burning torches, and thus they goe all whipping themselues.

First they goe by into the Popes pallace, and then downe in S. Peters church, which is all adorned with a number of waxe lightes: And there on the toppe of an altuar standeth a couple of cardinals, whoe sheweth them the holie handkercher, or *Vultus Sanctus*, which indeede is nothing but a liuely painted picture, ouershadowed with a couple of fine lawnes, and no body must desire to see it vncouered, because, they say, no body is able to endure the brightness of the face; a number haue seen it, and haue been the worse a great while after; and, all the while that both this and the speare is shown, they will whip them selues before them very greenuously, and giue a generall clamor thorowe the church: *Misericordia, Misericordia, Tu autem, Domine, miserere nobis*: And this order they continue almost the whole night. This is the glorie of the Pope, the blindness of the people, and the great follie of our English men, to bring themselues within the compass of such wicked order of life.

God continue his louing and fatherlie countenance ouer Englande, blesse and preserue her Maiestie, and her honourable councell: And exercise vs all in fere to him, obedience to her, and faithfull continuall looue to our neighbours. Amen.

CHAP. VIII.

A true Report of the Christian Suffering, and mercilesse Martirdom of one Richard Atkins, English Man, at Rome: Whoe, for the truth of the Gospell, to the great Terrour of all the Beholders, endured the Extremity of the torment, and cruell Agonie of Death, in the Yeere of our Lord 1581.

ABOUT the time of Midsommer, in the yeere 1581, one Richard Atkins, a Hartfordshire man, came to Rome, and, hauing found the English colledge, he knocked at the doore, when as diuers of the students came to welcome him, knowing that he was an English man. Among other talke, they willed him to go to the hospitall, and there to receiue his meate and lodging, according as the order was appointed; whereto he aunswered, I come not, my countreyemen, to any such intent as you iudge, but I come louingly to rebuke the great disorder of your liues, which I greeue to hear, and pittie to beholde. I come likewise to let your proud antechrist vnderstand, that he doth offend the heavenly maiesty, robbe God of his honour, and poysoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies: making them homage stockes and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol. When they heard these wordes, one Hugh Griffin, a Welsh man, and a student in the colledge, caused him to be put in the inquisition: where howe they examined him, and howe he aunswered them, I knowe not; after certaine dayes, he was sette at lybertie againe.

And one day, going in the streete, he met a priest carrying the sacrament; which offending his conscience, to see the people so croutch and kneele to it, he caught at it to haue throwne it downe, that all the people might see what they worshipped. But, missing his purpose, and, being iudged by the people that he did catch at the holinesse, that, they say, commeth from the sacrament, vpon meere deuotion, he was let passe, and nothing sayde to him.

Few dayes after he came to S. Peters church, where diuers gentlemen and other were hearing masse; and the priest, being at the eleuation, he, using no reuerence, stepped among the people to the aultar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striuing likewise to haue pulled the cake out of the priestes handes. For which, diuers rose vp and beate him with theyr fistes, and one drew his rapier, and would haue slaine him: so that, in breefe, he was carried to prison, where he was examined, wherefore he committed such an heinous offence: Whereto he aunswered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the Popes wickednesse, and theyr idolatrie. Vpon this, he was condemned to be burned: which sentence, he sayde, he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the sum of his offence pertayned to the glory of God.

During the time he remayned in prison, sundry Englishmen came vnto him, willing him to be sorie for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion: but all the meanes they vsed were in vaine; he confuted their dealings by diuers places of scripture, and willed them to be sorie for their wickednes, while God did permit them time, else they were in daunger of euerlasting damnation. These wordes made the Englishmen depart, for they could not abide to heare them.

Within a while after, he was set vpon an asse, without any saddle, he being from the middle vpwarde naked, hauing some English priestes with him, who talked to him; but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and tolde them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them, for Christes cause, to haue regard to the sauing of theyr soules.

All the way as he went, there were fowre did nothing else, but thrust at his naked body with burning torches; whereat he neither mooued, nor shrunke one iote, but, with a cheerefull countenance, laboured still to perswade the people; often bending his body to meete the torches as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning styll vpon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued, almost the space of halfe a mile, tyll he came before St. Peters, where the place of execution was.

When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a deuise, not to make the fire about him, but to burne his legges first; which they did, he not dismayng any whit, but suffered all meruailous cheerefullie, which mooued the people to such a quandary, as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a crosse, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he dyed a Christian: but he put it away with his hand, telling them, that they were euyl men, to trouble him with paltrie, when he was preparing himselfe to God, whome he behelde, in maiesty and mercie, readie to receiue him into the eternall rest.

They, seeing him styll in that minde, departed, saying, 'Let us goe, and leave him to the deuill whome he serues.' Thus ended this faithfull soldier and martir of Christe, who is, no doubt, in glory with his maister, whereto God graunt vs all to come. *Amen.*

This is faithfully auouched by the aforesayde Iohn Yonge, who was at that time, and a good while after, in Rome, in seruice with maister Doctor Moorton; whoe seeing the martirdome of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of maister Smithson, maister Creed, and the sayde Iohn Yonge, his seruant, spake as followeth: 'Surely, this fellowe was meruailous obstinate; he nothing regarded the good counsell was vsed to him, nor neuer shrank all the way, when the torches were thrust at his naked body: beside, at the place of execution, he did not faint or cry one iot in the fyre, albeit they tormented him verie cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his legges first, to put him to the greater paine, yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtlesse but that the word of God can be but true, else wee might

judge this fellowe to be of God: for whoe could haue suffered so much paine as he did? But truely I beleeue the deuill was in him.

Beholde, good reader, howe they doubt among themselues, and, because they will not speake against their maister the Pope, they infer the mighty power of God vpon the deuill: but he, no doubt, one day will scatter the chaffe, and gather his chosen corne into his garner. That we may be of this good corne, let vs defie the Pope, his hellish abominations; continue in our ductie to God, faithfull obedience to her Maiestie, and vnitie among us all as brethren; and then, no doubt, but we shall enter the land of the liuing, to our eternal comfort and consolation.

ANTHONIE MUNDAY.

DECLARATION

OF

GREAT TROUBLES PRETENDED AGAINST THE REALME,

BY A NUMBER OF

SEMINARIE PRIESTS AND IESUITS,

Sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great treasons vnder a false Pretence of Religion.

With a prouision very necessarie for Remedie thereof.

Published by this her Maiesties proclamation. Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, MDXCI. Quarto, Containing fourteen pages.

The following Proclamation, which I do not remember in any history, exhibits a just representation of the incessant malice of the Papists, against Queen Elizabeth, and of the vigilance which was necessary to secure her from their attempts, and therefore contributes to illustrate other accounts, which this Collection will afford.

It is likewise valuable, if we regard the study of policy, as well as history, since perhaps there cannot be any method of securing peace more efficacious, than that of obliging those, who are innocent, to be likewise vigilant, by condemning them, to answer in some degree for the faults of those whom they might have detected or restrained. J. _____.

ALTHOUGH we haue had probable cause to haue thought, that now towards the end of thirty three yeeres, being the time wherein Almighty God hath continually preserved vs in a peaceable possession

of our kingdomes, the former violence and rigour of the malice of our enemies (specially of the King of Spaine) woulde, after his continuance in seeking to trouble our estate, without any iust cause so many yeeres, haue waxed faint and decayed in him, and all others depending on him, and bene altered into some peaceable humor, meete to haue disposed him to liue in concord with vs, and other Christian princes his neighbors, and by such good meanes to establish an vniversal peace in christendome, nowe by his warres onely, and no otherwise disturbed: yet to the contrary wee finde it, by his present mightie actions, so great as hee neuer before this time attempted the like. Whereby it so pleaseth the Almighty God of hostes (as wee are perswaded) to suffer the ruine or correction of such as will not be content to liue in peace with their owne: and to that ende, to permit the saide king, now in this his declined yeeres meetest for peace, and when he ought to be satisfied, without seeking of more kingdomes, by violence and armes (seeing hee possesseth, at this day, more crownes, kingdomes, and countries, and more earthly wealth then any of his progenitours, or any other prince Christian euer had) nowe to beginne a most vniust and a daungerous warre for al christendome against the present French King. As in like manner appeared hee meant, two yeeres past, to haue doone the like against vs, by inuading of our kingdomes, in the very time of a treatie of peace with vs. Whereof God gaue him, and his whole army, a iust cause of repentance.

2. And therefore seeing wee doe now manifestly vnderstand, that hee hath of late (to fortifie these his strange violent attempts with some newe coulour) procured a Milanois a vassaile of his owne, to bee exalted into the papacie of Rome, and hath seduced him, without consent of the college of cardinals to exhaust the treasures of the church, and therewith to leuie forces in Italie (which had no sounde of warre in it these many yeeres) and in many other places, to be guyded by his nephewe, and sent to inuade France, a kingdome that hath bene alwayes a maintainer of that church in al their oppressions. And for that this warre, so generally, and mightily against France, concerneth our estate very greatly, and cannot but be directly very daungerous to our dominions: and that it is also knowen to vs, that by sundry meanes, besides the preparation of other great forces for the seas, against our crowne and dominions, the same bee greater for this yeere to come, than euer hee had before. And, for furtherance thereof, hath also lately by coulour of this his peculiar Popes authoritie, which hee hath now hanging at his girdle, practised with certaine principall seditious heades, being vnnaturall subiects of our kingdome (but yet very base of birth) to gather together, with great labours vpon his charges, a multitude of dissolute yong men, who haue partly for lacke of liuing, partly from crimes committed, become fugitiues, rebelles, and traitours, and for whome there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places certaine receptacles made to liue in, and there to bee instructed in schoole pointes of sedition, and from thence to bee secretly and by stealth conueyed into our dominions, with ample authoritie from Rome, to mooue, stirre vp, and perswade as many of our subiectes, as they dare deal withall, to renounce their

naturall allegiance due to vs and our crowne, and vpon hope by a Spanish inuasion to bee enriched and endowed with the possessions and dignities of our other good subiectes: For which purpose, they do binde our subiectes (with whome they practise) by othes, yea by sacramentes to forswear their naturall allegiance to vs, and yeele their obedience wyth all their powers to this King of Spaine, and to assiste his forces. And, for the more forcible attraction of these vnnaturall people (being weake of vnderstanding) to this their bend, these seedemen of treason bring certaine bulles from the Pope, some of indulgences pretending to promise heauen to such as will yeele, and some of cursinges, threatning damnation and hell, to such as shall not yeele to their perswasions. And, though these manner of Popish attempes haue bene of long time vsed, yet in some sort also they haue bene impeached, by direct execution of lawes against such traitours for meere treasons, and not for any pointes of religion, as their fautours woulde coulour falsely their actions; which are most manifestly seene and heard at their arraignmentes, howe they are neither executed, condemned, nor endited, but for high treasons, affirming, that, amongst other things, they will take parte wyth anie armie sent by the Pope against vs and our realme. And of this, that none doe suffer death for matter of religion, there is manifest prooffe, in that a number of men of wealth in our realme, professing contrary religion, are knowen not to bee impeached for the same, eyther in their liues, landes, or goods, or in their liberties, but onely by payment of a peculiar summe, as a penaltie for the time that that they doe refuse to come to the church, which is a most manifest course to falsifie the slaunderous speeches and libelles of the fugitiues abroad. Yet now it is certainly vnderstoode, that these heades of these dennes and receptacles, which are by the traitours called seminaries, and colleges of Iesuits, haue very lately assured the King of Spaine, that, though heretofore hee had no good successe with his great forces, against our realme, yet, if now hee will once againe renewe his warre this next yeere, there shall be found ready secretly, within our dominions, many thousands (as they make their accompt for their purpose) of able people that will bee ready to assist such power as hee shall set on land, and, by their vaunting, they doe tempt the King hereto, who otherwise ought in wisdom, and by his late experience, conceiue no hope of any safe landing here: Shewing to him in Spaine, by the speciall information of a schooleman, named Parsons, arrogating to himselfe the name of the King Catholikes confessor, and to the Pope at Rome, by another scholler called Allen, now for his treasons honoured with a Cardinales hatte, certayne skroles or bead-rolles of names of men, dwelling in sundry partes of our countries, as they haue imagined them, but specially in the maritimes, with assurance, that these their seedmen, named seminaries, priestes, and Iesuites, are, in the sundry partes of the realme, secretly harboured, hauing a great part of them bene sent within these x or xii moneths, and shall bee ready to continue their reconciled people in their lewde constancie to serue their purpose both with their forces, and with their trayterous enterprises, when the Spanish power shall be ready to land, vpon which their impudent assertions to the Pope, and

to the King of Spaine (though they knowe a great part thereof to bee false) they haue nowe very lately aduertised into diuers partes by their secret messengers, whereof some are also very lately taken, and haue confessed the same, that the King vpon their informations and requestes hath promised to imploy all his forces that he can, by sea this next yeere, to attempt once againe the inuasion of this realme: Wherewith because some of his wisest counsellors doubt that hee shall not preuaile, therefore hee is otherwise perswaded, that, if that his purpose shall not take place here, yet the same may bee well employed against France, or the Lowe Countries, or against some parte of Scotland, into which realme there hath also some number of the like broode bene lately sent.

3. Wherefore considering that these the intentions of the King of Spaine are to vs in this sort made very manifest; and although we doubt not, but Almighty God, the defender of all iust causes, will (as alwaye hitherto hee hath) make the same voyde: yet it is our duetie, as being the supreme gouernor vnder his Almighty hand, to vse all such iust and reasonable meanes as are giuen to vs, and therewith to concurre or rather attend vpon his most gracious fauour, by the helpe of our faythfull subiectes, both to increase our forces to the vttermost of their powers, and by execution of lawes, and by all other politike ordinaunces to impeach the foresayde practises of these seditions and treasons,

4. And, before all other things, wee doe, first, require of the ecclesiasticall state, that the like diligence bee vsed by the godly ministers of the church, by their diligent teaching and example of life, to retaine our people stedfastly in the profession of the gospell, and in their duties to Almighty God and vs, as it is scene a fewe capitall heades of treasons are continually occupied with their seminaries, in withdrawing of a multitude of ignorants to their enchantments.

5. And secondly, for hauing of sufficient forces in readinesse by sea, we hope by Gods goodnesse, and with the helpe of our good subiectes, to haue as great, or greater strength on the seas, then at any time wee haue had, to withstand these puffed vaunts from Spaine: and, for our forces by land, our trust is, that seeing we haue distributed our whole realme into seuerall charges of licutenancies, that they, by themselves where they may bee personally present, and otherwise by their deputies and assistants of other our ministers, will now, after the generall musters which haue bene by our speciall order lately taken, consider of all things requisite to performe, and make perfect al defects that shall appeare necessarie, to make all the bandes both of horsemen, and footemen, fully furnished with armour, weapons, and munition, and with all other things requisite for their conduction to the places of seruice, and there also to continue as time shall require to defend their country. And so we doe most earnestly require and charge all manner of our subiectes, with their hands, purses, and aduises, yea all and euery person of euery estate, with their prayers to God, to moue him to assist this so naturall, honourable, and profitable a seruice, being onely for defence of their naturall country, their wiues, families, children,

lands, goods, liberties, and their posterities against rauening strangers, wilfull destroyers of their natue countrey, and monstrous traytours.

6. And lastly, to withstand and prouide speedy remedy against other fraudulent attempts of the seminaries, Iesuits, and traitors, without the which (as it appeareth) the forces should not be now vsed, the same being wrought onely by falsehoode, by hypocrisie, and by vnderminings of our good subiectes vnder a false colour and face of holinesse, to make breaches in mens and womens consciences, and so traine them to their treasons; and that with such a secrecie by the harboring of the saide traiterous messengers in obscure places, as without very diligent and continuall search to be made, and seuer orders executed, the same will remaine and sprede it selfe as a secret infection of treasons in the bowels of our realme, most daungerous, yea, most reprochfull to be suffered in any well ordered common weale: therefore wee haue determined, by aduise of our counsel, to haue speedily certaine commissioners, men of honesty, fidelitie, and good reputation, to be appointed in euery shire, citie, and port townes within our realme, to inquire by al good meanes, what persons are by their behauiours or otherwise worthy to be suspected to be any such persons, as haue bene sent, or that are imployed in any such perswading of our people, or of any residing within our realme, to treason, or to moue any to relinquish their allegiance to vs, or to acknowledge any kind of obedience to the Pope, or to the King of Spaine, and also of other persons that haue bene thereto induced, and that haue thereto yeilded. And further to proceede in the execution of such their commission, as they shall bee more particularlie directed by instructions annexed to their saide commission.

7. And furthermore, because it is certainelie knowen and prooued by common experience, vpon the apprehension of sundry of the sayde traiterous persons sent into the realme, that they doe come into the same by secret creekes, and landing places, disguised, both in their names and persons: some in apparell, as souldiers, mariners, or merchants, pretending that they haue bene heretofore taken prisoners, and put into gallies, and deliuered: some come in as gentlemen with contrarie names, in comely apparell, as though they had trauelled into forreine countries for knowledge: and generally al, or the most part, as soone as they are crept in, are cloathed like gentlemen in apparell, and many as gallants, yea in all colours, and wyth feathers, and such like disguising themselves, and many of them in their behauiour as ruffians, farre off to be thought, or suspected to be friars, priestes, Iesuits, or Popish schollers. And of these many do attempt to resorte into the vniuersities and houses of lawe, from whence in former times they departed; many into seruices of noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, with such like fraudulent deuises to cover themselves from all apprehension, or suspicion; and yet, in processe of time, they doe at length so insinuate to get themselves credite wyth hypocrisies, as they infect both the masters and families, and consequentlie aduenture also, yea secretly to vse their offices of priesthoode and reconcilements; whereby all such

as doe retaine them are woorthie to bee suspected, and may bee charged by lawe to their great daunger.

8. For auoyding whereof, and eyther to discouer these venemous vipers, or to chase them awaie out of the realme from the infecting of many more, we do order and straightly charge and commaund al maner of persons of what degree soeuer they bee without any exception, spirituall, or temporall, nobleman, gentleman, lorde, lady, master or mistresse, or owner whatsoever of any house, familie, lodging, yea the very officers of our owne housholde, and gouernours of any societies, to make a present, due, and particular inquisition of all maner of persons that haue bene admitted, or suffered to haue vsual resort, diet, lodging, residence in their houses, or in any place by their appointment, at any time within the space of one whole yeere now past, and ended at Michaelmas last: or that from thencefoorth haue, or shall be admitted, or suffered so to resort, eate, lodge, reside or attend: and, by such inquisition and examination, to bee duely and particularly informed of what condition and countrey any such person is, and by what kind of meanes he hath heretofore liued, and where he hath spent his time for the space of one whole yeere before. And likewise to know whether he hath vsed, and doth vse to repaire to the church at vsuall times to diuine service, according to the lawes of the realme. And to cause those inquisitions, with their answeres, to be put into writing particularly, and the same to keepe in a maner of a register or kalender to be shewed when they shall be demaunded, that, vpon cause of suspition of any such person, the same may bee further tried by the commissioners of those places, whether the same persons so examined bee loyall subiectes or no. And if any such shal be found unwilling to answer to such inquisition, or shal be found by his doubtful answer not likely to be an obedient subiect, the same person shal be stayed by the housholder, or him that ought to haue examined him, and shal be sent to any of the commissioners aboue mentioned next adioyning. And if any person hauing gouernement or commaundement ouer anie such seruaunt, or resiant, shal be founde not to haue performed the pointes of the foresaide inquisition as is aboue limited, the same shall be called to appeare before the saide commissioners, or before our priue counsell, if the qualitie of the person shal so require, and shal be further vsed and ordered for such default, as the saide commissioners, or our counsell, shal haue iust cause to deale with such a person. And finally, wee doe admonishe and straightly charge and commaund al persons that haue had anie intelligence, with any such so sent or come from beyond the seas to such purposes, to detect them to the commissioners in that behalfe to bee assigned as afore-saide, within twentie days after the publication hereof, in the shire, towne, or citie, or porte, wythin the precinctes of the same commission, vpon paine that the offenders therein shall be punished as abettours and mainteiners of traytours. Wherein wee are resolutely determined to suffer no fauour to bee vsed for anie respect of any persons, qualities, or degrees, nor shal allowe, or suffer to be allowed any excuse of negligence for not detection, or for not due examination of the qualities of such dangerous persons according to the order here afore pre-

scribed, being no wise contrary, but agreeable to the most ancient lawes and good vsages of our realme, deuised for the good order of al maner of subiects in euery precinct of any leete to be soorth comming to answere for their behauior towards the dignitie of our crowne, and the common peace of our realme.

Given at our Mannour of Richmond the xviii. day of October, 1591, in this xxxiii. yeere of our raigne.

A

QUIP FOR AN VPSTART COVRTIER;

OR,

A QUAIN T DISPUTE

BETWEEN

VELUET-BREECHES AND CLOTH-BREECHES.

Wherein is plainly set downe the Disorders in all Estates and Trades.

London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his Shop, at Poules Chayne, 1592. In black Letter, Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

To the Right Worshipful Thomas Burnabic, Esquier, Robert Greene wisheth Hartes Ease and Heauens Blisse.

SIR,

AFTER I had ended this Quippe for an vpstart Courtier, con-
taining a quaint dispute betweene Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches;
wherein, vnder a dreame, I shadowed the abuses that pride had bred in
Englande: how it had infected the court with aspiring enuie, the citie
with griping couetousnesse, and the countrey with contempte and dis-
daine: how, since men placed their delights in proud lookes and braue
atyre, hospitality was left off, neighbourhood was exciled, conscience
was skoft at, and charitie lay frozen in the streets: how vpstart gentle-
men, for the maintainance of that their fathers neuer lookt after,
raised rents, rackte their tenants, and imposed great fines; I stode in
a muse to whome I shoulde dedicate my labours, knowing I shoulde
bee bitten by many, sithens I had toucht many, and therefore neede
some woorthye patrone, vnder whose winges I might shroud my selfe
from Goodman Findefault. At last I cald to mind your worship, and
thought you the fittest of all my frends, both for the duetie that I

owe, and the worshipfull qualities you are indued withall; as also for that all Northamptonshire reports, how you are a father of the poore, a supporter of auncient hospitalitie, an enimie to pride, and, to be short, a maintayner of Cloth-breeches, I meane, of the old and woorthye customes of the gentilitie and yeomanrie of Englande. Induced by these reasons, I humbly present this pamphlet to your worship, only crauing you wil accept it as courtiously, as I present it duetifully, and then I haue the end of my desire; and so, resting in hope of your fauourable acceptance, I humbly take my leaue.

Your duetifull, adopted sonne,

ROBERT GREENE.

To the Gentlemen Readers, Health.

GENTLE GENTLEMEN,

I HOPE, Cloth-breeches shall find you gentle censors of this homely apologic of his auncient prerogatiues, sith, though he speakes against Veluet-breeches, which you weare, yet he twits not the weede, but the vice; not the apparell when tis worthily worn, but the vnworthie person that weares it, who, sprang of a pesant, will vse any sinister meanes to clime to preferment, being then so proude, as the loppe forgets; like the mule, that an asse was his father. For auncient gentility and yeomanrie Cloth-breeches attempteth this quarrell, and hopes of their fauour; for vpstarts he is halfe careles; and the more, bicause he knowes, whatsoeuer some thincke priuately, they will bee no publike carpers, least, by kicking where they are toucht, they bewray their gald backs to the world, and, by starting vp to find fault, proue themselues vpstarts and fooles. So, then, poore Cloth-breeches sets dōwne his rest on the courtesie of gentle gentlemen and bold yeomen, that they will suffer him to take no wrong. But suppose the worst, that hee should bee fround at, and that such occupations, as hee hath vpon conscience discarded from the iury, should commence an action of vnkindnesse against him, heele proue it not to hold plea, bicause all the debate was but a dreame. And so, hoping all men will merrilie take it, he stands sollemnlie leaning on his pike staffe, till he heare what you conceaue of him for being so peremptorie: If well, he sweares to crack his hose at the knees to quite your courtesie: If hardly, he hath vowed, that whatsoeuer he dreames, neuer to blab it again; and so he wisheth me humbly to bid you farewell.

IT was iust at that time, when the cuckould's quirrester began to bewray Aprill gentlemen, with his neuer chaunged notes, that I, damped with a melancholy humor, went into ye fields to cheere vp my wits with the fresh aire; where solitarie seeking to solace my selfe, I fell in a dreame, and in that drowsie slomber I wandered into a vale,

all tapistred with sweet and choice flowres; there grew many simples, whose vertues taught men to be subtil, and to think nature, by her weeds, warnd men to be wary, and, by their secret properties, to check wanton and sensuall imperfections. Amongst the rest, there was the yellow daffadil, a flowre fit for gelous dottrels, who, through the bewty of their honest wiues, grow suspitious, and so proue themselves, in the end, cuckould heretikes; there buded out the checkerd (paunsie) or party coloured harts ease, an herbe sildome seene, either of such men as are wedded to shrewes, or of such women that haue hasty husbands; yet ther it grew, and, as I stept to gather it, it slipt from me like Tantalus fruit, that failes their maister. At last, woondring at this secret qualitie, I learned that none can weare it, be they Kinges, but such as desire no more then they are borne to, nor haue their wishes aboue their fortunes. Vppon a banke bordring by, grewe womens weedes, fenell I meane for flatterers, fit generally for that sexe, sith while they are maidens, they wishe wantonly; while they are wiues, they will wilfully; while they are widowes, they would willingly; and yet all these proud desires are but close dissemblings, Neere adioyning, sprouted out the courtiers comfort, time: an herb that many stumble on, and yet ouerslip, whose rancke sauor, and thick leaues, haue this peculiar property, to make a snaile, if she tast of the sappe, as swift as a swallow, yet ioyned with this preiudice, that if she clime too hastily, she falls too suddenly. Mee thought I saw diuers yong courtiers tread vppon it with high disdain, but as they past away, an adder, lurking there, bit them by the heeles that they wept; and then I might perceiue certaine clownes in clowted shoone gather it, and eat of it with greedinesse; which no sooner was sunke into their mawes, but they were metamorphosed, and lookt as proudlye, though pesants, as if they had been borne to be princes companions.

Amongst the rest of these changlings whome the tast of time had thus altered, there was some that lifted their heades so hie, as if they had beene bred to look no lower then stars; they thought *noli altum sapere* was rather the saying of a foole, then the censure of a philosopher, and therefore stretcht themselves on their tiptoes, as if they had beene a kindred to the Lord Tiptoft, and began to disdain their equals, scorne their inferiours, and euen their betters, forgetting now that time had taught them to say masse, how before they had playde the clarks part to say Amen to the priest. Tush, then they were not so little as gentlemen, and their owne conceipt was the herralde to blason their descente from an olde house, whose great grandfathers would haue bin glad of a new cottage to hide their heades in. Yet, as the peacocke wrapt in the pride of his beautilous feathers is knowne to be but a dunghill birde by his foule feete; so, though the high lookes, and costly suts, argue to the cies of the world they were caualiers of great worship, yet the churlish illiberalitie of their minds bewraide their fathers were not aboue three poundes in the Kinges bookes at a subsidie; but, as these vpstart changelings went strouting, like Philopolimarchides the bragart in Plautus, they lookte so proudlye at the same, that they stumbled on a bed of rue that grewe at the bottome of the banke where the time was planted, which, falln vpon the dew of so bitter an herbe, taught

them that such proud peacockes as ouer hastily out run their fortunes, at last, to speedily, fall to repentaunce; and yet some of them smild and said, rue was called herbe grace, which, though they scorned in their youth, they might weare in their age, and it was neuer too late to say Miserere. As thus I stood musinge at this time borne broad, they vanisht away like Cadmus copesmates, that sprang vp of vipers teeth; so that, casting mine eie aside after them, I saw where a crue of all estates were gathering flowres, what kind they were of I knewe not, but pretious I geste them, in that they pluckt them with greediness, so that I drew towards them to be partaker of their profits; coming neerer, I might see the weede they so wrangled for was a little daper flowre, like a ground hunnisuckle, called thrift, praised generally of all, but practised for distillation but of few; amongst the crue that seemed couetous of this herbe, ther was a troope of old graiberds in veluet, sattin, and woorsted iackets, that stooped as nimbly to pluck it vp by the rootes, as if their ioyns had bene supled in the oile of misers skins; they spared no labour and pains to get and gather, and what they got they gaue to certaine yong boies and girls that stood behinde them, with their skirts and laps open to receiue it; among whome some scattered it as fast as their fathers gathered it, wasting and spoyling it at their pleasure, which their fathers got with labour.

I thought them to be some herbalistes, or some apothecaries, that had employed such pains to extract some rare quintessence out of this flowre; but one, standing by, told me they were cormorantes and vsurers, that gathered it to fill their cofers with; and whereto, quoth I, is it pretious? What is the vertue of it? Mary, quoth he, to qualifie the heat of insatiable mindes, that, like the serpente Dipsas, neuer drinketh enough till they are so full they burste; why then, said I, the diuell burst them all; and with that I fell into a great laughter, to see certain Italianate cantes, humorous caualiers, youthfull gentlemen, and *inamorati gagliardi*, that scornefully pluckt of it, and wore it a while as if they were weary of it, and at last left it as to base a flowre to put in their nosegayes. Others, that seemed *homini di grandi istima* by their lookes and their walkes, gathered earnestly and did pocket it vp, as if they meant to keepe it carefully; but, as they wer carrieng it away, there met them a troupe of nice wantons, fair women, that like to Lamiae had faces like angels, eies like stars, brestes like the golden front in the Hesperides, but from the middle downwards their shapes like serpents. These with syrenlike allurementes so entised these quaint squires, that they bestowed all their flowres vpon them for fauours, they themselues walkinge home by Beggars Bushe for a pennance. Amongst this crew were lawyers, and they gathered the diuell and all; but poore poets were thrust backe, and coude not bee suffered to haue one handfull to put amongst their withered garlands of baies, to make them glorious. But Hob and Iohn of the countrey they stept in churlishly, in their high startvps, and gathered whole sackfuls; insomuch they wore becsoms of thrift in their hats like fore-horses, or the lusty gallants in a morice-dance: Seeing the crue thus to wrangle for so paltry a weed, I went alone to take one of all the other fragrant flowres that diaped this valley; thereby I saw the batchelers buttons

whose vertue is to make wanton maidens weepe, when they haue worne it forty weekes under their aprons for a fauour.

Next them grew the dissembling dasie, to warne such light of loue wenchers, not to trust euery faire promise that such amorous batchelers make them, but sweete smels breed bitter repentaunce. Hard by grew the true louers primrose, whose kind sauour wisheth men to be faithfull, and women courteous. Alongst in a border, grew maidenhair, fit for modest maidens to beholde, and immodest to blushe at, bicause it praiseth the one for their naturall tresses, and condemneth the other for their beastly and counterfeit perriwigs. There was the gentle gilliflowre that wiues should weare, if they were not too froward; and loiall lauender, but that was full of cuckoe-spittes, to shew that womens light thoughts make their husbands heuy heads. There were sweete lillics, Gods plenty, which shewed faire virgins need not weepe for wooers; and store of balme, which could cure strange wounds, only not that wound which women receiue when they loose their maidenheads; for no herbe hath vertue inough to scrape out that blot, and therefore it is the greater blemish. Infinit were the flowres beside that beautified the valley, that, to know their names and operations, I needed some curious herball; but I passe them ouer as needelesse, sith the vision of their vertues was but a dreame, and therefore I wish no man to holde any discourse herein authentically; yet thus much I must say for a parting blow, that at the lower end of the dale I saw a great many of women vsing high wordes to their husbands; some struing for the breeches, others to haue the last word; some fretting they could not find a knot in a rush, others struinge whether it were wooll or hair the goat bare. Questioning with one that I met, why these women were so cholericke, he, like a skoffing fellow, pointed to a bush of nettles: I, not willing to be satisfied by signes, asked him what he meant thereby? Mary (quoth hee) all these women that you heare brawling, frowning, and scolding thus, haue severally pist on this bushe of nettles, and the vertue of them is to force a woman, that waters them, to be as peeuish for a whole day and as waspish as if she had bene stung in the brow with a hornet. Well, I smild at this, and left the company to seeke further, when, in the twincklinge of an eye, I was left alone, the valley cleered of all company, and I, a distressed man, desirous to wander out of that solitary place to seeke good consorts and boone companions, to passe away the day withall. As thus I walked forward, seeking vp the hill, I was driuen halfe into a mase with the imagination of a strange woonder, which fell out thus: Mee thought I saw an uncouth headlesse thinge come pacing downe the hill, stepping so proudly with such a geometricall grace, as if some artificiall braggart had resolved to measure the world with his paces: I could not descree it to be a man, although it had motion, for that it wanted a body, yet, seeing legges and hose, I supposed it to bee some monster nurishte up in those desartes: at last, as it drewe more nigh unto mee, I might perceiue that it was a very passing costly paire of veluet breeches, whose panes, being made of the cheefest Neapolitane stuffe, was drawne out with the best Spanish satine, and maruellous curiously ouer whipt with gold twist, intersemmed with knots of pearle; the no-

ther-stocke was of the purest Granado silck; no cost was spared to set out these costly breeches, who had girt unto them a rapyer and dagger gilt, point pendante, as quaintly as if some curious Florentine had trickte them up to square it vp and downe the streetes before his mistresse. As these breeches were exceding sumptuous to the cie, so were they passing pompous in their gestures, for they strouted vp and downe the vally as proudly as though they had there appointed to act some desperat combat.

Blame mee not if I were driuen into a muse with this most monstrous sight, to see in that place such a strange headlesse courtier iettinge up and downe like the usher of a fense schoole about to play his prise, when I deeme neuer in any age svch a woonderfull obiect fortun'd unto any man before. Well, the greater dumpe this nouelty draue me into, the more desire I had to see what euent would follow: whereupon looking about to se if that any more company would come, I might perceiue from the top of the other hill an other pair of breeches more soberly marching, and with a softer pace, as if they were not too hasty, and yet would keepe promise neverthelesse at the place appointed.

As soone as they were come into the vallie, I sawe they were a plaine paire of cloth-breeches, without either welte or garde, straight to the thigh, of white kersie, without a slop, the nether-stocke of the same, sewed too above the knee, and only seamed with a little country blewe, such as in *Diebus illis* our great grandfathers wore, when neighbourhood and hospitality had banisht pride out of Englande: nor were these plaine breeches weaponlesse, for they had a good sower bat with a pike in the ende, able to lay on load enough, if the hart were answerable to the weapon: and upon this staffe, pitcht downe upon the ground, cloth-breeches stood solemnly leaning, as if they meant not to start, but to answere to the uttermost whatsoever in that place might be objected. Looking upon these two, I might perceiue by the pride of the one, and homely resolution of the other, that this their meeting would grow to some dangerous conflict; and therefore, to preuent the fatall issue of such a pretended quarell, I stept betwene them both; when veluet-breeches greeted cloth-breeches with this salutation: 'Proud and insolent pesant, how darest thou, without leaue or lowe reverence, presse into the place whether I am come for to disport my selfe? Art thou not afraide thy high presumption should sommon me to displeasure, and so force me draw my rapyer, which is neuer vnsheathed but it turnes into the scabberd with a triumph of mine enemies bloud: bold bayard, auaunt, beard mee not to my face, for this time I pardon thy folly, and grant thy legges leaue to carry away thy life.' Cloth-breeches, nothing amased at this bravado, bending his staffe as if he meant (if he were wronged) to bestow his benison, with a scornfull kind of smiling, made this smooth reply: 'Mary gip Goodman vpstart, who made your father a gentleman? Soft fire makes sweet mault, the curstest cow hath the shortest hornes, and a brawling curre, of all, bites the least. Alas! good sir, are you so fine that no man may be your fellow? I pray you, what deference is betweene you and mee, but in the cost and the making? Tho' you bee neuer so richly daubde with gould and powdred with pearle, yet you are but a

case for the buttockes, and a couer for the basest part of a mans body, no more then I; the greatest preheminance is in the garnishing, and thereof you are proud; but come to the true vse we were appointed to, my honor is more then thine, for I belong to the old auncient yeomanry, yea, and gentility, the fathers, and thou to a companie of proud and vnmanerly vpstarts, the sonnes.' At this, veluet-breeches stormd and said, 'Why, thou beggars brat, descended from the reuersion of base pouertye, is thy insolency so great to make comparison with me, whose deference is as great as the brightnesse of the sunne, and the slender light of a candle: I, poor snake, am sprung from the auncient Romans, borne in Italy, the mistresse of the world for chiuallry, cald into England from my natieue home, where I was famous, to honour your cuntrye and yong gentlemen here in Englande with my countenance, where I am holden in high regarde, that I can presse into the presence, when thou, poore soule, shalt, with cap and knee, beg leaue of the porter to enter; and I sit and dine with the nobility, when thou art faine to wait for the reuersion of the almes basket; I am admitted boldly to tell my tale, when thou art fain to sue, by means of supplication, and that and thou to, so little regarded, that most commonly it neuer comes to the princes hand, but dies inprisoned in some obscure pocket. Sith then there is such deference betwene our estates, cease to vrge my patience with thy insolent presumption.' Cloth-breeches, as breefe as hee was proud, swore by the pike of his staffe, that his chop-logicke was not worth a pinne, and that he would turne his own weapon into his bosome thus: 'Why, signor Glorioso, quoth hee, tho' I haue not such glosing phrase to trick out my speeches withall as you, yet I will come ouer your fallowes with this bad rhethoricke: I pray you, Monsieur Malapart, are you therefore my superiour, because you are taken vp with gentlemen, and I with the yeomanry? Doth true vertue consist in riches, or humanity in welth? Is auncient honour tied to outwardbrauery? Or not rather true nobility, a mind excellently qualified with rare vertues? I will teach thee a lesson worth the hearing, proud princocks, how gentility first sprung up: I will not forget the olde wiues logick, when Adam delvd, and Eue span, who was then a Gentleman? But I tell thee, after the generall flood, that there was no more men upon the earth but Noe and his three sonnes, and that Cham had wickedly discouered his fathers secrets, then grew the diuision of estates thus: The church was figured in Sem, gentilitye in Japheth, and labour and drudgerie in Cham: Sem being chaste and holy, Japheth learned and valiaunt, Cham churlish and seruile; yet did not the curse extend so far vpon Cham, nor the blessing vpon Japheth, but, if the one altered his nature, and became either indued with learning or valour, he might be a gentleman; or, if the other degenerated from his auncient vertues, hee might be held a pesaunt; wherevpon Noe inferred, that gentility grew not only by propagation of nature, but by perfection of qualities: then is your worship wide, that boast of your worth for your gold and pearl, sith *Cucullus non facit Monachum*, nor a veluet slop make a slouen a gentleman; and whereas thou sayst thou wert borne in Italy, and called hither by our courtiers, him may we curse that brought thee first into Englande, for thou camest not alone

but accompanied with a multitude of abhominable vices, hanging to thy bumbast nothing but infectious abuses, as vaine-glory, selfe loue, sodomie, and strange poisonings, wherewith thou hast infected this glorious island; yea, insolent bragart, thou hast defiled thine one neast, and fatal was the day of thy byrth, for, since the time of thy hatching in Italy, as then famous for chiualerey and learninge, the imperiall state, through thy pride, hath decayed, and thou hast, like the yonge pellican, peckt at thy mothers brest with thy presumption, causing them to lose that their forefathers with true honor conquered; so hast thou beene the ruine of the Romane empyre, and nowe fatallly art thou come into Englande to atempte heere the like subuersion. Whereas thou doost boast that I am little regarded where thou art highly accounted of, and hast sufferance to press into the presence, when I am, for my simpleness, shut out of dore: I grant thy allegation in part, but not in whole, for men of high wisdom and honour measure not men by the outward shewe of brauery, but by the inward worth and honesty, and so, though I am disdained of a few ouerweening fooles, I am valued, as well as thy selfe, with the wise. In that thou sayst thou canst speake when I sue by supplication, I grant it; but the tale thou telst is to the ruine of the poore, for comming into high fauour with an impudent face, what farme is there expired whose lease thou doost not begge? What forfeite of penal statutes? What conscaled lands can overslip thee? yea, rather then thy brauery should faile, begge powling pence for the verye smooke that comes out of poore mens chennies? shamest thou not, vplandish vpstart, to heare me discourse thy imperfections; get thee home againe into thy owne country, and let me, as I was wont, liue famous in my natiue home in Englande, where I was borne and bred, yea, and bearded Caesar, thy countryman, til he compast the conquest by treason.' 'The right and title in this country, base brat, quoth veluet-breeches; now authority fauours me, I am admitted viceroy, and I will make thee do me homage, and confesse, that thou holdst thy being and residence in my land from the gracious fauour of my sufferance'; and with that he laid on the hilts of his rapyer, and cloth-breeches betooke him to his staffe, when I, stepping betwixt them, parted them thus: 'Why, what meane ye, will you decide your controversie by blowes, when you may debate it by reason; this is a land of peace, gouerned by true iusticiaries and honorable magistrates, where you shall haue equitie without partiality, and therefore listen to me, and discusse the matter by lawe; your quarrel is, whether of you are most auncient and most worthy? You, sir, boast of your country and parentage, he of his natiue birth in Englande; you claime all, he would haue but his owne: both plead an absolute title of residence in this country; then must the course betweene you be trespasse or disseison of franke tenement; you veluet-breeches, in that you claime the first title, you shall bee plaintiffe, and plead a trespasse of disseison doone you by cloth-breeches; so shall it be brought to a iurie, and tried by a verdict of twelue or fower and twenty. Tush, tush, quoth Veluet-breeches, I neither like to be plaintiffe, nor yet allow of a iurie, for they may be partiall, and so condemne me in mine owne action; for the country swaines cannot value of my worth, nor can mine honors

come within the compasse of their base wits ; because I am a stranger in this land, and but heere latly ariued, they wil hold me as an vpstart, and so lightly esteeme of my worthinesse, and, for my aduersary is their countriman and lesse chargeable, he shall haue the lawe mitigated, if a iurie of hinds or pesaunts should bee inpanelled ; if auncient gentlemen, yeomen, or plaine ministers should bee of the quest, I were sure to lose the day, because they loath me, in that I haue perswaded so many landlords, for the maintenance of my brauerie, to raise their rentes. You seeke a knot in a rush, quoth I, you need not doubt of that, for whom you distrust and think not indifferent, him you, vpon a cause manifested, challeng from your iurie. If your lawe allowe such large fauour, quoth Veluet-breeches, I am content my title be tried by a iurie, and therefore let mine aduersary plead me *Nul tort, Nul disceison*. Cloth-breeches was content with this, and so they both agreed I should bee iudge and iuror in this controuersie ; wherevpon I wisht them to say for themselves what they could, that I might discours to the iurie what reasons they alledged of their titles. Then Veluet-breeches began thus ; ‘ I cannot but greue that I should be thus outfacst with a carters weed, onely fit for husbandry, seeing I am the originall of all honourable endeuors : to what end doth youth bestow their witts on law, phisicke, or theology, were it not the ende, they aime at, is the wearing of me and winning of preferment ? Honor norisheth art, and, for the regarde of dignity, do learned men striue to excede in their faculty :

*Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos,
Per mare, per saxa, &c.*

What driues the merchants to seeke forren marts, to venter their goods and hazard their liues ? Not, if still the end of their trauell were a paire of cloth breeches ; no, veluet, costly attire, curious and quaint apparell is the spur that prickes them forward to attempt such daunger. Doth not the souldior fight to be braue, the lawyer study to countenance himselfe with cost ? The artificer takes paines only for my sake, that wearing me he may brag it among the best. What credite carries he now adaies that goes pind up in a cloth breech ? Who will keepe him companie that thinkes well of himselfe, vnlesse he vse the simple slaue to make cleane his shoone ? The worlds are chaungde, and men are growen to more wit, and their mindes to aspire after more honorable thoughts ; they were dunces in *Diebus illis*, they had not the true vse of gentility, and therefore they lived meanely and died obscurely, but now mennes capacities are refined ; time hath set a new edge on gentlemens humors, and they shew them as they should bee, not like glottons as their fathers did, in chines of beefe and almes to the poore, but in veluets, sattins, cloth of gold, pearle, yea pearle lace, which scarce Caligula wore on his birth-day ; and to this honourable humor haue I brought these gentlemen since I came from Italy. What is the end of seruice to a man but to countenance himselfe and credit his maister with braue suites ? The scuruy tapsters and ostlers, *sex populi*, fill pots, and rubbe horseheelcs, to prancke themselves with my glory. Alas ! were it not to wear me, why would so many apply themselves

to extraordinary idlenes? besides, I make fooles be reuerent, and thought wise amongst the common sort; I am a seuerer sensor to such as offend the law, provided there be a penalty annexed that may bring in some profite; yea, by me the cheefest part of the realm is gouerned, and therefore I refer my title to the verdit of any men of judgment.' To this mildly Cloth-breeches answered thus:

'As I haue had alwayes that honest humor in mee to measure all estates by their virtues, not by their apparell, so did I neuer grudge at the brauery of any whome birth, time, place, or dignity, made worthy of such costly ornaments; but, if by the fauour of their prince and their owne desarts, they merited them, I helde both lawfull and commendable to answere their degrees in apparell, correspondent vnto their dignities, I am not so precise directly to inueigh against the vse of veluet, either in breeches, or in other sutes; nor will I haue men goe like John Baptist, in coates of camels hairs. Let princes haue their diademes, and Caesar what is due to Caesar; let noblemen goe as their byrth requires, and gentlemen as they are borne or beare office. I speake in mine owne defence, for the auncient gentility and yeomanrie of Englande, and inueigh against none, but such malapart vpstarts as raised vp from the plough, or aduanced for their Italian deuises, or for their witlesse wealth, couet in brauerye to match, nay, to exceed the greatest noblemen in this land.

But leauing this digression, Mounsier Veluet-breeches, againe to the perticulers of your fond allegation. Whereas you affirme yourself to be both original and final end of learning; alas! proud princor, you pearch a bow to hie: Did all the philosophers beat their braines, and busie their wits to wear veluet breeches? Why both at that time thou wert unknowne, yea, unborne, and all excess in apparell had in high contempt; and now in these daies all men of worth are taught by reading, that excess is a great sin; that pride is the first step to the downefall of shame. They study with Tully, that they may seeme borne for their countries, as well as for themselues. The deuine to justice, the phisition to discover the secretes of Godes wonders, by working strange cures. To be breefe, the end of all being, is to knowe God; and not as your worship, good maister Veluet-breeches, wrests to creep into acquaintance.

I will not denie, but there be as fantasticall fooles as yourselfe, that, perhaps, are puffed vp with such presuming thoughts, and ambitiously aime to trick themselves in your worships masking sutes; but, while such climbe for great honors, they often fall to great shames. It may be therevpon you bring in *Honos alit Artes*, but I gesse your maistership never tried what true honor meant, that trusse it ope within the compasse of a paire of-veluet breeches, and place it in the arrogancy of the hart: No, no, say honor is idolatry, for they make fooles of themselves, and idols of their carcasses; but he that valueth honor so, shall reade a lecture out of Apuleius golden asse, to learne him more wit. But now, sir, by your leaue, a blow with your next argument, which is, that marchants hazard their goods and liues to be acquainted with your maistership. Indeed you are awrie, for wise men frequent marts for profit, not for pride, unlesse it be some, that by

wearing of veluet breeches, and apparell too high for their calling, have prooued bankerroutes in their youth, and haue been glade in their age to desire my acquaintance, and to trusse vp their tailes in homespun russet. Whereas thou dost object the valour of hardy souldiors to grow for the desire of braue apparell: tis false, and I knowe, if any were present, they would proue vpon thy bones, that thou wert a lier; for their countreys good, their princes seruice, the defence of their frends, the hope of fauor is the finall ende of their resolutions; esteeming not only them, but the worlds glory, fickle, transitory, and inconstant. Shall I fetch from thine own country weapons to wound thyselfe withall? What saist thou to Cincinnatus? Was he not caled to be dictator from the plough, and, after many victories, what, did he let up and downe the court in costly garments and veluet breeches? No, he dispised dignitie, contemned vain glorie and pride, and returned againe to his quiet contented life in the country. How much did Caius Fabritius value their *Numa Pompilius, Sciuola, Scipio, Epaminondas, Aristides*; they held themselues wormes meate, and counted pride vanity; and yet thou art not ashamed to say, thou art the ende of soldiors worthy honor. I tell thee, sawcy skipiack, it was a good and a blessed time here in England, when K. Stephen wore a payre of cloth breeches, of a noble a payre, and thought them passing costlie; then did hee count Westminster hal to little to be his dining chamber, and his almes was not bare bones, instead of broken meat, but lusty chines of beefe fel into the poore mens basket. Then charity flourished in the court, and yong courtiers strove to excerde one an other in vertue, not in brauery: they rode, not with fans to ward their faces from the wind, but with burgant to resist the stroke of a battleaxe; they could then better exhort a soldior to armor, then court a lady with amoretts; they caused the trumpette to sounde them pointes of warre, not poets to write them wanton elgies of love; they soght after honorable fame, but hunted not after fading honor; which distinction, by the way, take thus: There be some that seek honor, and some are soght after by honor. Such upstarts as fetch their pedigree from their fathers auncient leather apron, and creepe into the court with great humility, ready at the first *Basciare li piedi di la vostra signoria*, hauing gotten the countenance of some nobleman, will strait be a kindred to Cadwallader, and swear his great grand mother was one of the burgesses of the parlamente house; will, at last, steale by degrees into some credite by their double diligence, and then winde some worshipfull place, as far as a hungry sow can smell a sir reuerence, and then, with all their frends, seeke day and night, with coyne and countenance, till they haue got it. Others there be, whome honor itselfe seekes, and such be they whome vertue doth frame fit for that purpose, that rising by high desarts, as learning, or valour, merite more than cyther they looke for, or their prince hath anye ease conueniently to bestow on them. Such honor seekes, and they, with a blushing conscience, entertain him; be they neuer so high in fauor, yet they beg no office, as the shamelesse vpstart doth, that hath a hungry eie to spy out, an impudent face to sue, and a flattering toong to intreat, for some void place of worship, which little belonged to them, if the

prince intended to bestow offices for vertue, not fauor. Other, M. Veluet-breeches, there be of your crue, that pinch their bellies to polish their backs; that keepe their mawes emptie, to fill their purses; that have no shewe of gentillity but a veluet slop, who, by poling or selling of land that their father left, will bestow all to buye an office about the court, that they may be worshipfull, extorting from the poore to raise vp their money, that the base deceiueng companions haue laid out to haue an office of some countenance and credit, wherein they may haue of me better then themselves, bee tearmed by the name of worship. The last, whome vertue pleadeth for, and neyther silver, gold, friends, nor fauour aduaunceth, bee men of great worth, such as are thought of worship, and unwillinglie interteine hir, rather vouchsafing profered honour for their countreys cause, then for any proud opinion of hoped for preferment.

Blessed are such landes whose officers are so placed, and where the Prince promoteth not for coine nor countenance, but for his worthy deserving vertues. But, leauing this by-talke, me thought I heard you say, Signior Veluet-breeches, that you were the father of mechanicall arts, and handiecraftes were found out to foster your brauery. In faith, Goodman Goosecap, you that are come from the start-vps, and therefore is called an vpstart, *quasi*, start up from clouted shoone; your lippes hoong in your light when you brought forth this lodgike: For, I hope, there is none so simple, but knowes that handiecrafts and occupations grew for necessity, not pride: That mens inuentions waxed sharpe to profit the commonwealth, not to pranke vp themselves in brauery. I pray you, when Tubulcane inuented tempring of mettals, had he veluet-breeches to weare? In sadness, where was your worship when his brother found out the accords and discords of musick hidden in hell, and not yet thought on by the diuell, to cast forth a baite to bring many proud fooles to ruine?

Indeede I cannot deny, but your Worship hath brought in deceipt as a journeyman into all companies, and made that a subtile crafte, which while I was holden in esteem was but a simple mystery: Now euery trade hath his sleights, to slubber vp his worke to the cie, and to make it good to the sale, howsoeuer it proues in the wearing. The shoemaker cares not if his shoes hold the drawing on: The tailor sowes with hot needle and burnt thred. Tush pride has banisht conscience, and veluet-breeches honestie; and euery seruile drudge must ruffle in his silkes, or else he is not suteable.

The world was not so a *Principio*; for, when veluet was worne but in kings caps, then conscience was not a brome man in Kent-Street, but a courtier; then the farmer was content his sonne should hold the plough, and liue as he had done before: Beggars then feared to aspire, and the higher sort scorned to enuie. Now euery lowt must haue his sonne a courtinoll, and those dunghil drudges waxe so proud, that they will presume to wear on their feet what kings haue worne on their heads. A clownes sonne must be clapt in a veluet pantophle, and a veluet breech, though the presumptuous asse be drowned in the mercers booke, and make a convey of all his lands to the usurer for commodities; yea, the fop must go like a gallant for a while, although at last in his age he

beg. But, indeed, such yong yooths, when the broker hath blest them with Saint Needams crosse, fall then to privy lifts and coosenages, and, when their credit is utterly crakt, they practise some bad shift, and so come to a shamefull end.

Lastly, Whereas thou saist thou art a seure sensour to punish sins, as austere as Cato to correct vice, of truth I hold thee so in penal statutes when thou hast begged the forfeit of the Prince; but such correction is open extortion and oppression of the poor, nor can I compare it better, M. Veluet-breech, then to the wolfe chastising the lamb for disturbing the fountaine, or the devill casting fourth deuilles through the power of Belzebub. And thus much, curteous Sir, I haue said, to display the follies of mine adversary, and to shewe the right of mine own interest. Why then, quoth I, if you have both saide, it resteth but that we hadd some to empanel upon a jury, and then no doubt but the verdict would soone be giuen on one side. As thus I was talking to them, I might see comming downe the hil a braue dapper Dicke, quaintly attired in veluet and sattin, and a cloake of cloth rash, with a cambrick ruffe as smoothly set, and as neatlie sponged as if he had beene a bridegroom; only I gest by his pase a far off he should be a tailor, his head was holden uppe so pert, and his legges shackle hamd, as if his knees had beene laced to his thighes with points. Coming more neere indeed, I spied a tailors morice pike on his breast, a Spanish needle; and then I fitted my salutations, not to his sutes but to his trade, and incountred him by a thread bare courtesy, as if I had not knowne him, and asked him of what occupation he was? A tailor, quoth he. Marry then, my frend, quoth I, you are the more welcome, for heere is a great quarrell growne betwixt Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches for their prerogative in England the matter is growne to an issue, there must be a iury empanelled, and I would desire and intreat you to be one of the quest.

Not so, quoth Cloth-breeches, I challenge him. And why, quoth I? What reason haue you, dooth he not make them both? Yes, quoth he, but his gaines is not alike: Alas, by me he getteth small, onely he is paid for his workmanship, unlesse by misfortune his shieres slyppe awrye, and then his vailes is but a shred of home spunne cloth; whereas in making of veluet breeches, where there is required silke lace, cloth of golde, of siluer, and such costly stuffe, to welt, guard, whip stitch, edge, face, and draw out, that the vales of one veluet breech is more then twenty paire of mine. I hope there is no tailor so precise, but he can play the cooke and licke his owne fingers; though he look vp to heauen, yet he can cast large shreads of such rich stuffe into hel under his shoppe boord. Beside, he sets downe, like the clarke of the check, a large bill of reckonings, which, for he keepes long in his pocket, he so powders for stinking, that the yong vpstart, that needes it, feeles it salt in his stomach a month after. Beside, Sir, veluet breeches hath advanced him; for, whereas, in my time, he was counted but goodman tailor, now he is growne, since veluet breeches came in, to be called a marchant or gentleman marchant taylor, giving armes and the holy lambe in his creast, where before he had no other cognisance but a plaine Spanish needle with a Welsh cricket on the top; sith then his gaine is so great,

and his honor so advanst by veluet breeches, I will not trust his conscience, nor shall he come upon my iury.

Indeed you have some reason, quoth I, but perhaps the tailor doth this upon meer deuotion to punish pride, and, hauing no other authority nor meane, thinkes it best to pinch them by the purse and make them pay wel, as to aske twice so much silke lace and other stuffe as would suffice, and yet to over-reach my yong maister with a bill of reckonings that will make him scratch where it itcheth not. Herein I hold the tailor for a necessarye member to teach yong novices the way to weeping crosse; that, when they have wasted what their fathers left them by pride, they may grow sparing and humble by inferred pouerty: And by this reason the tailor plaies Gods part; he exalteth the poor, and pulleth down the proud; for, of a wealthy esquires son, he makes a thread bare beggar; and of a scornefull tailor, he sets vp an vpstart scuruy gentleman. Yet, seeing you haue made a reasonable chalenge to him, the tailor shall be none of the quest.

As I had him stand by, there was comming alongst the valley towards vs a square set fellow well fed, and as briskly appparelled, in a blacke taffata doublet and a spruce leather jerkin with christall buttons; a cloke faest afore with veluet, and a Coventry cap of the finest wool; his face something ruby blush, cherry cheeked, like a shred of scarlet or a little darker, like the lees of olde claret wine; a nose, Autem nose, purpled pretiouslie with pearle and stone, like a counterfait worke, and, betweene the filthy reumicast of his blood-shotten snowt, there appeared smal holes, whereat woormes heads peeped, as if they meant by their appearance to preach, and shew the antiquity and antientie of his house.

This fiery facst churle had upon his fingers as many golde ringes as would furnish a goldsmiths shop, or beseeeme a pandor of longe profession to weare. Wondring what companion this should be, I inquired of what occupation? Marry, Sir, quoth he, a broker, why do you aske, have you any pawnes at my house? No, quoth I, nor, by the help of God, neuer will haue; but the reason is to haue you vpon a jurye. At this word, before I could enter my discourse vnto him, Veluet-breeches started up, and swore he should be none of the quest, for he woulde chalenge him. And why, quoth I, what knowe you by him? This base churle is one of the moaths of the common-wealth, beside he is the spoile of yong gentlemen, a bloud-sucker of the poore, as thirsty as a horseleach, that wil never leave drinking while he burst; a knaue that hath interest in the leases of forty bawdy-houses, a receyver for lifts, and a dishonorable supporter for cutpursses: To conclude, he was gotten by an Incubus a he diuell, and brought forth by an ouerworne refuse, that had spent hir yooth under the ruines of Bowbies barne.

O monstrous inuective, quoth I, what reason have ye to bee thus bitter against him? Oh the villaine, quoth he, is the deuills factor, sent from hel to torment yong gentlemen vpon earth: He hath fetcht me ouer in his time, only in pawnes, in ten thousand pound in gold. Suppose as gentlemen, through their liberall minds, may want that I need, money; let me come to him with a pawne worth ten pound, he

will not lend upon it about three pound, and he will haue a bill of sale and twelue-pence in the pound for euery month, so that it comes to sixteen-pence, sith the bill must monthly be renewed; and, if you breake but your day set downe in the bill of sale, your pawne is loste, as full bought and sold, you turned out of your goodes, and he an vn-conscionable gainer. Suppose the best, you keep your day, yet payng sixteene-pence a month for twenty shillings, you pay as good for the lone as fourscore in the hundred; Is not this monstrous exacting upon gentlemen? Beside the knaue will be diligently attending and waiting at dicing-houses where we are at play, and there he is ready to lend the looser money vpon rings and chaines, apparell, or any other good pawne; but the poore gentleman paies so deere for the lauender it is laid vp in, that, if it lie long at a brokers house, he seems to buy his apparell twise. Nay, this worne eaten wretch hath deeper pitfalls yet to trap yooth in, for bee, beeing acquainted with a yong gentleman of faire liuing, in issue of good parents, or assured possibility, soothes him in his monstrous expenses, and saies he carries the minde of a gentleman, promising, if he want, he shall not lacke for a hundred pound or two, if the gentleman need: Then hath my broker an usurer at hand, as ill as himselfe, and he brings the mony, but they tie the poore soule in such Darbies bands, what with receiuing ill commodities and forfeitures upon the band, that they dub him Sir John had Land, before they leaue him, and share, like wolues, the poore nouices welth betwixt them as a pray. He is, Sir, to bee breefe, a bowsie-bawdy miser, good for none but himselfe and his trugge; a carle that hath a filthy carcase without a conscience, a body of a man wherein an infernal spirit in stead of a soule dooth inhabit, the scum of the seven deadly sinnes, an enimie to all good mindes, a deuourer of yong gentlemen, and, to conclude, my mortal enimye, and therefore admit of my challenge, and let him be none of the jury. Truly, quoth Cloth-breeches, and I am willing he should be discarded too, for, were not bad brokers (I will not condemn all) there would be lesse filching and fewer theecues; for they receiue all is brought them, and buye that for a crowne that is woorth twenty shillings; desire of gaine bindes their conscience, and they care not how it be come by, so they buy it cheape. Beside, they extorte upon the poore that are inforced, through extreame want, to pawne their cloathes and household stuff, their pewter and brasse; and, if the poore soules, that labour hard, misse but a day, the base minded broker takes the forfeit without remorse or pitie. It was not so *in diebus illis*; but thou, proude vpstart Veluet-breeches, hast learnd all Englishmen their villany, and all to mayntaine thy brauerye; yea, I haue knowne of late, when a poore woman laid a siluer thimble, that was sent hir from hir frends for a token, to pawne for sixpence, and the broker made hir pay a halfe peny a weeke for it; which comes to two shillings a yeere, for six-pence. Since, then, his conscience is so bad, let him be shuffled out amongst the knaues, for a discarded carde. Content, quoth I; and bad the broker stand backe, when there were euen at my heeles three in a cluster, pert yooths all, and neatly tired. I questioned them what they were; and the one said he was a barber, the other a surgion, and the third an apotary. How like you of these? quoth I; Shall they be of your iury?

Of the iury! quoth Cloth-breeches; neuer a one by my consent, for I challenge them all. Your reason, quoth I, and then you shall haue my verdict. Marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, first, to the barber: He can not be but a partiall man on Veluet-breeches side, sith he gets more by one time dressing of him, than by ten times dressing of me. I come plaine to be polde, and to haue my beard cut, and pay him two pence: Veluet-breeches, he sits down in the chaire, wrapt in fine cloathes, as though the barber were about to make him a footcloth for the vickar of Saint Fooles; then begins hee to take his sissars in his hand, and his comb, and so to snap with them, as if he meant to geue a warning to all the lice in his nitty locks for to prepare themselues, for the day of their destruction was at hande. Then comes he out with his fustain eloquence, and, making a low conge, saith, Sir, Will you haue your worships hair cut after the Italian manner, short and round, and then frounst with the curling yrons, to make it looke like to a halfemoone in a mist? Or, like a Spanyard, long at the cares, and curled like to the two endes of an olde east perriwig? Or will you be Frenchefied, with a loue locke downe to your shoulders? Wherein you may weare your mistris fauour: The English cut is base, and gentlemen scorne it; nouelty is dainty; speake the word, Sir; my sissars are ready to execute your Worship's wil. His head being once drest, which requires, in combing and rubbing, some two howres, he comes to the bason; then, being curiously washt with no woorse then a camphire bal, he descends as low as his beard, and asketh, Whether he please to beshauen, or no? Whether he will haue his peak cut short and sharpe, amiable like an Inamorato, or broade pendant like a spade, to be terrible like a warrior and a soldado? Whether he will haue his crates cut lowe like a juniper bush, or his suberches taken away with a rasor? If it be his pleasure to haue his appendices primed, or his mouchaches fostred, to turne about his cares like the branches of a vine; or cut downe to the lip with the Italian lashe, to make him look like a halfe faced bauby in bras? These quaint tearms, barber, you greet Maister Veluet-breeches withal, and, at euery word, a snap with your sissars, and a cring with your knee; whereas, when you come to poore Cloth-breeches, you either cutte his beard at your owne pleasure, or else, in disdaine, aske him if he will be trimd with Christs cut, round like the halfe of a Holland cheese? mocking both Christ and vs. For this your knauery, my will is, you shall be none of the iury. For you, Maister Surgion, the statutes of Englande exempts you from being of any quest; and beside, alas, I sildome fall into your hands, as being quiet, and making no brawls to haue wounds, as swartrutting Veluet-breeches dooth; neither doe I frequent whore-houses to catch the marbles, and so to grow your patient. I knowe you not, and therefore I appeale to the statute, you shall haue nothing to doe with my matter. And, for you, Maister Apoticarie, alas, I looke not once in seauen yeare into your shop, without it be to buy a peniworth of wormeseed to giue my child to drinke; or a little triacle to driue out the measels; or, perhaps, some dregs and powders to make my sicke horse a drench withal; but, for my selfe, if I be ill at ease, I take kit-chyn physicke, I make my wife my doctör, and my garden my apotaries shop; whereas quescie Maister Veluet-breeches cannot haue a fart

awrye, but he must haue his purgations, pils, and glisters, or euacuate by electuaries: He must, if the least spot of morpheu come on his face, haue his coyle of tartar, his lac virginis, his camphir dissolued in veriuice, to make the foole as faire, for sooth, as if he were to playe Maidmarian in a May game, or moris-daunce. Tush, he cannot digest his meat without conserues, nor end his meale without suckats, nor (shall I speake plainly?) please the trug his mistres, without he goe to the apoticaries for eringion, *Oleum formicarum alatarum*, & *aqua mirabilis* of ten pound a pint. If Maister Veluet-breeches, with drinking these drugs, hap to haue a stinking breath, then, forsooth, the apoticarie must play the perfumer to make it sweet: Nay, What is it about him, that he blameth not nature for framing, and formeth it a new by art? And, in all this, who, but Mounsier the Apoticarie? Therefore, good Sir, quoth he, seeing you haue taken vpon you to be trior for the challenges, let those three, as partiall companions, be packing. Why, quoth I, seeing you haue yielded such reason of refusall, let them stande by. Presentlie, loking about for more, comes stalking down an aged graue Sir, in a blacke veluet coat, and a blacke cloth gowne welted and faced; and after him, as I suppose, foure seruimgmen, the moste ilfauoured knaues, me thought, that euer I saw. One of them had on a buffe leather ierken, all greasie before with the droppings of beere, that fell from his beard; and, by his side, a skeine like a bruers boung knife; and muffled he was in a cloke turnd ouer his nose, as though he had beene ashamed to shew his face. The second had a belly like a buckingtub, and a thredbare black coat, vnbuttond before vpon the brest, whereon the map of drunkenesse was drawne, with the bawdie and bowsie excrements that dropt from his filthy leaking mouth. The third was a long, leane, olde, slaueing slangrill, with a Brasill staffe in the one hand, and a whipcord in the other; so pourblinde, that he had like to haue stumbled vpon the company before he sawe them. The fourth was a fat chuffe, with a sower looke, in a blacke cloke faced with taffata, and, by his side, a great side pouch like a faulkner. For their faces, all foure seemed to be brethren; they were so bumbasted with the flocks of strong beere, and lined with the lees of olde sacke, that they lookt like foure blowne bladders painted ouer with redde oaker, or washt ouer with the suds of an olde stale die. All these, as well the maister, as the following mates, woulde haue past away, but that I stept before them, and inquired first of the foremost, What he was? Marry, quoth he, a lawyer. Then, Sir, quoth I, wee haue a matter in controuersie, that requireth counsaile, and you are the more welcome. What is it? quoth he. Marry, said I, Whether Cloth-breeches, or Veluet-breeches, are of more woorth; and which of them haue the best title to bee resident in Englande? At this the lawyer smild; and Veluet-breeches, stepping forth, tooke acquaintance of him, and, commending his honestie, said, there could no be a man of better indifferency of the iury: When Cloth-breeches, stepping in, swore, he maruelled he was not, as well as the surgion, exempted by act of parliament, from being of any quest, sith, as the surgion was without pittie, so he was without conscience; and therevpon inferd his challenge, sayng, the lawyer was neuer frend to Cloth-breeches: For, when lowlinesse, neighbourhood, and hopitalitie liued in Englande,

Westminster Hal was a dining chamber, not a den of controuersies; when the King himselfe was content to keepe his S. Georges day in a plaine paire of kersie hose; when the duke, earle, lord, knight, gentleman, and esquire aimed at vertue, not pride, and wore such breeches as was spun in his house, then the lawier was a simple man, and, in the highest degree, was but a bare scriuener, except iudges of the land, which tooke in hande serious matters, as treasons, murthers, felones, and such capitall offences; but sildome was there any pleas put in, before that vpstart, Veluet-breeches, for his maintaynance, inuented strange controuersies; and, since he began to dominier in Englande, he hath busd such a proud, busy, couetous, and incroching humor into euery mans head, that lawiers are growne to be one of the cheefe lims of the commonwealth; for they doe, nowe adaies, *de lana caprina rixare*, goe to lawe, if a hen doe but scrape in his orchard; but, howsoever right be, might carries away the verdict. If a poore man sue a gentleman, why he shootes vp to the skie, and the arrow fals on his owne head; howsoever the cause goe, the weakest is thrust to the wall. Lawiers are troubled with the heat of the liuer, which makes the palms of their hands so hot, that they cannot be coold, vnlesse they be rubd with the oile of angels; but the poore man, that giues but his bare fee, or, perhaps, pleads in *forma pauperis*, he hunteth for hares with a taber, and gropeth in the darke to find a needle in a botle of hay. Tush, these lawiers haue such delatory and forren pleas, such dormers, such quibs and quiddits, that, begging their clients, they purchase to themselues whole lordships. It booteth not men to discourse their little conscience and great extortion, only suffice they be not so rich, as they be bad, and yet they be but to welthy. I inueigh not against law, nor honest lawiers, for ther be some wel qualified, but against extorting ambodexters, that wringe the poore; and, bicause I know not whether this be such a one, or no, I challenge him not to be of my iury. Why then, quoth I, his Worship may depart. And then I questioned, What he in the buff ierkin was? Marry, quoth he, I am a serieant. He had no sooner said so, but Veluet-breeches leapt backe, and, drawing his rapyer, swore he did not only challenge him for his iurye, but protested, if he stird one foote toward him, he would make him eate a peece of his poinard. And what is the reason, quoth I, that there is such mortal hatred betwixt you and the serieant? Oh, Sir, quoth Veluet-breeches, search him, and, I warrant you, the knaue hath precept vpon precept to arrest me; hath worn his mace smooth, with onely clapping it vpon my shoulder, he hath had me under coram so often: Oh! the reprobate is the vsurers executioner, to bring such gentlemen to Limbo as he hath ouerthrown with his base brocage and bad commodities; and, as you see him a fat knaue with a foggie face, wherein a cup of old sacke hath sett a seale, to marke the bowsie drunkurd to die of the dropsie, so his conscience is consumed, and his hart robd of all remorse and pitye, that for money he will betray his owne father; for, will a cormorant but fee him to arrest a yong gentleman, the rakehell will be so eager to catch him, as a dogge to take a beare by the eares in Parish Garden, and, when he hath laid hold upon him, he useth him as courteously, as a butchers cur would doe an ox cheeke when he is hungry; if he see the gentleman hath money in his purse,

then straight with a cap and knee he carries him to the tauerne, and bids him send for some of his frends to bale him; but first he couenants to haue some brase of angels for his paines, and, besides, he cals in for wine as greedily, as if the knaues mother had beene brocht against a hogthead when he was begotten; but, suppose the gentleman wants pence, he will eyther haue a pawne, or else drige him to the counter, without respecte of manhood or honestye. I should spend the whole day with displayeng his villanies, therefore breefly let this suffice: He was neuer made by the consent of God, but his slouenly carkase was framd by the diuell, of the rotten carian of a wolfe, and his soule of an vsurers damned ghost, turnd out of hell into his body, to do monstrous wickednesse again vpon the earth, so that he shal be none of my iurie, neither shal he come nearer me then the length of my rapyer will suffer him. Indeede, quoth Cloth-breeches, generally serieants be bad, but there be amongst them some honest men, that will doe their duties with lawful fauour; for, to say truth, if serieants were not, how should men come by their debts? Marry, they are so cruel in their office, that, if they arrest a poore man, they will not suffer him, if he hath not money, to stay a quarter of an hour to talke with his creditor, although, perhaps, at the meeting, they might take composition, but only to the counter with him, unlesse he will lay his pewter, brasse, couerlets, sheets, or such housholdstufte, to them for pawne of paiment of some coine for their staieng; therefore let him depart out of the place, for his roome is better then his companye. Well then, quoth I, What say you to these three (and with that I questioned their names) the one said he was a sumner, the other a gaoler, and the third an infourmer. Iesus blesse me, quoth Cloth-breeches, what a gang was heere gathered together; no doubt hell is broke loose, and the diuell means to keepe holiday: I make challenge against them all, as against worse men then those that gaue euidence against Christ. For the sumner, it boots me to say little more against him, then Chaucer did in his Canterbury Tales, who said, He was a knaue, a briber, and a bawd: But leauing that authoritie, although it be authenticall, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drosie sonns go a tooting abroad, as they themselves tearm it, whjch is to heere if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the goodfellow with his neighbors wife; if he finde a hole in any mans coate that is of welth, then he hath his peremptorie scitation ready to scite him vnto the archdeacous, or officials court, there to apeere, and abid the shame and penaltie of the lawe: The man, perhaps, in good credit with his neighbors, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twentie with child, so he keepe him warme in the hand; he hath a saieng to wanton wiues, and they are his good dames, and, as long as they feed him with cheese, bacon, capons, and such od reuersions, they are honest; and, be they neuer so bad, he swears to the official complaints are made vpon enuie, and the women of good behaiour: tushe, what bawdry is it he will not suffer, so he may haue money and good chere, and, if he like the wench, well, a snatch himselfe, for they knowe all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be: To be breefe, the sumner liues vpon sins of people, and, out of harlotry, gets he all his commoditie,

As for the gaoler, although I haue beene little troubled in prison to haue experience of his knauery, yet haue I hard the poore prisoners complaine how cruel they be to them, extorting, with extraordinary fees, selling a double curtall, as they cal it, with a double iuge of beere for 2 pence, which contains not aboue a pint and a halfe; let a poore man be arrested into one of the counters, though he but set his foot in them but halfe an hour, he shall be almost at an angels charge, what with garnish, crossing and wiping out of the booke, turning the key, paieng the chamberline, feeing for his iurie, and twenty such extortions inuented by themselves, and not allowed by any statute: God bles me, gaoler, from your henhouses, as I will keepe you from coming in my quest. And to you, M. Infourmer, you that looke like a ciuile citizen, or some handsome petty-fogger of the law: although your crimson nose bewrayes you can supe of a coole cup of sacke without anye chewing, yet you haue as much slye knauery in your side pouch there, as would breede the confusion of fortye honest men. It may be, Sir, you maruell whye I exclaime against the infourmer, sith he is a most necessarie member in the commonwealth, and is highly to the princes aduantage for the benifite of pennall statutes and other abuses, whereof he giueth special intelligence? To wipe out this doubt, I spake not against the office but the officer, against such as abuse lawe when they should vse it; and such a one I gesse this fellowe to be, by the carnation tincture of his ruby nose: therefore let vs search his bagge, and see what trash you shal finde in it: with that, although the infourmer were very loathe, yet wee pluckt out the stuffing of his pouch, and in it was found a hundred and od writes, whereat I wounded; and Cloth-breeches, smiling, bad me read the labels, and the parties names, and then examine the infourmer how many of them he knewe, and wherein they had offended. I followed his counsaile, and of all he knewe but three, neither could he tel what they doone amisse to be arrested, and brought in question.

Cloth-breeches, seeing me stand in amase, began thus to resolute me in my doubt: perhaps, quoth he, you maruell why the infourmer hath all these writtes, and knowes neither the parties, nor can obiecte any offence to them? To this I answered, that, it being a long vacation, he learned in the rowle all those mens names, and that they were men of indifferent wealthe: now means he to goe abroad, and search them out and arrest them, and though they know not wherein, or for what cause they should be troubled, yet, rather then they will come vpp to London, and spend their money, they will bestow some odde angell upon maister infourmer, and so sit at home in quiet. But, suppose some be so stuborne as to stand to the triall, yet can this cunning knaue declare a tamquam against them, so that, though they be cleered, yet can they haue no recompence at all, for that he doth it in the courtes behalfe. I wil not vnfold all his villanies, but he is an abuser of good lawes, and a very knaue, and so let him be with his fellowes. I both woondred and laught to heare Cloth-breeches make this discourse, when I saw two in the vallye together by the eares, the one in leather, the other as blacke as the deuill: I stept to them to part the fraie, and questioned what they were, and wherefore they

brawled: marry, quoth he, that lookt like Lucifer, though I am blacke, I am not the deuill, but, indeed, a collyer of Croyden, and one, Sir, that haue solde many a man a false sacke of coales, that booth wanted measure, and was halfe full of dust and drosse. Indeed I haue been lieger in my time in London, and haue played many madde pranckes, for which cause, you may apparently see I am made a curtall, for the pillory (in the sight of a great many good and sufficient witnesses) hath eaten off booth my eares, and now, Sir, this ropemaker hunteth me heere with his halters: I gesse him to be some euill spirite, that, in the likenesse of a manne, would, since I haue past the pillory, perswade me to hange my selfe for my olde offenses, and, therefore, sith I cannot blesse me from him with *nomine patris*, I lay *spiritus sanctus* about his shoulders with a good crab tree cudgell, that he may get out of my company. The ropemaker replied, that, honestly iourneying by the way, he acquainted himselfe with the collyer, and for no other cause pretended. Honest with the deuill, quoth the collyer, how can he be honest, whose mother, I gesse, was a witch? For I haue harde them say, that witches say their praiers backward, and so dooth the ropemaker yearne his liuing by going backward, and the knaues cheefe liuing is by making fatall instrumentes, as halters and ropes, which diuers desperate men hang themselues with. Well, quoth I, what say you to these, shall they be on the iurie? Veluet-breeches said nothing, but Cloth-breeches said, in the ropemaker he found no great falsehood in him, therefore he was willing he should be one; but, for the collyer, he thought it necessary, that, as he came, so he should depart; so then I bad the rope-maker stand by till more came, which was not longe, for there came three in a cluster. As soone as they drewe nye, I spied one, a fatt churle, with a side russet coate to his knee, and his hands all so tanned with shifting his ouse, yet would I not take notice what they were, but questioned with them of their seuerall occupations. Marry, quoth the first, I am a tanner; the second a shoemaker; and the thirde a currier: Then, turninge to the plaintife and defendant, I asked them, if they would allowe of those parties? No, by my faith, quoth Cloth-breeches, I make challenge vnto them all, and I wil yeeld reasons of import against them; and first, to you, maister tannner, are you a man woorthy to be of a jury, when your conscience cares not to wronge the whole commonwealth; you respecte not publike commodity, but priuate gaynes; not to benefite your neighbor, but for to make the proude princore, your son, an vpstart gentleman; and bicause you would marry your daughter, at the least to an esquire, that shee may, if it be possible, be a gentlewoman, and how comes this to passe? By your tanne-fats, forsooth; for whereas, by the aunciente lawes and statutes of England, you shoulde let a hide lye in the Ouse, at the least, nine months, you can make good leather of it before three months; you haue your dooues doong, your marle, your ashen barke, and a thousande thinges more, to bringe on your leather apace; that it is so badly tanned, that, when it comes to the wearinge, then it flectes awaye like a peece of browne paper; and whereas your backes, of all other, should be the best tanned; you bring them so full of horne to the market, that, did you not

grease the sealers of Leadenhall throughly in the fiste, they should neuer be sealed, but turned away, and made forfeit by the statute. I cannot, at learge, lay open your subtil practises, to beguile the poore communalty with bad leather. But let this suffice, you leaue no villanie vsought, to bring the blockhead, your sonne, to go afore the clowne his father, trimely trickt up in a paire of veluet-breeches.

Now, maister currier, to your coosenage; you cannot be content only to burne the leather you dresse for fault of liquor, because you would make the shoemaker pay wel, and you put in little stuffe; and beside, when as, in backes, you should onely put in tallow hard and good, you put in softe kitchen stuffe mixt, and so make the good and wel tanned leather, by your villanie, to fleet and waste away; but also you grow to be an extorting knaue, and a forestaller of the market, for you will buy leather, sides, backes, and calve skins, and sell them to the poore shoemakers at an vnreasonable rate, by your false retayling, getting infinite goods by that excessiue price, both vndoing the poore shoemaker, and causing vs, that we pay extreemly for shooes. For, if the currier bought not leather by the whole of the tanner, the shoemaker might haue it at a more reasonable price; but the shoemaker, being poore, is not, perhaps, able to deale with a dicker of hides, nor, perhaps, with a cuple of backes, and the tanner will not trust him; then the extorting and coosening currier comes vp with this, I will lend you for a day, and so pincheth him, that he is scarce able to finde his children bread. But wel hath the prince and the honorable lords of the priuie counsaile provided by act of parliament, that no currier shall buy leather, either backes or hides, of the tanner, so to bridle the extorting and forestalling coosenage; but craftilyer and subteller hath the knaue currier crosbitten the statute, in that he deales thus with the tanner, he makes him hold his leather vnreasonably to the shoemaker; and so, when he cannot sel it, he laies it up in the curriers house, vnder a colour, whereas, indeed, he hath sold it him. Suppose this shifte be spied and prevented, then compoundeth he with some knaue shoemaker, some base rakehell, without a conscience, that neither respecteth God, the commonwealth, nor his company, and, forsooth, he is halfe with the currier, who letteth him haue some hundred marke, to laye out for leather, euery month; whereas he spendes not in his shop a hundred markes worth in a yeare; so the shoemaker buies it to abuse the statute, for the currier; and the currier, by that means, vndooeth the other shoemakers. thus two crafty knaues are met, and they neede no broker.

Now to you gentle craft, you masse shoemakers: you can put in the inner sole, of a thin calves skin, when as the shoo is a neates leather shoo, which you knowe is cleane contrarie both to conscience and the statute. Beside, you wil ioyne a neates leather vampey to a calves leather heele: is not heere good stuff, maister shoemaker? Well, for your knauery, you shall haue those curses which belongs unto your craft: you shall be light footed to travel farre, light witted upon euery small occasion to give your masters the bagge, you shall bee most of you unthriftes, and almost all perfect good fellowes. Beside, I remember a mery iest, how Mercurye brought you to a dangerous disease, for he

requested a boon for you, which fell out to your great disadvantage; and, to recreate us heere a little, gentle craft, what fell to your trade by that winged God? As it happened on a time that, Iupiter and Mercurye traveling together vpon earth, Mercurye was woonderfully hungrye, and had no money in his pursse to buy him anye food, and at last, to his great comforte, he spied where a companie of tailors were at dinner with buttred pease, eating their pease with their needles points one by one: Mercurye came to them, and asked them his almes; they proudly bad him sit down and doo as hee saw they did, and with that deliuered him a needle. The poore God, being passing hungry, could not content his mawe with eating one by one, but turned the eie of his needle and ate two or three together; which the tailors seeing, they start uppe and said, what, fellow, a shouell and a spade, to buttred pease, hast thou no more manners? Get out of our companie; and so they sent him packing with many strokes. Mercurye comming backe, Iupiter demanded of him what newes? and he told him how churlishly he was vsed amongst the tailors. Well, wandering on further, Mercurye espied where a companie of shoemakers were at dinner, with powdered beefe and brewesse; going to them, before he could aske them any almes, they said, welcome, good fellow, what is thy stomach uppe, wilt thou doe as we do, and tast of beefe? Mercurye thanked them, and sat downe and eat his belly full, and dranke well of double beer, and when hee had doone went home to his maister. As soone as hee came, Iupiter asked him what newes? and he said, I haue lighted amongst a crewe of shoemakers, the beste fellows that euer I met withall, they haue frankely fed me without grudging, and therefore grant me a boone for them. Aske what thou wilt, Mercurye, quoth he, and it shall be done: Why, then, quoth he, grant that, for this good turn they haue done mee, they may euer spende a groat afore they can yearne twopence. It shall be granted, quoth he. Mercurye, as soone as Iupiter had said the worde, he bethought himselfe, and said, nay, but that they maye yearne a groat afore they spend two-pence, for my tongue slipt at the first: Well, Mercurye, quoth he, it cannot be recald, the first wish must stand; and heereof, by Mercuryes boone it grew, that all of the gentle craft are such good-fellowes and spend-thriftes. But howsoeuer, none of those three, neither shoemaker, tanner, nor currier, shall bee accepted to bee of the jury.

As they went away with fleas in their eares, beeing thus taunted by Cloth-brecches, we might see where there came a troupe of auntient gentlemen, with their seruing-men attending upon them. The foremost was a great olde man, with a whit beard, all in russet, and a fair black cloake on his backe, and attending on him he had some fiew men; their cognisance, as I remember, was a peacocke without a tayle; the other two, that accompanied him, seemed meaner then himselfe, but yet gentlemen of good worship: whereupon I went towards them and saluted them, and was so bould as to question what they were, and of their businesse.

The most antientest answered, he was a knight, and those two his neighbors, the one an esquire, the other a gentleman, and that they

haue no vrgent affaiers, but only to walke abroad to take the fresh aire. Then did I shew them both Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and told them the controversie, and desired their aid to be upon the iury. They smiling, answered, they were content, and so did Cloth-breeches seeme to reioyce, that such honest, antient, Englishe gentlemen should be tryers of his tytle. But Veluet-breeches, storming, stept in and made challenge to them all. I demanded reason why he should refuse gentlemen of so good calling? And he made this aunswere: Why, you may gesse the inward minde by the outward apparell, and see how he is adicted by the homely robes he is suted in. Why, this knight is mortal enemy to pride and so to me; he regardeth hospitality, and aimeth at honor, with releeving the poore; you may see, although his lands and reuenues be great, and be able to maintaine himselfe in great brauery, yet he is content with homespun cloth, and scorneth the pride that is vsed nowadaies amongst yong vpstarts; he houldeth not the worth of his gentry to be, and consist in veluet breeches, but valeweth true fame by the report of the common sorte, who praise him for his vertue, iustice, liberality, house-keeping, and almseeds. *Vox populi vox Dei*; his tennants and farmers woulde, if it might be possible, make him immortall with their praiers and praises; he raiseth not rent, racketh no landes, taketh no incumbs, imposeth no mercilesse fines, enuies not an other, buyeth no house ouer his neighbors head: but respecteth his country and the commodity thereof, as deere as his life: he regardeth more to haue the needy fedd, to haue his boorde garnished with full platters, then to famous himselfe with excessive furniture in apparell. Since then he scorneth pride, he must of force proclaime himselfe mine enemy, and therefore he shall be none of my iury; and such as himselfe I gesse the squire and the gentleman, and therefore I challenge them all. Why, quoth I, this is strange, that a man shoulde be drawne from a quest for his godlines: If men for vertue be challenged, whom shall we haue vpon the iury? Your objection helpes not, Maister Veluet-breeches: for, if he be a man of so godly a disposition, he will neither speake for feare or fauor; he will regard neither the riches of the one, nor the plaine pouerty of the other; wherevpon, sith you haue made me tryer, I allowe them all three to be of the iury, and so I requested them to sit downe till our iury was full, which they courteously did, although Veluet-breeches frownd at it; when I, looking for more, saw where there came a troupe of men in apparell, seeming poore honest citizens, in all they were eight. I demanded of them what they were, and whither they were going? One of them that seemed the welthiest, who was in a furred iacket, made answere, that they were all frends going to the burial of a neighbor of theirs, that yester night died, and, if it would doo mee any pleasure to heare their names, they were not so daintie but that they would tell them; and so then he began to tell mee, that by his art he was a skinner, the second sayd he was a ioyner, the third was a sadler, the fourth a waterman, the fift was a cutler, the sixt was a bel-lows-mender, the seuenth a plaisterer, and the eight a printer. In good time, quoth I, it is commendable when neighbors loue so well together;

but, if your speed be not ouermuch, I must request you to bee of a iury; so I discourst unto them the controuersie between Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and to what issue it must grow by a verdict; they seemed all content; and I turned to the plaintiffe and defendant, and asked if they would make challenge to any of these? I scorn, quoth Veluet-breeches, to make any great obiection against them, sith they be mechanicall men; and I almost hold them indifferent, for this I know, they get as much and more by me than by him; the skinner I use for furies, whereas this base Cloth-breeches hath scarce a gowne faced once in his life; the saddler for costly imbroidered saddels, the ioyner for seeling my house, the cutler for gylt rapiers; the waterman I vse continually, ten times for his once, and so likewise the plaisterer; for the bellows-mender, alas, poor snake, I know him not; for the printer, by our Lady, I thinke I am some tenne pounds in his debt for bookes; so, that for my part, let them all passe. And for me, quoth Cloth-breeches; but yet, a little to put them in remembrance of their follies, let me have a bout with them all; and first with you, maister skinner, to whom I can say little but only this, that, whereas you shoulde only put the backes of skinner into facing, you taw the wombs and so deceiue the buier; beside, if you have some fantastike skin brought you not woorth two-pence, with some straunge spots, though it be of a libbet, you will sweare 'tis a most pretious skin, and came from Musco, or the furthest part of Calabria. The saddler he stuffes his pannels with straw or hay, and ouerglaseth them with haire, and makes the leather of them of morts, or tandsheeps skins. The ioyner, though an honest man, yet he maketh his ioynts weake, and putteth in sappe in the mortises, which should be the hart of the tree, and all to make his stufte slender. And you cutler, you are patron of ruffions and swash-bucklers, and will sell them a blade that may be thrust into a bushell; but, if a poore man that cannot skil of it, you sel him a sword or rapier new ouerglased, and sweare the blade came either from Turkie or Toledo. Now, maister waterman, you will say there is no subtilty in you, for there is none so simple but that knows your fares, and what is due between Greenwich and London, and how you earn your money painfully with the sweat of your browes; all this is true; but let me whisper one thing in your eare, you will play the goodfellowe too much, if you be wel greased in the fist; for if a yong gentleman and a pretty wench come to you, and say, waterman, my frend and I meane to go by water, and to be merry a night or two, I care not which way nor whether wee go, and therefore, where thou thinkest wee may have best lodging, thither carry vs: Then off goes your cap, and away they go to Brainford, or some other place; and then you say, hostess, I pray you vse this gentleman and his wyfe wel, they are come out of London to take the aire, and meane to be merry here a night or two, and to spend their mony frankly; when, God wot, they are neither man nor wife, nor, perhaps, of any acquaintance before their matche made in some bawdy tauern; but you know no such matter, and therefore, waterman, I pardon you. And for you, plaisterer and bellowsmender, I passe you ouer; and, so do I the printer

too, only this I must needs say to him, that some of his trade will print lewd books, and hawdy pamphlets; but,

Auri sacra fames, quid non?—

And therefore I am content they shal be all of the iurie. I was glad there were so many accepted of at once, and hoped that now quickly the iurie would be full; looking about me, straight I might see one alone come running as fast as he could. I woondred what he should be that he made such hast, and the skinner told me was an honest man, and one of their company, by his occupation a bricklaier. Oh, quoth Cloth-breeches, a good honest simple man, he hath bin long in my worke, in building me a sumptuous house. But, I challenge him, quoth Veluet-breeches, for he is a iuggler. How, quoth I, can it be? See he goeth very homely in leather, and hath his ruler in his hand, and his trowel at his side, and he seemeth not as one that were giuen to such qualities. Yes, quoth Cloth-breeches, he hath this policy, when he maketh a stately place all glorious to the eye, and full of faire chambers and goodly roomes, and about the house, perhaps, some threescore chimnies, yet he canne soe cunningly cast by hys art that three of them shall not smoke in the tweluemonth, and so spoiles he much good mortar and bricke. Why, quoth I, the fault is not in the workeman but the housekeeper, for now adayes men builde for to please the eye, not to profit the poore; they vse no rost, but for themselues and their houshold, nor no fire but a little court chimnie in their owne chamber: howe can the poore bricklaier then be blamed, when the niggardnesse of the lord or maister is the cause no more chimnies doe smoke. For, would they vse ancient hospitality as their forefathers did, and value as lightly of pride as their great grandfathers, then should you see euery chimney in the house smoke, and prooue that the poore artificer had doone his part. Why, then, quoth Cloth-breeches, as you please, admit him on the quest. But what be those, quoth Cloth-breeches, that come heere so soberly? I hope they be honest men, for they looke very demure; I will inquire, said I; and with that, stepping to them, I demaunded their names, and very courtiously the one sayd he was a brewer, the other a butcher, the third a baker, and the fourth a vitler. Hearing what they wer, I was glad, ghessing, sith they were so honest substantial men, that they would help to make vp the iury, when Veluet-breeches, with a grime and sower countenance, gaue them this challenge. I hold it not necessary, quoth he, that these haue any thing to deale in my cause, sith I am at oddes with them all at least in fortie pounds a peece; for this seuen yeares I haue been indebted vnto them for bread, beefe, beere, and other victuals; then, sith they haue credited me long, and I haue had so little care to pay them, I doubt now they will reuenge themselues, and passe against me in the verdict. Nay, quoth I, the rather will they hold on your part, for, if they be honest wise men, as they seeme to be, they will be carefull of your prefermente, seeing, the more highlye you are aduunst, the more like are they to come by their owne. If therefore you can obiect no other poyntes of dishonesty

against them, I see no reason why they shoulde be put by. If you do not, quoth Cloth-breeches, then here mee, and I will prooue them vnfit to haue anye dealinges heere, and first for the butcher. I praye you, Goodman kilcalfe, what hauocke playe you with puffing vp of meate, and blowing with your pricker, as you flea it? Haue you not your artificiall knaueries to set out your meate with prickes, and then sweare he hath more for mony than euer you bought; to sel a peece of an olde cow for a chop of a yong oxe, to wash your old meat, that hath hung weltring in the shop, with new bloud; to trusse awaye an old ewe instead of a yong weather, and, altho' you know it is hurtful and forbidden by the statute to flece your hides, skins, backes, with cuts and slashes, to the impouerishing of the poore shoemaker when he buies it, yet, I pray you, how many slaughters do you make in a poore calues skin? Oh butcher, a long Lent be your punishment, for you make no conscience in deceiuing the poore. And you, maist. brewer, that growe to be woorth forty thousand pounds by selling of soden water, what subtilty haue you in making your beere to spare the malt, and put in the more of the hoppe to make your drinke, be barly neuer so cheape, not a whit the stronger, and yet neuer sel a whit the more measure for money? You can, when you haue taken all the harte of the malt away, then clape on store of water, tis cheape inough, and mashe out a tunnning of smalle beare, that it scoures a mans maw like Rennish wine: in your conscience, how many barrells draw you out of a quarter of malt? Fe, fie, I conceale your falshood, least I should be too broad in setting downe your faults. And for you, Goodman baker, you that loue to be seene in the open market place upon the pyllory, the world cries out of your wilnesse; you craue but one deere yeare to make your daughter a gentlewoman; you buy your corne at the best hand, and yet will not be content to make your bread weight by many ounces; you put in yeast and salt to make it heauie, and yet all your policie cannot make it, but you fine for the pyllory; the poore crie out, the rich find fault, and the lord maior and the sherifs, like honorable and worshipfull maistrates, euerie daie walke abroad and weigh your bread, and yet all will not serue to make you honest men; but, were extremitie vsed, and the statute put in the highest degree in practise, you would haue as few eares on your heades as the collyer. Last to you, Tom Tapster, that tape your small cannes of beere to the poore, and yet fill them half full of froth; that carde your beere, if you see your guests begin to be drunke, halfe smal and halfe strong; you cannot be content to pinch with your small pottes and your ostriie faggots, but haue your trugges to draw men on to villanie, and to bring customers to your house, where you sell a ioint of meat for xii. pence that cost you scarce six; and, if any chance to go on the skore, you skore him when he is a sleepe, and set vp a grot a daie more then he hath, to find you drinking pots with your companions; to be short, thou art a knaue, and I like not any of the rest; the way lies before you, and therefore you may be gon, for you shall be none of the quest.

I smild to see Cloth-breeches so peremptory, when I sawe fine fat fellows, all in damaske cotes and gownes, welted with veluet verie

braue, and in great consultation, as if they were to determine of some weightie matter; drawing neare, I sawe they were wealthie citizens; so I went and reuerently saluted them, and told them, how we needed their aid about the appeasing of a controuersie, shewing them where the knight, esquier, and other staied, til we might finde men to fill vp the iurie. They were contented; but Veluet-breeches excepted against fower of them, and said, they were none of his frendes; that was the marchant, goldsmith, mercer and draper; his allegations were these, that they were all fethered of one winge, to fetch in yong gentlemen by commodities, under the colour of lending of monie: for the marchant he deliuered the yron, tin, lead, hops, sugars, spices, oiles, browne paper, or whatsoeuer else, from six months to six months, which, when the poor gentleman came to sell againe, he could not make threescore and ten in the hundred, beside the vsurie. The mercer he followeth the yong vpstart gentleman that hath no gouernement of himselfe, and he feedeth his humor to go braue; he shall not want silks, sattins, veluets, to pranke abroade in his pomp, but with this prouision, that he must bind over his land in a statute marchant or staple, and so at last forfeit all vnto the mercilesse mercer, and leaue himself neuer a foot of ground in Englande; which is the reason that, for a fewe remnaunts of veluets and silks, the mercer creepeth into whole lordships. The goldsmith is not behinde, for most of them deale with vsurie, and let yong gentlemen haue commodities of plate for ten in the hundred, but they must loose the fashion in selling it again, which cuts them sore; beside, they are most of them skild in alcumie, and can temper mettals shrewdly, with no little profit to themselves, and disaduauntage to the buier, beside pufte-ringes, and quaint conceits, which I omit. And so for you, draper, hee fetcheth them off for liuerie cloth, and cloth for six months and six, and yet hath hee more knacks in his budget, for hee hath so darke a shop that no man can well choose a peece of cloth; it so shadowes the die and the threed, a man shall be deceiued in the wooll and the nappe, they cause the cloth-worker so to presse them; beside, hee imposeth this charge to the clothworker, that he drawe his cloth, and pull it passing hard when he sets it vpon the tenters, that he may haue it ful breadth and length til threed and all tear and rent a peeces. What care they for that, haue they not a drawer to serue their turne, to drawe and scame up the holes so cunningly, that it shal neuer be espied? Myselfe haue scene, in one broad cloth, eightene score holes, torne, rackt, and pald by the clothworker, only to please the draper, and deceiue the commonwealth. To be short, the clothworker, what with rowing and setting in a fine nap, with powdering it, and pressing it, with shering the wooll to the prooffe of the threed, deale so cunningly, that they prooue themselves the drapers minister to execute his subtilties; therefore, if he chance to come, let him be remembred. Now, sir, for the vintner: He is an honest substantial man, a frend to all good fellows, and truly, my frend for my money, and woorthy to be of the Iury. Why no, quoth Cloth-breeches, I am of another mind; for I hold him as deceitful as any of the rest. What, the vintner! Why, he is a kinde of negromancer; for, at midnight, when all men are in bed, then he, forsooth, fals to his charmes and spels, so that he tumbles one

hogshead into another, and can make a cup of claret, that hath lost his colour, look high with a dash of red wine at his pleasure; if he hath a strong Gascoigne wine, for feare it should make his guests to soone drunke, he can allay it with a smal Rochel wine; he can cherish vp white wine with sacke; and, perhaps, if you bide him wash the pot cleane, when he goes to draw you a quart of wine, he wil leaue a little water in the bottome, and then draw it full of wine. And what and if he do? tis no harm; wine and water is good against the heat of the liuer. It were infinit to reherse the iugling of vintners, the disorder of their houses, especially of the persons that frequent them; and therefore, sith Veluet-breeches hath put by the marchant, goldsmith, mercer, and draper, the vintner shal goe with them for company. As these were going away in a snuffe, for being thus plainely taunted, we might see a mad merry crue come leping ouer the field, as frolickly as if they ought not all the world two pence; and, drawing nearer, we might perceiue, that either bottle-ale, or beere, had made a fraie with them; for the lifting of their feet shewed the lightnesse of their heads: the foremost was a plaine country sir Iohn, or vickar, that proclaimed, by the rednes of his nose, he did oftner goe into the alehouse than the pulpit; and him I asked, what they were, and whether they were going? What are you? quoth the Priest, that stand by the high way to examine me and my frendes; heres none in my company, but are able to answere for themselves. I, seeinge they were all set on a merrye pinne, tould the cause, and howe the controuersie grewe betwixt Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and that we needed them to be of the quest. Marry, quoth Sir Iohn, a good motion: know, these all are my parishioners, and we haue beene drinking with a poore man, and spending our money with him, a neighbor of ours, that hath lost a cow. Now for our names and our trades: This is a smith, the second a weauer, the third a miller, the fourth a cooke, the fifth a carpenter, the sixt a glouer, the seauenth a pedlar, the eight a tinker, the ninth a waterberer, the tenth a husbandman, the eleuenth a diar, and the twelfth a sailor, and I their vickar; how could you, sir, haue a fitter iury, than me and my parishoners? you are a little too breefe, quoth Cloth-breeches; are you not some puritan, maister parson? or some fellow that raiseth vp new scisemes and heresies amongst your people? a plague on them all, quoth I, sir; for the worlde was neuer in quiet; deuotion, neighbourhood, nor hospitality neuer flourished in this land, since such vpstart boies and shittle witted fools became of the ministry. I cannot tel, they preach faith, faith, and say, that doing of almes is papistry: but they haue taught so long *Fides solum iustificat*, that they haue preached good workes quite out of our parish; a poore man shal as soone breake his necke, as his fast, at a rich mans dore: for me, frend, I am, indeed, none of the best scholers, yet I can read an homely euery Sunday and holyday, and I keepe companie with my neighbors, and goe to the alehouse with them, and, if they be fallen out, spende my money to make them frendes; and on Sundayes, sometime, if goodfellowship cal me away, I say both morning and euening prayer at once, and so let them haue a whole afternoone to plaie in. This is my life: I spende my liuing with my

parishoners, I seeke to do all good, and I offer no man harm. Well, quoth Cloth-breeches, I warrant thou art an honest vickar, and therefore stand by, thou shal be one of the quest. And, for you, smith, I see no great fault in you; you yerne your liuing with the sweat of your browes, and there can be no great knauery in you; only I would haue you mend your life for drinking, sith you are neuer at quiet, vnles the pot be stil at your nose. But, you weauer, the prouerbe puts you downe for a crafty knaue; you canne filch and steale almost as il as the tailor; your woofe and warpe is so cunningly drawn out, that you plague the poore country huswiues for their yarne, and dawbe on so much dreggs, that you make it seeme both wel wrought, and be neare waight, when it is slenderly wouen, and you haue stolne a quarter of it from the poore wife. Away, be packing, for you shal be cashierd. What, miller, shake handes with your brother the weauer for knauery; you canne take toll twise, and haue false hoppers to conuey away the poore mans meale; be gone, I loue not your dusty lookes; and, for companie, Goodman cooke, go you with them; for you coosen the poore men and countrie tearmers with your filthy meat; you will buy of the worst and cheapest, when it is bad inough for dogs, and yet so powder it and parboile it, that you wil sel it to some honest poore men, and that vnreasonably to. If you leaue any meate ouer night, you make a shift to heat it againe the nexte daie; nay, if on the Thursday at night ther be any left, you make pies of it on Sonday mornings, and almost, with your slouenly knauerie, poison the poore people: to be short, I brooke you not, and therefore be walking. For the carpenter, glouer, and waterbearer, the husbandman, diar, and sailor, sith your trades haue but pettie slights, stand you with maister vickar, you are like to help to giue in the verdict; but, for the pedlar and the tinker, they are two notable knaues, both of a haire, and both cosen germaines to the deuill. For the tinker, why, he is a drowsie, bawdy, drunken companion, that walkes vppe and downe with a trug after him, and, in stopping one hole, makes three; and, if in conuenient place he meets with one alone, perhaps rifles him or hir of all that euer they haue; a base knaue, without fear of God, or loue to anye one, but to his whore and to himselfe. The pedlar, as bad, or rather worse, walketh the countrey with his docksey at the least, if he haue not two his mortes dels, and *Autem mortis*; he passeth commonly through euery paire of stocks, either for his drunkennesse, or his lecherie: and, beside, it is reported, you can lift, or nip a bounge, like a *Guire Coue*, if you want pence, and that you carrie your pack but for a coulour to shadow your other villanies. Well, howsoeuer, you are both knaues, and so be iogging. Well, quoth I, suppose the Iurie is almost full, I beleue we want not aboue three or four persons; looke you where they come to make vp the number; and they should be men of good disposition, for they seeme to be all of the countrey. Assoone as they came to vs, I met them, and told them the matter, and they were content. The one said he was a grasier, the other a farmer, the other a shephard to them both. What thinke you of these three? quoth I. Marry, said Veluet-breeches, two of them are honest men, but the other is a base knaue; butt is no matter, shuffle him in amongst the rest. Nay, by your leaue,

quoth Cloth-breeches, I will shuffle out these two, for they are the verie cormorants of the countrey, and deuoure the poore people with their monstrous exactions. And, first, I alledge against the grasier, That he forestalleth pastures and medow grounds for the feeding of his cattell, and wringeth leases of them out of poore mans handes; and, in his buieng of cattell, he committeth great vsury; for, if it proue a wet yeare, then he maketh hauocke, and selleth deere; if it be a drie yeare, then he buyeth cheape, and yet, hauing pasture, keepes them til he may come to his owne prise: he knoweth, as well as the butcher, by the feed of a bullocke, how much tallow he will yield, what his quarters will amount vnto, what the tanner will giue for the hide, nay, what the sowse wiues are able to make of the inwards; so that he sels it so deere to the butcher, that he can scarce liue of it; and therefore what subtilty the butcher vseth cometh from the grasier; so that I exempt him from the quest, as a bad member, and an il friend to Cloth-breeches. And, for you, maister farmer, you know how, through you, couetous landelords raise their rents; for, if a poore man haue but a plough land, if you see his pastures bear good grasse, and his earable ground good corne, and that he prospereth, and goeth forward on it, and prouideth and maintaineth his wife and seruants honestly, then

*Inuidus alterius rebus macrescit opimis,
Vicinumque pecus grandius vber habet.*

Then straight enuie pricks the farmer forward, and he bids the landelord farre more, then the poore man paies yearely for it; so that, if he be a tenant at will, he puts him out to begge in the street; or, when his lease comes out, he ouer loades him in the fines; and thus bloodsucketh he the poore for his owne priuate profite. Besides, the base chuffe, if he sees a forward yeare, and that corne is like to be plenty, then he murmureth against God, and swereth and protesteth he shal be vndone, respecting more the filling of his owne cofers by a dearth, than the profite of his countrey by a general plenty. Besides, sir, may it please you, when new corne comes into the market, who brings in to relieue the state? Not your maistership, but the poore husbandman, that wants pence; for you keepe it till the backe ende of the yeare; nay, you haue your garners, which haue corne of two or three yeare olde, vpon hope still of a deere yeare, rather letting the weasels eate it, then the poore should haue it at any reasonable price: so that, I conclude, you are a cormorant of the commonwealth, and a wretch that liues of the spoile of the needy; and so I leaue you to iet with the grasier. Marry, for the shephard, vnlesse it be, that he killeth a lambe now and then, and saies the fox stole him, I know little craft in his budget; therefore let him be among the honest men of the iury.

Well, Cloth-breeches, quoth I, you are very peremptory in your challenges; what say you, here comes three or four citizens, will any of these serue turn? I cannot tell, quoth he, till I know their names and conditions: With that, I stept afore the company, and inquired what

they were: the eldest of them, being a graue citizen, sayde he was a grocer, the rest his good and honest neighbors, a chandler, a haberdasher, a cloth worker, and two strangers, one a Walloon, the other a Dutchman. How like you of these, quoth I, to Veluet-breeches? Well enough, quoth he, for I am little acquainted with them, yet I knowe they fauour me, bicause I haue on a Sunday seene them all in their silkes. I marry, quoth Cloth-breeches, but they neuer get that brauery with honesty; for the clothworker his faultes were laide open before, when we had the draper in question, and therefore let him bee packing. For you chandler, I like not of your tricks, you are to conuersant with the kitchen stuffe wives; you, after your weeke or snaft is stiffened, you dip it in filthy drosse, and after giue him a coat of good tallowe, which makes the candles drop and wast away, to the great hindrance of the poore workemen that watcheth in the night. Beside, you pinch in your waights, and haue false measures, and many other knaueries that I omit; but this be sure, you shall not meddle in my matter: neither the haberdasher, for he trims vp olde feltes, and makes them very fayre to the cie, and faceth and edgeth them neatly, and then hee turnes them away to such a simple man as I am; and so abuseth vs with his coosenage. Beside, you buy gumd taffata, wherewith you line hats that will straight assunder as soone as it comes to the heate of a mans head. To be breefe, I am not well skild in your knaueries, but indeed you are too subtle for poor Cloth-breeches, and therefore you shall be none of the iurie. Marrie, the grocer seemes an honest man, and I am content to admit of him; only take this as a caueat by the way, that you buy, of the garbellers of spices, the refuse that they sifte from the marchant, and that you mix againe and sel it to your customers. Beside, in your beaten spices, as in pepper, you put in bay berries, and such drosse, and so wring the poore; but these are sleight causes, and so I ouerpasse them, and vouchsafe you to be of the quest. But I pray you, what be those two honest men? quoth the grocer, the one a Dutchman and a shoemaker, the other a Frenchman and a millainer in S. Martins, and sels shirts, bands, bracelets, iewells, and such prety toies for gentlewomen; Oh they be of Veluet-breeches acquaintance, upstarts as well as he, that haue brought with them pride and abuses into Englande: and first to the millainer, What toyces deuise he to feed the humor of the vpstart gentleman withall, and of fond gentlewomen? such fannes, such ouches, such brooches, such bracelets, such graundcies, such periwigs, such paintings, such ruffes and cuffes, as hath almost made Englande as full of proud foppies as Tyre and Sydon were. There is no scamster can make a bande or a shirt soe well as his wife; and why, forsooth? Bicause the filthy quene wears a craunce, and is a Frenchwoman, forsooth; where as our English women of the Exchange are both better workwomen, and will affoord a better peniworth. And so for the drunken Dutchman, this shoemaker, he and such as he is, abuseth the commonwealth, and the poore mechanickall men and handicrafts men of London; for our new vpstart fooles, of Veluet-breeches fraternity, liketh nothing but that the outlandish asse maketh. They like no shoo so well as Dutchman maketh, when our Englishe men passe them farre. And so for

chandlers and all other ocupations, they are wronged by the Dutch and French. And therefore, sith the commons hates them, they cannot be my frendes, and therefore let them be launching to Flushing, for they shall be no triers of my controuersie. Well, quoth I, now I suppose the iury is full, and we see no more comming, let vs call them and see howe manye we haue. So they appeared to their names, as followeth:

The Names of the Iury to be empanelled.

1 Knight.	13 Cutler.
2 Esquire.	14 Plaisterer.
3 Gentleman.	15 Saylor.
4 Priest.	16 Ropemaker.
5 Printer.	17 Smith.
6 Grocer.	18 Glouer.
7 Skinner.	19 Husbandman.
8 Diar.	20 Shephard.
9 Pewterer.	21 Waterman.
10 Saddler.	22 Waterbearer.
11 Ioyner.	23 Bellowsmender.
12 Bricklaier.	

What, is it not possible, quoth I, to haue one more, to make vp the four-and-twenty? As I was thus speaking, I espied, a far off, a certain kind of an ouerworne gentleman, attired in veluet and sattyn, but it was somewhat dropped and greasie; and bootes on his legges, whose soles waxed thin, seemed to complaine of their maister, which, treadinge thrift under his feet, had brought them vnto that consumption: he walked not as other men in the common beaten waye, but came compassing *Circum circa*, as if we had beene deuills, and he would draw a circle about vs, and at euery third steppe he looked backe, as if he were afrayde of a bayly or sericant.

After him followed two pert april equires, the one had a murrey clóth gowne on, faced downe before with gray conny, and laid thicke on the sleeues with lace, which he quaintly bare vp, to shew his white taffata hose and blacke silke stockings; a huge ruffe about his necke wrapt in his great head like a wicker cage; a little hat with brimes like the wings of a doublet, wherein he wore a jewell of glasse, as broad as the chancery seale: After him followed two boies in cloakes like butter flies, carrieng one of them his cutting sword of choller, the other his daunsing rapyer of delight. His camerard that bare him company, was a iollie light timberd iacke a napes, in a sute of watchet taffata cut to the skinne, with a cloake all to be dawbed with coloured lace: both he and my gowned brother seemed by their pase as if they had some sutes to mounsieur boots. At length comming neer, I might discern the first to be a poet, the second a player, the third a musition, *alias* the usher of a daunsing scoole. Well met, maister poet, quoth I, and welcome you frendes also, though not soe peticularly knowne. So it is, though none of you three be commonwealthsmen, yet vpon *urgent*

necessitie wee must be forced to employ you. We haue a iury to be empanelled immediatly, which one of you three must help to make vp euen he which approues himselfe the honestest man. They are all honest men and goodfellowes, quoth Veluet-breeches, therefore it is no great matter whether of them we choose.

The doctors doubt of that, quoth Cloth-breeches, for I am of a different opinion. This first, whome by his careless slouenlie gate at first sight I imagined to be a poet, is a wast good and an unthrift; that he is borne to make the tauernes richt and himselfe a begger: If he haue forty pounds in his purse together, he puts it not to usurie, neyther buies land nor marchandize with it, but a monthes commoditie of wenches and capons. Tenne pound a supper, why tis nothing, if his plough goes and his inkhorne be cleere: Take one of them worth twentie thousande pound and hang him. He is a king of his pleasure, and counts all other boores and pesants, that, though they haue money at command, yet know not, like him, how to domaneere with it to any purpose as they should. But, to speake plainely, I think him an honest man, if he would but liue within his compasse, and, generally, no mans foe but his owne. Therefore I hold him a man fit to be of my iurie. Nay, quoth Veluet-breeches, I haue more minde to these two, for this poet is a proud fellow, that, bicause he hath a little wit in his budget, will contemne and mistake vs that are the common sort of gentlemen, and thinke we are beholding to him, if he doe but bestowe a faire looke vpon vs. The player, and the usher of the dauncing schoole are plaine, honest, humble men, that play for a penny or an olde cast suit of apparell. Indeeede, quoth Cloth-breeches, you saye troth, they are but too humble, for they be so lowly, that they be base minded; I meane not in their lookes nor apparell, for so they be peacockes and painted asses, but in their course of life, for they care not how they get crowns, I meane how basely, so they haue them; and yet, of the two, I hold the player to be the better Christian, although he is, in his owne imagination, too full of self liking and self love, and is vnfit to be of the iurie, though I hide and conceale his faults and fopperies, in that I haue bene merrie at his sports; only this I must say, that such a plaine countrey fellow as my selfe, they bring in as clownes and fooles to laugh at in their plaie, whereas they get by vs, and of our almes the proudest of them all doth liue. Well, to be breefe, let him trot to the stage, for he shall be none of the iurie. And for you, Maister Usher of the dauncing schoole, you are a leader into all misrule; you instruct gentlemen to order their feet, when you driue them to disorder their manners; you are a bad fellowe, that stand upon your tricks and capers, til you make yong gentlemen caper without their lands; why, Sir, to be flat with you, you liue by your legges as a iugler by his hands, you are giuen ouer to the pumps and vanities of the world, and, to be short, you are a keeper of misrule, and a lewd fellow, and you shal be none of the quest. Why then, quoth I, you are both agreed that the poet is he that must make up the xxiiij. They answered both, he, and none but he. Then I, calling them all together, bad them laye their hands one the booke, and first I cald the knight, and after, the rest as they followed in order; then I gaue them their charge thus:

Worshipfull Sir, with the rest of the iury, whome we haue solicited of

choice honest menne, whose consciences will deale vprightlye in this controuersie, you and the rest of your company are heere upon your oath and oathes, to inquire whether Cloth-breeches haue done desseison unto Veluet-breeches, yea, or no, in or about London, in putting him out of franke tenement, wronging him of his right, and imbellishing his credit; if you finde that Cloth-breeches hath done Veluet-breeches wrong, then let him be set in his former estate, and allowe him reasonable damages. Vpon this they laid their handes on the booke and were sworne, and departed to scrutine of the matter by inqulrie amongst themselves, not stirring out of our sight, nor staieng long; but straight returned, and the knight for them all, as the formost, said thus: 'So it is that we haue with equity and confidence considered of this controuersy betweene Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches, as touching the prerogatiue of them both, which are most woorthy to be rightly resedent and have seison in frank tenement heere in Englande; and we do find that Cloth-breeches is by many hundred years more antient, euer since Brute, an inhabitant in this iland, one that hath beene in *diebus illis* a companion to kings, an equall with the nobility, a frend to gentlemen and yeomen, and a patron of the poore; a true subiect, a good house-keeper, and generally as honest as he is antient. Whereas Veluet-breeches is an vpstart come out of Italy, begot of pride, nursed vp by self-loue, and brought into this countrey by his companion newfanglenesse; that he is but of late time a raiser of rents, and an enimie in the commonwealth, and one that is not any way to be preferd in equitie before Cloth-breeches; therefore by general verdict wee adiudge Cloth-breeches to haue done him no wrong, but that he hath lawfully claimed his title of frank tenement, and in that we appoint him for euer to be resedent. At this verdict pronounst by the knight, all the standers by clapt their hands, and gaue a mighty shout, whereat I started and awaked, for I was in a dreame and in my bed, and so rose vpp, and writ in a merrie vaine what you haue hard.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

ON THE TRIAL OF

SPENCER COWPER, J. MARSON, E. STEVENS, & W. ROGERS,

That were tried at Hertford,

ABOUT THE MURDER OF SARAH STOUT,

Together with other Things relating thereunto. Quarto, containing twenty Pages.

To lead, and to give some Light into this Matter, 'it may be necessary to give some Account here, how, and upon what Occasion the Acquaintance of Spencer Cowper and Sarah Stout began.

THE ground and rise thereof took its original from her father, who at all elections promoted the interest of the Cowpers, to the utmost of his power; thro' which a great intimacy was created between the families of the Cowpers and the Stouts; which did not expire with the death of her father, for her brother, by the father's side, continued his respects to that family, and spared no pains to espouse and carry on their interest, in order to their being chosen parliament-men for that town. These obligations engaged the two families to a frequent conversation; inso-much that, when they were in the country, some or other of them were often together, as well the young women as the men; as appeared by what his brother's wife said at his trial, That she was but six days at Hertford the summer before, and that she saw her, to wit, S. Stout, every day. And great pretensions of love, and proffers of kindness, were expressed by the Cowpers in general, to the Stouts; and by this man, Spencer Cowper, and his wife in particular, to the deceased young woman; and thus it continued, in appearance, till the day that she was forced off the stage of this world.

When her father died, he left her sole executrix, and gave her most part of his personal estate: And a considerable part of it being in the brewers hands, and in malt, which she sold afterwards, she was often advising with one or other, how to dispose of this money, so as to have good securities for it.

About a year before her death, she went to London about those occasions, and lodged at a goldsmith's house: As soon as the Cowpers wives heard where she was, they made her a visit, both Spencer's and his brother's, and invited her to their houses.

Whilst she lodged at this goldsmith's house, he laid out several hundred pounds for her in malt-tickets, and other securities of the government; but she being not willing to lay out much that way, but rather on some mortgage of land, she went to a lawyer, with whom she was acquainted,

to see if he could dispose of some for her; he told her, he could help her to a mortgage for five-hundred pounds, but they would give but five in the hundred: So she takes it into consideration; but afterwards, she being at Captain Spencer Cowper's, and he falling into some discourse with her about her affairs, and understanding she had a considerable sum of money to put out, he proffered to do her all the kindness that lay in his power; and would help her to a mortgage of land three times the value of the money lent on it, at six in the hundred; and would see that the title should be good, and be as careful in it, as if it were his own concerns; and, if she wanted counsel at any time, either to put out, or to recover money that was owing her, or any thing else, for which she had occasion, he would give it her gratis, which from another must cost her some guineas: So she accepted of his proffer, and told him, she would depend on his advice, not questioning to have good security for her money. When she came home to her lodging, she told the goldsmith where she lodged, that now Capt. Cowper had promised to help her to securities, and he was to dispose of her money.

Soon after this, she went home to Hertford, and told her mother the same, and asked her, if she had any money to put out; if she had, it might go amongst her's, and her mother should have no trouble with it, for she would pay her the interest as it became due. Her mother then asked her, if she could so far confide in him, as to receive her money, to pay it, and to make the writings, and to look after the title, and all without the inspection of any body else? She said, Yes, she believed that he was a very honest man, and she thought she might trust him with more than she had to put out; and he being a man of repute, it was below him to wrong her. Then her mother, thinking the same, gave her one-hundred and fifty pounds to put amongst her's; which she hath never heard of since, but it is gone with the rest.

About a month after, Spencer Cowper came to Hertford, and took lodgings for his wife and family, and then brought his wife to give this young woman a visit, and to be further acquainted with her: After this, she seemed to love and like her company so well, that she said, She did not desire the company but of few, or none else in the town; and therefore would make no returns of their visits, till the week before she went home to London; and would come frequently two or three times in a week to visit her: And, when her husband was in the country, he sometimes would come with her, and thereby had the opportunity of discoursing her about her affairs.

When she had gathered in near what she intended he should put out, from the brewers, and others that were indebted to her, she writ a letter to London, to him; and, one of her acquaintance coming to visit her, before she had sealed it up, she bid her read it, which she did; in which letter she writ, That she had a thousand pounds to put out, and that several hundreds of it were then ready; and the rest, to make up that sum, would be so in a little time, or so soon as he could dispose of it advantageously for her.

And this, she several times, in discourse with this woman, hath told her, That he was buying an estate for her, in ground-rents, which he had recommended to her for an extraordinary pennyworth, and that it would

be sold for a thousand pounds, but he believed it was worth more; and, if he could not oblige her with it, he looked upon it to be so great a bargain, that he would buy it for his own use: And she also told her mother the same.

The next quarter sessions after this, which was the last before that assize, at which time her days were ended, Spencer Cowper came to Hertford, and, in the evening, he came and enquired for Mrs. Sarah Stout at her mother's house, where he was not at all expected to lodge, he not having lodged there for several years, viz. not since her father died; and, after about an hour's discourse with her, he said, he was destitute of a lodging, for his landlord Bates, where he used to lodge, was discomposed, and made a great noise, and he did not like to lodge there. So she thought she could do no less, in civility, than ask him to lodge at her mother's house, he having then brought her that mortgage-deed, for two hundred pounds, about which he made such a long discourse at his trial; which money had been carried publickly to him some time before: At the receiving of which security, she seemed to be very much pleased. But she having told him, that she intended to reserve some part of her portion for her own particular use, in case she lived to marry, which she would put out for that end, she having enough besides; he advised her then to keep it private from all persons, else her end would be frustrated; which, in all likelihood, he thought she had, and that none had known her mind in that particular but himself, he having advised her to privacy.

Indeed Spencer Cowper did suggest, in a case lately presented to some of the members of parliament, That his prosecutors had not the impudence to suggest at the trial, though put in mind of it, that what they accused him of, was done for the sake of gain. It is true, he did demand a proof that he had any of the deceased young woman's money in his hands; and it cannot be supposed that he would conceal it, if he knew there was any one alive that could make positive proof of it; for then it would have been in vain to have denied it: But her mother did then attempt to speak what she knew in that particular, and other things too, but was stopped several times, and not suffered to speak, unless she would swear; which he knew well enough her persuasion would not admit her to do.

The next thing observable is, the same woman, beforementioned, which saw, and read, her letter sent to him, which gave an account what money she intended he should dispose of for her, and that she had several hundred pounds of it then ready, she being with her one day in her chamber, about two weeks before her death, she bid her look in a drawer there, and bring her the money therein; upon receiving it, Am not I very rich? said she: The other demanding the reason of that question, Because, said she, it is all the money that I am now mistress of; which was only two guineas, and a little silver, notwithstanding she had so many hundred pounds in her possession not long before: And, about the same time, she being in discourse with another person, about her concerns, she said, That Spencer Cowper had a great deal of her monies in his hands, and that he was to have more: And her relations do miss about a thousand pounds; and they know of none she disposed

of any otherwise; after she writ that letter to him. And when her mother asked him, before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, what money he had in his hands of her daughter's? He said, none; and also said, he thought his reputation would have secured, or carried him above suspicions or examinations of this kind.

But it may easily be gathered who carried her money away, for a great deal of it was in gold; and that very morning he went away, when he had lodged at her mother's house, he very much importuned her to come to his house at London; and told her, how glad his wife would be of her company, and used many arguments to persuade her to it; and at length said, he would not go out of the house, till she had promised him to come: but she refused to promise him, and said, she did not know when she should come to London. This discourse was in the hearing of one that will evidence it upon oath.

The week before that assize, she received a letter from his wife, which was writ after the usual manner, as she had several not long before, very earnestly inviting her to her house at London, with high expressions of love; and so much the more she desired her company then, because she believed they should not come to lodge at Hertford that summer: and in that letter tells her, that they must expect her husband at their house at the assize; the which she told her mother, and others, who read the letter. This letter Spencer Cowper confessed to the coroner's inquest, that he ordered his wife to write it for his lodging at her mother's house; but, when he was examined by the Lord Chief Justice Holt, he then denied it, and said, his wife writ no letter: but her maid, Sarah Walker, being present, told him, his wife did send a letter, and that she herself took it in of the post-man, and gave it to her mistress; so then he could not deny that there was a letter sent.

And accordingly he came, and sent his horse thither; and being asked, before he rid from the door, whether he would come to dinner? He said, he was not certain, but would send word: but, her mother and she staying long, and he not sending, they sent her maid, to see whether he would come or no; who then quickly came, and dined there; and when he went from thence, the young woman, S. S. going to the door with him, asked, if he thought to lodge at their house? He said, yes, he would come and lodge at their house. This she said as soon as he was gone; and then bid the maid go get his bed ready. At night, when he came, her mother being in the room with her, he fell into some discourse remote from any thing of her daughter's business; and, after some time, called for pen and ink, to write a letter to his wife, although it was not post-night, nor did any carrier go next day. When he went to write, her mother and she went out of the room, and staid a considerable time; but, it growing late, the young woman went in, to see if he had done, and if he would have any supper; and what he desired he had. Her mother went not in again, because she knew her daughter expected he would give her some account of her money, and have brought her security for it, as he did the sessions before, for her two hundred pounds; and she, finding that he would not speak of it before her, would not interrupt them, but gave her daughter time and opportunity to speak to him. What discourse they

had, is not known; but, sure enough, they differed about it, for he had writ a receipt in full, for use-money he paid her then, which lay on the table, and was never signed by her, although he pressed her to it several times, as he confessed to the coroner's inquest, and asked her, if she was lazy? Yet, still she refused to sign it, which plainly shewed her dissatisfaction, and that there was more due to her, else she would never have refused it.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, she called her maid to make a fire in his chamber, and to warm his bed, in his hearing; and while the maid was doing it, he went out; her mother, hearing the door clap, went into the parlour, to ask her what the reason was of his going out, when his bed was warming, and, to her surprise, found she was gone too, and never saw her alive afterwards. She admired what the meaning of this should be, knowing that she never used to go out so late; neither could she imagine with her they should be gone; but after some consideration, did think he might tell her, that the securities she expected were to be signed and sealed somewhere in the town, and that he had persuaded her to go out upon that account, and so was in expectation of them quickly. The maid, that was warming his bed, staid, expecting him to come up, thinking, when she heard the noise of the door, he was going to carry his letter somewhere; which, it is thought by some, was his pretence in going out, thereby to draw her to the door, to let him out; for there is no ground to believe she went any farther with him willingly; so they sat up all night, both her mother and the maids, expecting them every minute, not knowing where to look for her at that time of night; but, if they had, would never have gone to the river, where she was found floating the next morning, for there was no manner of circumstance, either in her words, or actions, that did give them any cause to think, she would drown herself, or that she ever had any thing of that nature in her thoughts.

No sooner was she taken out of the river, but it was spread, by his party, both in city and country, that she was with child, and had drowned herself to avoid the shame. That she was not drowned, is clear unto all, who are impartial, and have had a true account of the case, either at the trial, or otherwise, as it plainly appeared by those settlements of blood, and bruises, about her head and neck, and on one of her arms; and her having no water in her, but was empty and lank, when she was first taken out of the water.

The evidence was very full and plain against them, and the judgments of the doctors stand firm and good, and is not, nor ever can be, disproved, by all the evasions and distinctions of voluntary drowning, and drowning by accident; nor by all those little tricks made use of by those on the other side, by drowning, and half drowning of dogs, and other such like experiments, whereby they have only exposed themselves. But when she was taken up again, after she had been buried six weeks, in order to be cleared of that infamous report, which then was given out, for the only reason, why she drowned herself, to wit, her being with child; then nothing could be more plain, than that she was not drowned, but came by her death some other way, as the

doctors and surgeons did give their opinion, upon oath, before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, and at the trial also.

And it is very probable, that these three gentlemen, J. M. E. S. W. R. knew very well how she came by her death, whose lives Spencer Cowper seemed to be more tender of, than of his own, by their discourse that night her death was, about an hour after she was missing; for, as soon as they came into their lodgings at John Gurrey's, they could not forbear, but began to ask him several questions about her. Although we do not understand, that either of them had any former knowledge of her; yet Marson pretended, that he had made love to her, and that she had cast him off; but, said he, a friend of mine is even with her by this time; then one of the others asked him, if the business was done? 'If it is not,' said he, 'it will be done this night.' 'Yes,' says the other, 'her business is done: Sarah Stout's courting days are over.' What could have been spoke plainer, except they had said, she is dead? This was positively proved against them. Also, the said Marson, when he came into his lodging, was in a great sweat, and called for a fire to dry his feet and shoes, they being wet both without and within; and pretended, that he was just then come from London, it being then between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, whereas it was proved, that he came into town two or three hours before. And, when Marson asked the other two, what they had spent that day? One of them asked, what was that to him? He was to have forty or fifty pounds for his share. The said Marson, also pulling out money out of his pocket, swore that he would spend it all next day, for joy the business was done. And whereas they say in their case to the parliament, they are men in good business at London; if they are so, it had been well, if they had staid in it; for, sure enough, they had no good business at Hertford, neither did they pretend to any at all, but said, they came only to see fashions, to the woman where they lodged.

And it is very observable, how highly displeased Spencer Cowper was, at her being taken up, and how he earnestly besought the judge, that what the doctors did, and said then, might not be allowed, or taken for evidence, alledging, that she ought not to have been taken out of her grave without legal authority, for private inspection of parties, altogether amongst themselves; whereas there ought to have been some on both sides, he says, lest they should have broke her skull, and so the gentlemen should have been trepanned; and yet Dr. Camlin, Sir William Cowper's doctor, was with them all the while, as Dr. Coatsworth told the judge, and was sent for on purpose to take off any such objection; and did set his hand to the certificate, of her clearness of that scandal, with the rest of the doctors: which is as followeth:

WE, whose names are here-under written, having examined the body of Mrs. Mary Stout, deceased, do find the uterus perfectly free and empty, and of the natural figure and magnitude, as usually in virgins;

we found no water in the stomach, intestines, abdomen, lungs, or cavity of the thorax.

John Dimsdal, sen.
William Coatsworth,
Samuel Camlin,
Robert Dimsdal, M. D.
John Dimsdal, jun.
Daniel Phillips, M. D.

Hertford, April 28, 1699.

Copia vera.

When all mouths were stopped, and put to silence in that matter, and no reason could be given why she should drown herself; then S. Cowper was at a loss, and knew not what to pretend, why she should do so; till, to use his own words, some heads were laid together, to contrive, that she was in love with him.

In order to this design, those letters were invented, which were produced in court, for not a word was ever heard of them, before she was taken up again, and a witness was provided, to prove the receiving of them both; but his witness had forgot the year, when the first was writ, and said, it was March was twelve-month, till his memory was refreshed by the second, which was dated but four days after, and it seems they had forgotten to date that letter, so as to give it any credit at all. This was that which he calls that importunate letter, by which he was invited down to lodge at that gentlewoman's house, which was dated the ninth of March.

Now, if her maid Sarah Walker's evidence is observed, she begins with—'My Lord, on Friday before the last assize, my Mistress Stout received a letter from Mr. Cowper's wife, to let her know we must expect Mr. Cowper at the assize; and accordingly we expected him, and provided for his coming.'

This was the same day, on which he says he received her letter of invitation, that she received his wife's, by which he invited himself down; so that, if she had really writ that letter, his wife's must needs be writ and sent the day before her's could come to his hands.

And, how those letters should be known to come from Sarah Stout, is very unaccountable; for, if there had been such a person as Mrs. Jane Ellan, at that coffee-house he mentions (which, upon inquiry, we cannot bear there was) what had he to do to open her letters? And how could he tell that they were for him, and came from Sarah Stout? Seeing they were not directed to him, nor either S. Cowper, or S. Stout, within them, but only Sir.

To prove these letters to be her hand, he brings his friend Marshall to shew letters, which he pretended she writ to him, as false as the other; in one of which there was thanks for his songs. It is very unlikely that she should desire, or accept of songs, one, who was never heard to sing a song in her life; and from Marshall too, whose courtship she never received. For he himself said, at the trial, that, upon very little trial, she gave him a very fair denial; and Spencer Cowper

also said, to the coroner's inquest, that Marshall told him, she always gave him the repulse.

This confirms the falseness of that story which he brings to introduce his letters; and, although she is gone, and not in a capacity to defend herself, yet the woman, who, he says, walked with them, is alive, and doth affirm it is not true; which is as followeth:

He says, It happened, one evening, that Mrs. Stout and another, and Mr. Marshall and he, were walking together; and, Mr. Marshall and the other being a little before, she took that opportunity to speak to him, in such terms, as he confessed it surprised him; and said, she did not think he had been so dull. He desiring to know wherein his dulness did consist, she asked, if he thought she would marry Marshall? He said, yes; else she had done ill in what she had done. She said, No; she thought it might serve to divert the censures of the world, and favour her acquaintance with him.

This discourse, if it had been true, would have argued, that she kept Marshall company, and made him believe she would have him; whereas, it seems, she had never seen him in all her life but once, and that was but two or three days before, and they were not so much acquainted then, as to speak one to the other; and therefore there could be no ground for such discourse, if she had walked alone with S. Cowper; which she did not; for, the two young women having been taking a walk in the field, as they were coming home, they met Spencer Cowper and Marshall; and they both turned, and walked back before, and the two young women together behind them; and she had no private discourse at all with S. Cowper; neither had they four any walk together afterwards in the field, or elsewhere.

These letters, which were ushered in by this discourse, he would have it thought, that the shewing of them was so tender a point with him, and that he did it with so much reluctancy and compulsion, that nothing else should have forced him to have brought them on the stage, if he had not those three innocent gentlemen to defend (surely they had greatly obliged him): and he solemnly protested, That, if he had stood there singly upon his own life, on that evidence, he would not have done it; when, at the same time, and with the same breath, he himself proved it false: For he says, upon the receiving of them, he shewed one to his brother, and both to Marshall, and they both saw it and read it; that was the last, the Friday before that assize, when neither his own life, nor his three gentlemen's, was in any danger; for she was then alive. And, if there had been such letters of her's, he could not have shewed them to one that, in all probability, would have exposed or defamed her more than Marshall, a repulsed lover, a kinsman of his wife's, unto whom he endeavoured to betray her: who, upon some slight or disgust she gave him, told Spencer Cowper, that, if he was his friend, he would shoot her: this she told both her own, and her mother's maid. And also, as it is observed in the Hertford letter, the printers, who, with the trial in short-hand, not having taken

those letters, were favoured with the copies of them, to be exposed to the world.

Then there was an account given to the judge, in the court, of his going to Deptford, and was said to be told his father at dinner, in her hearing, about a year and a half before; which put her into a swoon; and the use that was made of this, was to render her as bad as possible, and make the world believe how deeply she was in love with him. But it is matter of admiration, to most that hear it, that he did not tell his wife, as well as his father and brother, how fond she was of him. If it had been true, surely that would have diverted her from frequenting her company, so often as she did all the Summer following, as is before mentioned; which all the neighbourhood can witness. If she was such a person, as they now render her, why did they seek and desire her company, as they did? For she hath several times said, she never sought theirs.

And also, it is as much to be wondered at, that so chaste a man, as he would appear to be, and one in so flourishing a condition, as he says he is; should order his wife to write, or have any thoughts of lodging at a house, for saving the charge of a guinea (for so he said at his trial, that his good husbandry, to save a guinea, had brought all that mischief upon him) where so lewd a woman, as he would have her thought to be, did dwell: If he had been really invited, which, sure enough, he was not, but invited himself; and so she told her mother before he came.

But it is plainly to be understood, that the respect she had for him, was not as for one that she believed to be viciously inclined, but as for an honest man, as appeared by the trust she reposed in him: and also his being related to that family, whom she, as well as her relations, did so highly value and esteem, that she could have put not only her money, but her life, into any one of their hands.

Note, She little thought what sort of a man she had to deal with; she was so deceived by his seeming sobriety, when in her company; and the great pretended kindness to her, by him and his wife, both for her own sake and her father's; she could not imagine, that a branch of that family could have touched a hair of her head, to have hurt her, or have wronged her of one farthing: She was so honest and plain-hearted, and so innocent herself, and so far from deserving any ill usage from him, or any of that family, or indeed from any else, that she, as well as her relations, could have served them to the utmost of their power: but what returns of kindness have been made, and how she hath been treated and defamed, now she is gone, and not in a capacity to defend or answer for herself, let the world judge.

But it is evident and plain, that most, or chiefly what he made use of at his trial, to defend himself and his three gentlemen, when he was not upon his oath, is proved false, even by what himself did swear, when he was examined by the coroner's inquest: for when they asked him, if he knew any thing that troubled, or put her into a discontent, or discerned she was melancholy, or knew any one she was in love with, or any cause, why she should drown herself? Unto all which, he

answered, No, upon his oath; he discerned nothing of melancholy, neither knew he any that she was in love with: he knew one Marshall that was in love with her, but she had none for him, but always gave him the repulse; and she was a very modest woman, and he knew no cause why she should drown herself.

And yet, at this trial, when both he and his witnesses pretended to know her to be so melancholy, as was near to a distraction: and this depth of melancholy, he would insinuate, was for love of him; and therefore she drowned herself.

Now, what can be more contradictory, or more fully proved that which he spoke at his trial to be false, than this, which he himself did swear? And this was evidenced by two of the coroner's inquest, and several more would have done the same, if they had been suffered to speak, but, as the trial relates, they were stopped.

Many observations might be made, and instances given, to clear her reputation; and to prove the falseness of what was cast upon her: as in particular, her so earnestly inviting an acquaintance of her's, who had kept her company that afternoon, and used to lie with her sometimes, to stay and lie with her that night, her death was; and she telling her, she could not well stay then; she engaged to come and dine with her the next day, and told her, what was for dinner; desiring her company, all day after, she not intending to go from home; which she promised to do.

And it is very observable, from the beginning of the trial to the end, what shifts and devices he is forced to make use of, to drill out time that there might not be enough for witnesses on the other side to be heard; and also, his endeavouring to baffle the evidence against him: as, first, above twenty frivolous questions he asked her maid about poison, which she bought to poison a mischievous dog which haunted the house: and, if he could, by any means confuse, or put her out, if she had not had truth on her side, and gladly would have picked something out of it, if he could have told what.

Also, the many impertinent witnesses he calls to prove his intention to lodge at Barford's, and sending for his bag thither, and lodging his things there, which it seems was not at all expected by them; for John Barford's wife said, upon her oath, she believed Spencer Cowper did not intend to lodge at her house; but was surprised, when he sent to her, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, to get his bed ready, and came before it was quite done.

And the next night after, when he was sent for by the coroner's inquest, to give an account where he left her: he said, in the parlour where they sat. And being asked, if he did not hear her bid her maid warm his bed? He said, he thought she had meant her own bed. But it is very unlikely, that she would go to bed, and leave him sitting there; or that, when he went out, she should sit still, and not light him to the door. Now, for a man of his education and figure in the world to go away at that time of night, when he knew there was a fire in his chamber, and his bed was warming, and let himself out in the dark (as he must, if he left her in the parlour) and say nothing to any body, it certainly looks very darkly.

And then, his sending for his horse three times, to her mother's house, the night after her death, before he was examined by the coroner's inquest, and would have gone out of town then, if he could have had him, as he confessed to the lord chief justice Holt; but, at his trial, he said, he sent for him, for fear the lord of the manor should seize him.

Also, when it was taken notice of at his trial, that he never came after that night her death was, to give her mother any account, where he left her, or, in any wise, to give her satisfaction: To this he answered, it might be thought strange for him to come and visit a woman, that he never had the least knowledge of; and yet he had several times lodged at her house, when her husband was living: and that night also, that he was examined by the coroner's inquest, when they asked him, if he discerned her daughter to be melancholy? He said, no, only he thought she was not so free in-discourse at dinner, as sometimes he had seen her; for most of the discourse then was between her mother and him. Surely, he will be hard put to it to reconcile himself in this discourse.

Thus, in short, upon the whole matter, it may be concluded, that the defence he made for himself, and his three gentlemen, and the most material things he made use of, whereby they got off, and were acquitted, were proved false out of his own mouth, before he went out of the court, as it may be seen in the trial, where the counsellor for the king says thus:

'My Lord, said he, we insist upon it, that this is a different evidence from what Mr. Cowper gave to the coroner's inquest; for then he said, he knew none she was in love with; nor any cause why she should do such an extravagant action, as to drown herself: But now he would make the whole scheme of things to turn upon a love-fit.' And then he moved the court to give leave to call several persons of quality, and good repute, who were there present, to speak to her reputation, in contradiction to the letters produced, declaring, that he believed the whole town would do the same. Then the judge said, they would grant, and did not question that. So there was no proof, as to that particular.

A

SPEECH MADE BY QUEEN ELISABETH,

(OF FAMOUS MEMORY)

In Parliament, Anno 1598; and in the thirty-fifth Year of her Reign,

CONCERNING THE

SPANISH INVASION.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS kingdom hath had many wise, noble and victorious princes; I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude, or any other virtues: but saving the duty of a child, that is, not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity, and justice, I will compare with any prince that ever you had, or shall have.

It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but, though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained: and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess.

Yet the king of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars; in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be, for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury: but I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong that he hath done me.

I fear not all his threatenings; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me; for, though he come against me, with a greater power than ever was, his invincible navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some, upon the sea-coast, forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance: but, I swear unto you, if I knew those persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

The subsidies, you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good wills with them; but if the necessity of the time, and your

* The Queen protests she will punish cowards.

B 3

BACCHVS BOVNTIE.

preservations, did not require it, I would refuse them: but, let me tell you, that the sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a princess to have so much always lying in her coffers, for your defence in time of need, and not to be driven to get it, when we should use it.

You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your countries, I require you to take care that the people be well armed, and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straightly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living laws, when we have put life into them.

BACCHVS BOVNTIE:

DESCRIBING THE

DEBONAIRE DEITIE OF HIS BOUNTIFULL GODHEAD,

IN THE ROYALL OBSERVANCE OF HIS

GREAT FEAST OF PENTICOST.

Necessarie to be read and marked of all, for the Eschuing of like Enormities.

Facundi calices, quem non fecere disertum?

By Philip Foulface of Ale-foord, Student in good Fellowship.

Printed at London, for Henry Kyrkham, and are to be solde at his shop, at the little North-dore of Pauls Church, at the signe of the Black-boy. 1593,
Quarto in black letter, containing three sheets.

The Intention of this pamphlet was to expose the Sin of Drunkenness and the folly and danger of those who give themselves up to that chargeable, silly, and health-destroying vice. A vice, in which a man takes the utmost pains to drown his own reason, to commence a fool, the object of a sober man's resentment and reproach, and to ruin both his own estate and constitution. And it plainly demonstrates, that drunkenness is not the peculiar vice of the present age, as some pretend, but that strong liquor was both as intoxicating, and as much abused in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, as in our days: Otherwise it could not have given occasion to the severe satyr of this ancient treatise; which, I apprehend, may be as useful now to be published, as it was thought necessary to forewarn the temptations, as to anatomise the vice, by its reputed Author Mr. Philip Foulface, who, it appears, was a miracle of his age, for as much as he was a reformed drunkard; and, though he could not rub the alewife's score out of his carbuncled face, was resolved to be no more ensnared with the goodness of her ale.

To the right worthie and renowned Roister, Sir Richard Swash, Lord and Master on Mount Maluorn, cheefe Controller on Salisburie-plaine, Keeper of Accounts in the Cart-way, cheefe forester in the forest of Dalamere, high Generall of the Downes, Baron of Birdlip-hill, Sergeant of the Shoares and Sea-side, and Vicar of the Vallies: Your dayly Orator, Philip Foulface, wisheth all Health, Wealth, Might, long Life, and prosperous Successe, in all your Affaires and Enterprises where so euer.

WHEN Iupiter's head was great with childe, and the time of trauaile nere at hand: he skorning to complaine, yet put to his shiftes, was faine to send for Vulcan the Smith, to crase his crowne with a downedriuing blow; not only to cause the swelling to cease, but also to provide passage for the birth of his babe. Which thing when Vulcan had performed, in giuing him a sound pat on the pate, out starts Pallas at the opening of his head, and danced before him so maiden-like, that the present sight, so pleasant, expelled all former paines in the birth. Euen so (most worthie sir) when the confused chaos of this matter following was first inhabitant in my witlesse head: then feared I no such swellings, as since I did feele, nor regarded those throwes, which now are ouerpast. Neuerthelesse, when my braines fell to their busines, and began to beate as though my head had been ready to burst, disdaining withall the help of Mother Crackfart the midwife; Iuno Lucina was as deafe as a dishclout, so that Volens Nolens I betooke myselfe to the hearbe Hellebore, whose pleasant operation produced so present a purgation, that forthwith there followed a most speedie deliuerance, excluding cares, renuing ioy. This young impe thus borne, being brought to the font, was named Bacchvs Bovnty. Which Bovaty I willingly offer vnto your worthines; doubting not at all, but that you will highly accept of him; not only because he is a bonny boy, and the gift of a welwiller: but also because he was begot by Bacchvs, your wel-beloued friend; conceaued by me, and nourished euer since with the iuice of the grape. From Ale-foarde, this ninth of December, Anno Dom, 1592.

Bounden to your Bignes,

PHILIP FOULFACE.

Philip Foulface to the courteous Reader.

SO many men (some say) so many mindes,
The brauest Gnatho cannot but offend:
Mens mindes doe wauer like vnconstant windes,
Hard then sometimes to please our dearest friend.
Some hungrie curre may bark aboue the rest,
But please, or displease, I haue done my best.

He, that delights to heare of mortall warres,
Is too austere to reade this little booke :
Bnt he that ioyes to heare of good ale iarres,
I licence him with leaue, herein to looke.
Here (gentle reader) maicst thou finde great sport
To ease thy cares, if hither thou resort.

And welcome all, which reade and meane none ill,
No further ill than I, and welcome all :
A mery minde to mirth enclineth still,
If waightie causes doe not backward call.
Be mery then : Reade here, and doe not spare,
And welcome still : Here is no better Fare.

PHILIP FOULFACE.

Quint. *Allicit externas præsuaui nectare gentes.*

Polit. ————— *non Mollia pleno*
————— *Desunt vina cado.*

THE groutheaded Græcians, especiallie the annoiuted Achiues, I meane the Beziladistes, those deuout doctors of Lob Libers canne; these (I say) with their knight-like crue, thought it an high assumption to be as fathers in a frolicke feaste, or as base borne brothers, in bickering with the broth of bountifull Bacchvs. Which coppernosed crue, the knuckle-debunions of Rome, so assaulted with a fresh canuazado the citie of Vinosa, that the alarum of the Romans brake nectars necke, head, and shoulders; insomuch that Vesta in great outrage rushed out of a rocke, and dedicated to sweet father Bacchvs as crimson a colour as was then scene in her peereles peticote, most fragrantlie fuming vp vnto Bacchvs; and likewise into the nostrills of all his nosled nouises wheresoeuer.

This newfound sacrifice, in this sort offered to this bursten-bellied God, lent such a sweet scent to the rest of the gods and goddesses, especially to platter faced Jupiter, that presently he appeased their furie, mitigated the afore offered iniurie, renewed nectar to former iollitie, and sent out Mercurie as ambassadour, to parle with Neptune, rector of the seas; that Triton, his trustie trumpeter, should sound along from shoare to shoare throughout the whole worlde the blessed bountie of Bacchvs.

Mercurie discharging himselfe, and Triton by commaundement of his king, tied to the aforesaid chardge, with clattering clang he thundred out such ioyfull newes, that not only Mount Ætna yeelded forth fierie flames in signification of sodaine ioyes; but also Olympus merily mounted, in hope that Permessus, that pleasant spring, should bee somewhat tainted, with the sweet taste of so louely a liquor.

The decreed tidings of Iupiter are worde by worde in effect, as followe:

Pass, Mercury, to Neptunes brinish bowers,
 My wish, my will, in hast to him vnfolde;
 Let Triton scale those hiest fleeting towers,
 In Bacchvs praise let all his tale be tolde.
 Let him commaund, the curists change their lines,
 In vaine strives he, with Bacchvs brood which striu-

The Bacchanals henceforth shall beare the sway,
 With help of hypocrites they shall doe well;
 This gift I giue, it shall be as I say,
 Their forwardnes in fraies shall beare the bell.
 I giue them right to sweare it out with wordes,
 I giue them might to swash it out with swordes.

I will that these the auncient order holde,
 Th' order of Knighthood neuer to decay;
 The greatest soakers shal be least controulde,
 Each Tyro shall of Nectar make his pray:
 And whose conceipts God Bacchvs deemes the best
 Shall haue a rich reward aboue the rest.

Come, Ganimedes, come with chrystal cups,
 Some nappie Nectar bring me here in place;
 Accurst be he which Nectar only sups,
 And turns not ouer pot by pot apace.
 Accurst be he which after Ceres gapes,
 And shunneth to sucke the sugred sappe of grapes.

In griefe liue they with carkes of cares opprest,
 Which leaue their liquor and away depart,
 Till Bacchvs haue them crowned with his crest,
 Whose force expelles all sorrowes from the hart.
 With Viuat Bacchvs, let the Ocean ring,
 The same let Africk, Asja, and Europe sing.

Now Echo, the babbling nymph, at the sound of Triton, hauing intelligence hereof, resounded this decree so mightilie towards the maine, that it easily entered into the hearing of all the inhabitants in euery haue. And euen as, at the bellowing of the bonnie white bull, the ardent heates of Pasiphae were more and more increased; in so much that one horn of his head was more precious in her precise imagination, than all her former sacrifices dedicated as dainties to delectable Diana: Euen so as soone as the brute of most bountifull Bacchvs was blazed abroad, Tom Tysay, an English tapster, well-nere choaked with a marueilous drie heat, which he of late had got by lifting ouerlong at old Mother Redcaps*; this Tom Tysay, I say, with a wel tried tankard trailing at his tail: the more he thought of Bacchvs Bovntie, the more he desired to try the experience: and, the

* At the Sign of Old Mother Redcap, in Highgate Road, formerly much noted for good ale.

further he laboured after his liking, the longer he lusted after his liquor; wishing, at euery foote, the worthie presence of so gracious a God.

Thus Tom Tysay, not only in hope to tippie with the best, but trusting to merite a further rewarde, fell flat downe on both his mari-boones, holding up his hands on hie towards the heauens, and made his orison to the renowned God Bacchvs, as hereafter followeth:

BONNY Bacchvs, God of wines,
 Cheefe maintainer of our vines,
 Sucker the soule, in greefe which pines;
 Water to drinke, I hold not good,
 Thy iuice, Oh Bacchvs, breeds best blood;
 Nectar (good Bacchvs) Nectar send,
 Braue Bacchvs, do thy bounty lend:
 Vnto Tom Tysay stand a frend,
 And so thy fame shall neuer ende.
 Nectar, sweet Nectar, is my wish,
 Behold my tankard, and my dish.
 As for my plate, I haue it solde,
 And for pure broath my money tolde;
 Yet once againe let me beholde,
 Euery morning warme or colde,
 Nappie liquor, stout and bolde,
 Commended and boasted,
 In a pot trimly toasted,
 The pots feet finely roasted
 In a worthie fire.
 And first of all for my part,
 To besiege and sacke the quarte,
 Till it warme me well at hart,
 And then doe it feele
 Sincke downe into my heele:
 And so next to take the paines
 To passe vpward through the vaines,
 And soake withall into these braines,
 Which witles now, alas! remains
 For want of good liquor.

Scarse had he ended this his petitory prattle, but Bacchvs, as willing to lend him a long eare to heare, as hee to open a wide mouth to aske; and as desirous to fetch him in for a footman, as to turne him off his trusse; and as ready to feed him as fat as a foole; as to teach him the tricke to shue the goose, presently he roused vp his moisty head, and from a muddie muse so cleered vp his cherilike countenance, that the maiestic of his nose seemed as the beames of the sunne shining along throughout the coastes of Archadie. But, missing the sight of him whom he lately heard, forthwith he tumbled upon his tunne, and standing bolt vp-right, through the merueilous influence which to him was imparted by Euriopazeus; he saw Tom Tysay in an exceeding

quandary, insomuch that Bacchvs, for very pittie, through the might of his deitie, so curiously soared through the airie region, that in a moment he descried this perplexed tapster, and drawing nere him, he hailed him after this maner.

Whereas, (my friend) the groanes are so great and grieuous, that they haue ascended the hiest cloudes, which cry out, in thy behalfe, for my accustomed clemency, and pierced withall into my bountifull tunne, which now, troubled with the sharpnes of thy speech, threatens out a danger to her former swauitie: behold; Bacchvs, Bacchvs, I say, thy best beloued God, ready prest to performe what thou art willing to demaunde.

Say on therefore boldly, and fear not; and withall know this, that Bacchvs hath not only a care to keep his clients in safety, but great cause (no doubt) to preserue them in felicity: for who is he that hath euer heard, much lesse scene, that any of the Gods, at any time, so tendred the welfare of their suppliants, as from age to age, both dayly and hourelly, hath been scene in me. The tyranny of Iupiter is testified by his threatning thunderbolte; the malice of Mars is expressed by his bloody blade; the outrage of Pallas is dissembled by the booke, but evidently perceiued by the piercing launce; the broyles of Pan are performed by the crooke; the fury of Syluanus is known by the clubbe; the dismal decrees of Diana are noted by her dartes; and, to be brieft, all the other gods and goddesses, Hercules like, are cloyed with such cholericke clubbes, that their mouthes taste nothing sauings wordes of wrath, and their deeds seem vndecent, unlesse they smel of reuengé.

But Bacchvs, that braue god, whom thou seest here present, abhorreth that his wightes should bee wearied with the waight of such vnweildie weapons. No, no; I beare (as thou maiest see) a beautifull braunch of goodly grapes, in token of joy and gladnes: whereas the terrour of other gods, to the griefe of many, doth prognosticate sorrow and sadnes.

Now therefore, tapster, if thou wilt be as ready to make trial of my bovntie, as I willing to inuite thee to my banquet, beholde, Whitson- weeke is nere at hand; then are my feasts called Bacchanalia*; then resort together the whole band of Bacchvs in their chiefest brauerie, amongst whome, if it so please thee, thou shalt be entertained, as a guest most welcome to Bacchvs.

Tom Tyspay hearing so courteous a discourse, as a man marueilously amazed for joy, stood a long time staring in Bacchvs face, not able, poore soule, as then, to make a reply. But Bacchvs, a perfect phisitian, willing to preserue his patient in so pitifull a plight, reuiued his spirites with the sweet moysture of his tunne, and refreshed his braines with the iuice of his grapes. Hereat Tom Tyspay, awaking as it were from a drousie slumber, yeilded to his god, Bacchvs, a tub full of thanks, and promised at the time appointed to bee there with the

* i. e. Drunken feasts; and truly whoever observes the rioting of the London-youth at White-sontide, at Greenwich, or Wandsworth, &c. will be soon convinced, that Bacchus still keeps his Pentecost at London.

first. Yet, because hee knew not the place, hee demanded of him thus:

Sith your worship's godhead hath vouchsafed to commaund my companie to so famous a feast; let it not displease your maiestie to put me in memorie of the place; else, by the Masse†, I promise you, I feare mee, I shall neuer finde out your honours house: I pray you, Sir, how do you call it?

To resolute this doubt, quoth Bacchvs, vnderstand therefore, that my mansion-house is called Alepotto, scituate on the south-side of Quaffington, enquire for mee at the signe of the Scarlet Nose, and from thence shalt thou bee set aright into Beerebury-lane, so that, being there, thou canst not misse to finde out my palace, for thou shalt plainly see it before thine eyes.

Hereat Tom Tysay made a long legge, vowing to be there without faile; and Bacchvs, willing to dismisse him, blessed the tapsters tankard with part of his bovntie, and thereupon departed.

Thus the tapster in great haste hies him home as mery as any hare in the moneth of March. For whereas, before this so comfortable a conference, he was so lazie, that euery foote seemed to haue a leaden heele; euerie legge in such a quandarie, as though they had tooke some new acquaintance with the goute; yea his very head so heauie, as if it had bene harnessed in an horse-nightcap; and his whole bodie so distempered, as though he had bene prickt to the very heart with a belclapper. Beholde, nowe the case is altered, and hee is altogether become another man; for now he is as nimble as a dogs taile, as couragious as a butterflie, and as merrie at the heart as the best pair of bagpipes in all the countrey.

But as times are altered, so diuers accidents are inferred. Happie was Midas, when it was graunted unto him, that all which hee touched should bee golde: but soone haples againe, when his meate was metamorphosed into metall, and he with his wish ready to starue. Glad was Acteon at the sight of Diana, when shee bathed herselfe amongst her nimphes; but luckles was his lot, when shortly after hee became himselfe a present pray to bee deuoured of his owne dogs. And ioyfull was Tom Tysay in remembrance of the bovntie of his god Bacchvs; but sorrowfull, alas! at his returne, when first he came within the viewe of his wife: for shee, as is the maner of all headie huswiues, whose tongues† are more ready to raue, than their hands to worke, not sticking one iot to teache him a newe lesson, tooke him roundly by the topping, and welcomed him home after this maner.

Ah, ah, Sirra! I see by astronomie that the moone is euen now at full, and the signe settled just in the nose; in so much that, as by all mathematicall probabilities I doe conjecture, backe and bellie may this yeare both goe bare, so that there be no want of harness for the head. Well, well, I need not to tel thee what thou art, the gilding of thy nose sufficiently bewraies thy good behauiour. In so much that either Luna hath come downe alone, and, in taking thee for her olde Endimion,

† An old Popish oath.

† See the Anatomy of a Woman's Tongue, hereafter, in the year 1696.

hath made thee her newe moone face; or, as thy tottering too and fro doth plainly testifie, thou hast had some long tariance at Simon Soakers house, the coppernote smith, your euer assured friend. But one thing assure thee, for so I am certainly perswaded, that as the diuell hath already dubbed thee for a drunkard; so hereafter one time or other, but neuer too late, Don Tyburne will inuite thee to a liueles feast, and teach thee the crosse caper in a halfe pennie halter. And thus in a fustian fume she flung away.

If true it be, as many report, that a crust queanes tongue is as sharpe as a razor; experience then proueth, that this poore shaueling needed no better a barber. Howeuer it be, I will referre it to their rehearsall, which haue had their crownes smoothed as well with a crabtree combe, as those which haue tried the sharpnes of the sisers.

But euen as the clap of the thunder, the greater it is, the sooner it ceaseth; and the blastes of Boreas, the more furious they are, the lesse while is their continuance; so likewise, a womans mouth, the more full it is of wordes, the lesse it is of force, and sooner it wasteth into winde. The falling out of louers is the renewing of loue, and the bitterness of the tongue is easely seasoned with the sweetness of the lippes; for what with pleasing speeches, sweete conceits, the clinking of the pot, and the drinking of new Nectar, these two sweete soules became both as one, and the heate of their former furies were frozen vp as it were into a lake of euerlasting loue.

Thus whiles this couple continued in selacing themselves to their hearts content, behold Whitsontide drew on; and to be briefe, away they both do walke to the banquet; but, because these guestes were wrapped vp in their chiefest roabes, it will not be amisse to describe them in their chiefest brauery, as they passed along on their journey.

THE tapsters hat was all in blew,
Beseming well his nut-browne hiew:
His nose was ruddy, as I weene
And bending as the faucons beene.
His thin-set heire along did sit,
Which represents a woodcocks wit;
Yet bald withall was Tysay found,
With eares side hanging like a hound.
His eyes mere fiery on each side,
His mouth was open, gaping wide;
His lippes great as a cable-rope,
His teeth white, as washt in sope.
A bristled beard did flower his cheekes,
His breath was sweete, as vnset leekes.
Vpon his chinne a wart did grow,
Bacchvs thereby might well him know.
About his neck he wore a ruffe,
A quarter long, which was enuffe.
His iacket grey, well fac'd with furre,
His voyce was like a barking curre.

His shoulders did like horseloues stand,
 As pillars to vphold his band.
 His back was ridged like a boare,
 His belly like a tunne before.
 There hangs a tap betweene his legs,
 From whence he turneth forth his dregs.
 On either hand was placed a cufie,
 And brauely was he breecht in buffe.
 His legges they were so crooked scene,
 A yoked hog might run betweene.
 One foot was of the largest size,
 The other clubbed crabtree wise.
 And heere described is the guest,
 Which Bacchvs bad vnto his feast.

Now, as concerning the costly attire of the tapsters wife, because I am in haste at this time, I am rather willing to slip ouer so cumbersome a matter with silence, than to trouble idle heads with matters of so great importance.

As they thus traueled together, at length they obtained their long desired haue, and entered into the pallace of good Bacchvs, where they were so worthilie entertayned, that the sunne in his midday spheare, shining out most brightlie, doth scarce halfe represent such glorie, as was, by report, scene in this feast. For whereas commonly now a daies, we either inuite them of our acquaintance, or such whose newfound friendship may be as meanes to cure olde soares: this mightie god, Bacchvs, to the wonder of the worlde, inuiteth not onely such as bee his familiars, but men altogether vknowne, as well the poore as the riche.

See then the goodnes of this so gracious a god, al yee, which in the driest drought of summer, had rather shroude your throates with a handfull of hemp, than with the expence of an odde Crinklepouch*, wash yourselues within and without, and make yourselues as mery as dawes; yea learne yee niggards at god Bacchvs to bee liuely; whose especiall fauor spreads out itselfe so far, that every nation doth magnifie his name, every countrey speakes in his commendation, and all people paint him out with pen and pensill, in so much, that Iupiter himselfe doth wonder at his worthines.

But, to returne from whence I came: their entertaynement, I say, was such, that they rather thought themselues transported into Paradise, that place of pleasure, than remayning in any earthly habitation; for there they saw a royal resort, as well of all lands and languages, as of all degrees and callings whatsoever.

There was Ganimedes sent from Iupiter, to imploy his seruice at Bacchus table; there was halting Hebe sent from Iuno to furnish this feast with all solemnitie. There was Sylenus, a stately scruitour, waiting at euery winke, and preuenting euery want. Yea, such was the

* Six-pence.

bounty of Bacchvs, that he sent downe to Plutus, prince of hell, and craued the company of diuers of his acquaintance, which Plutus performed accordingly.

Thither rode great Alexander vpon the back of prauncing Bacephalus, brauely accompanied with Sardanapalus, king of Assiria, Queene Semiramis, and Ninus her sonne, first founders of Babilon.

After these came Claudius Tiberius, the Romaine emperour, who, for the zeale hee had to the vintree, was merely termed *Caldius Biberius mero*: With him came Calgula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, Anthonie, Cleopatra, and such like.

After these again came stumbling in blind Homer, the Grecian poet, and with him came Aristophanes, Menander, and others; and along with these came Virgil, Horace, Ouid, olde father Eunius, Geffery, Chaucer, Lydgate, Anthony Skelton, Will. Elderton, with infinite mo, whose seuerall names to rehearse were no les labour, than to make a mouse to pisse ouer Paules, or a louse to leap ouer the high tops of Maluerne hills.

Moreouer, after these came young Cicero, who, for the large loose that he had in turning downe his liquor, was calling Bicongius; with him came the blockheaded Balatronus, and Vibidius, Mecenas trencher-mates, and that old huddle and twang Aristodemus, the shadow of Saint Socrates.

And Proserpina, the infernal queene, willing to honour Bacchvs in what she might, releaseth Tantalus out of the riuer, causeth Sysiphus to cease from his tumbling taske, sets Ixion free from his torture, calls downe Prometheus, and compels the vultures, devouring his heart, to cease from their pray; and, for the time only that Bacchvs feast continueth, she doth licence them al to depart.

Glad were they to be released, tho' but for a time, and glad was Bacchvs that it was his lot to welcome such willing guesates.

As Bacchvs was thus most busie amongst his friends, behold a reuerend route resorted towardst his court with a trumpet before them, sounding most melodiously in token of great joy, for that they were so nere the pleasant paradise of god Bacchvs. Who they were, from whence they came, and in what manner they appeared in presence, followeth as thus:

First of all came Dauid Drie-throat, from Lesbona in Portugale; in his hand he held a peece well fild with wine of Canary, which with cap and knee he presented to god Bacchvs, and gave place to the rest.

Secondly, came Alexander Addlehead, from Dun Baur, a Scot, who offered to his god a dozen of red herrings, to season his mouth, before he sate downe to taste his liquor.

Thirdly, there skipt in a Spaniard, of the city of Logronio, named Blayner Bloblip, who gratifying his god with two limons, and an orange pill, with a most lowly legge he lept aside.

Fourthly, came wallowing in a Germane, borne in Mentz, his name was Gotfrey Grouthead; with him he brought a wallet full of wood-cocks heads; the braines thereof, tempered with other sauce, is a passing preseruatiue against the ale-passion, or paine in the pate.

Fifthly, came posting in one Peers Spendall from Brundusium, an Italian frier, with a pot full of holy water, sprinkling to and fro, and round about him, to driue away the diuell, least hee should chauce to come inuisible and deceaue them of their drinke.

The sixth was one Frauncis Franckfellow, a Corinthian, in the coasts of Achaia; with him he brought a box of oyle, that Bacchvs therewith might baste his belly, when it was ready to crack, with licking up ouerlaushly the small crums that tumbled out of his tunne.

The seuenth was one Simon Swil-kan; he came from Colops, a citie in Africa, and presented to Bacchvs a buttock of bacon; which, broyled on the coals, and so caten, will set a man on longing for his liquor before sunne-shine, bee the morning never so moysty.

The eighth was of Capsa, a towne well known in Numidia; his name was Gefery Gooscap, and with him hee brought a nightcap for god Bacchvs great godhead, least, through his hot comotations in the day, his head should crow with cold consumptions in the night.

The ninth was a iolly gentlewoman, named Mistris Merigodown; she came from Archelais, a citie in Cappadocia, with a fanne of fethers in one hand, and a looking glasse in the other, which both she gaue to Bacchvs; the one to gather winde, least his breath shoulde faile him when he blew a long blast in a wine pot; the other to see his nose, least, continuing ouerlong in a fierie colour, it shoulde chauce to be changed into a carbuncle.

The tenth was one Philip Filpot, brought up in Varica, a citie of Iberia, and one of the sect of Saint Sinckator*. This Philip was a phisition, and brought to his god Bacchvs a certaine potion, marueilous in operation, of which whoeuer hee were that did drinke, after hee had been well whittled, by vertue thereof, if he once were asleepe, shoulde neuer awake till hee were wiser.

The eleuenth was a Iewe, borne in Ioppa; hee had to name Christopher Crabface, a man famous in astrologie; he brought in his hand a prognostication newly composed, which hee bestowed on god Bacchvs. In which booke hee had set largely down diuers detriments accidentall to this yeare: especially this I noted, that many drunkards, whiles they looked vpwards on high towards the man in the moone, shall breake their necks downwards below in the bottome of a ditch.

The twelfth was Gilbert Goodfellow, from Arbila, an Assyrian; this Gilbert was a butcher, and brought with him an hogs head, a sheepes tongue, and a calues chauldron; the hogs head for harnesse against entreatie; the sheepes tongue to temper his owne the better in telling of a true tale; and a calues chauldron to wrap up his noddle, least in the ende of a banquet his inward heate should fume out with a farewell to all good fellowship.

The thirteenth came from Choka, a citie in Arabia, named Nicholas Neuerthriue, he brought with him a pudding pie, pretilie powdered with such hot spices as his countrie plentifully doth afforde; which, being

* i. e. A Back-Gammon Player.

once tasted, dooth maruellously encrease a moystie appetite, which Bacchvs receaued very thankfully.

The fourteenth was called Hodge Heauiebreech; he came from Miserga, a citie in the confines of Persia. Hodge by his occupation was a cardmaker, who, for the zeale he had to god Bacchvs, and all good fellows, offered vp to him that renowned Ruffler, the knaue of clubs, with a box of trim-trillilles, commonly called, the dice; the one to aide him in a needeles combat; the other, after his losse, to serve him instead of recreation.

The fifteenth was one Maudlen Moonface, a mery gentlewoman of Dublin, a citie in Ireland; with her she brought a glasse ful, nose high, of Aquauitæ, the operation whereof is no less monstrous than marueilous; for, being drunk in a morning, it so warmeth the heart, as if the body were in a bath, whose inward heats, when they begin to bud forth, transform themselves into goosbery-grapes to be seen most plainly as vnder a vizard of glistening glasse.

The sixteenth was a pleasant Parthian of the stately citie Catompylon, called Loblurchall; this youth was a feate fellow, and a fine faulkner; with him he carried a water-wagtaile, readie to flie at the fairest goose in Winchester; which present god Bacchvs accepted very gratefully.

The seventeenth was borne in India, at a fair citie called Tyndis; this forsooth, was a coy dame, called Care Crashpot; she came clincking a quart pot for sweet musicke, instead of the tabret, to which manner of melodie god Bacchvs listned exceedingly.

The eighteenth was one Baudwin Barrelbelly, from Ormusa, a place sufficiently knowne in the ile of Cyprusse; with him he brought a firkin full of wine of Basterdes, assuring god Bacchvs on his fidelitie, that so many as he made thereof partakers with him, as long as they applied themselves to the harty carouse, should neuer be haunted by death, and faile footing.

The nineteenth came from Garma in Æthiopia, called Goody Goodale; she (in token of pure deuotion) deliuered to Bacchvs a sack full of groute, and a sack full of hops, standing stoutly in this opinion, that the barley-broath, aboue all other, did beare away the bell, and that neither grape nor berry might in any respect be compared to the maiestie of the mault.

The twentieth was a worthie yeman, one Tom Tespot; he came from Friburgum, an Heluetian; he, as willing to please himselfe, as to honour his god, presented to Bacchvs, a dainty deuised compound, of sundry simples pastiewise, as the trimming of tripes, the fat of chitterlings, and the marrow of sweet-souse, lapt vp altogether within the crusty walls of paste-royal, in so much, that a world of belly-cheere was containd therein; which god Bacchvs, receiued with so great thanks, that he promised to honour the eating thereof, with the best increments of his overflowing tunne.

When these had ended their deuotion, they were placed all in order, and vsed as most welcome guests; busie was Bacchvs in vttering his

bounty, and the rest of the seruitors no lesse diligent ; so that no man wanted his wish, nor was deprivied of his will.

Scarse had they tipled gryum-wine*, as commonly the sect of the Surratims vse to doe, as only of triall to wet their whistles; but in comes Bat Barlicap, a mery musitian, ready with cap and knee to giue them a song ; which proffer god Bacchvs accepted gladly ; wherupon M. Baslycap tempered up his fiddle, and began as followeth :

THE gods of loue,
Which raigne aboue,
Maintaine this feast:
Let Bacchvs find
Their hearts most kind
To euery guest.
And long may Bacchvs brave it here
In pleasures to abound,
That wine and beer, and belly gut cheese,
With plenty here be found.

I pray likewise,
That, ere you rise,
You drink your fill,
That no man want,
Nor find it skant,
Whereof to swill.
Then may you all carouse in blisse,
And bid farewell to woe ;
Who lives in this, he cannot misse,
But straight to heauen goe.

Be mery all,
Both great and small,
Be mery here;
And with your liquor
Sweetly bicker,
Doe not fear.
Wash well your throats which now are dry,
And spare not you for cost ;
I tell you true, no shot is due,
Where Bacchvs rules the roost.

Sadnes and grieve
Bring no reliefe,
Bid them adiew :
In pain none pine,
Which love strong wine,
I tell you true.

Then learn to laffe, carouse and quaffe,
 And spare not while you may.
 Hey dery, dery, my masters, be mery,
 And look for a ioyfull day.

This song thus ended, the whole hall for joy did ring out a loud
 laffing-peale, and thanked the fidler for his mirth. Bacchvs made him
 drink, Silenus bade him not spare, so Barlicap did drink till his eyes
 did stare.

Thus euery man falls to his taske, and hee happie that is able to
 stand stoutly in the forefront, to giue the brauest onset.

Whiles thus they tipled, the fidler he fided, and the pots danced for
 joy the old hop about, commonly called Sellengar's Round; euery
 man set to his foot; there was not whip, snatch, and away, but plaine
 rack and manger, where euery one dranke himself out of danger; cups
 and cans went clip clap, the guests were all welcome, their tongues ran
 at randome, Sir Prattle kept a wrangling, and dame Tattle a great
 iangling; each one was mery, and no man wanted wordes to solace his
 next neighbour; to be brieft, heauen was here, and hell where they
 were not; yea who but the guests of God Bacchvs!

Amids these only pleasures, and joys incomparable, Iupiter sends
 down Mercury, to make them pleasant; and Venus, the queen of
 loue, sent also her son Cupid, to creep in amongst them for kindness,
 and to lead them along blindfold vnto lust and loathsome selfliking.

Then Pluto the master-diuell of hell, seeing fit opportunity and
 place conuenient, sent amongst the ioyful guests of this feast the furies
 of hell, who with all speed posted to god Bacchvs pallace, to exercise
 their hellish outrage.

Now Cupid lingred not out his time, but did driue his dartes amongst
 them with such force, that some for pure loue wedded themselues to
 wine; some became sworne brethren to the beere-pot, other some
 matched themselues only to metheglin; one liked this, another that;
 all was wonderfull to behold.

Bawdwin Barrelbelly was greatly grieved with loue-gripes, especially
 through the desire hee had to Goody Goodale, the Æthiopian.

Kit Crabface so ardently burned in the loue of Maudlin Moonface,
 that well nere he burned himselfe to ashes.

Mercury he cast his eloquence amongst them by horse-loades at
 once, so that large promises, with no performance, were as easy to be
 heard, as small bells in a morrice daunce.

Medusa, Megera, and the rest of those furious hags flie al at once
 in amongst them, and set their teeth on edge to practise villanie one
 against another; one puls his felow by the beard without cause;
 another crackes his next fellowes crowne with a quart-pot; one flings a
 glasse in another mans face, another makes a buckler of his hat to saue
 himselfe before, whilst another with a black jack breakes his head
 behinde; one cries, downe with him, downe with him, not able of
 himselfe to kill a louse; another lies lurking vnder the table altogether
 speechless.

Here Dauid Drithroat gathered vp his teeth, which Piers Spendall,

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the frier, had lately strooke out, because Dauid, like an unmannerly knave, presumed to piss in the holy waterpot.

There Gotfrey Grouthead begins to fume, and someth at the mouth like a sauage bore; hee falls at variance with Mistris Merigodowne, and haies her along by the hair of the head; in so much, that (thou knave) was as common among them as cartway, or *probo* in the schooles; and (thou whore) as vsuall a terme, as *hail Harry* in the mouth of a carter.

Whiles thus they lay on heapes, one on the neck of another, some sputning others with their heeles, some scratching their heads where they itched not; some sprauling vnderneath most glad to rise vp againe; some wiping the blood away from their faces; some rubbing their shinnes, which they burst on the frames; some gaping for winde, almost choked with flies; while these, I say, did lie in this so great disorder, the gods aboue were constrained to winke at their follies, and the diuels below reioiced at the viewe of this our mortall wretchedness.

Thus Bacchvs arose with the rest of his barons, and dismissed every man very bovatifully; who, after long stumbling, at the last returned from whence they came. And Bacchvs himselfe retired to Archadie, where, at this day, for his singular liberalitie and bounteous behaviour towards all inhabitants, traucellers, and passengers, he is of power to make a greater companie of able men than any man of his degrec.

Et largas epulas & bona vina dedit.

THE

LORD-TREASURER BURLEIGH'S ADVICE

TO

QUEEN ELISABETH,

IN MATTERS OF RELIGION AND STATE. MS.

Most gracious Sovereign,

CARE (one of the true-bred children of my unfeigned affection) awaked, with the late wicked and barbarous attempts, would needs exercise my pen to your sacred Majesty, not only encouraging me, that it would take the whole fault of boldness upon its self, but also, that even the words should not doubt to appear in your highness's presence in their kindly rudeness: for that, if your Majesty, with your

voice, did but read them, your very reading would grace them with eloquence.

Therefore, laying aside all self-guilty conceits of ignorance (knowing that the sign is not angry with the well meaning astronomer, though he happen to miss his course) I will, with the same sincerity, display my humble conceits, wherewith my life shall be amongst the foremost to defend the blessings, which God, in you, hath bestowed upon us.

So far then, as can be perceived by any human judgment, dread sovereign, you may judge, that the happiness of your present estate can no way be encumbered, but by one of these two means, viz.

- 1st, Either by your factious subjects.
- 2dly, Or by your foreign enemies.

Your strong and factious subjects are the papists. Strong I account them both in number and nature: For, by number, they are able to raise a great army, and, by their natural and mutual confidence and intelligence, they may soon bring to pass an uniting with foreign enemies; factious I call them, because they are discontented, of whom, in all reasons of state, your Majesty must determine, whether you will suffer them to be strong, do make them the better content? or, discontent them, by making them weaker? for, what the mixture of strength and discontent ingenders, there needs no syllogism to prove.

To suffer them to be strong with hope, that, with reason, they will be contented, carrieth with it, in my opinion, but a faire enamelling of a terrible danger.

For, first, men's natures are apt, not only to strive against a present smart, but to revenge by past injury, though they be never so well contented thereafter; which cannot be so sufficient a pledge to your Majesty, but that, when opportunity shall flatter them, they will remember, not the after slacking, but the former binding; and so much the more, when they shall imagine this relenting to proceed from fear: For it is the poison of all government, when the subject thinks the prince doth any thing more out of fear than favour. And therefore, the Romans would rather abide the uttermost extremities, than, by their subjects, to be brought to any conditions. Again, to make them absolutely contented, I do not see how your Majesty, either in conscience will do, or, in policy, may do it; since, hereby, you cannot but thoroughly discontent your faithful subjects; and to fasten an unreconciled love, with the losing of a certain love, is to build a house with the sale of lands; so much the more, in that your Majesty is embarked in the protestant cause, which, in many respects, cannot, by your Majesty, be, with any safety, abandoned, they having been, so long time, the only instruments both of your council and power; and, to make them half content and half discontent, methinks, carries with it as deceitful a shadow of reason as can be, since there is no pain so small, but, if we can cast it off, we will; and no man loves one the better for giving him the bastinado, though with never so little a cudgel.

But the course of the most wise, most politick, and best grounded

estates hath ever been, to make an assuredness of friendship, or to take away all power of enmity.

Yea, here I must distinguish between discontent and despair; for it sufficeth to weaken the discontented, but there is no way but to kill desperates, which, in such a number as they are, were as hard and difficult, as impious and ungodly.

And therefore, though they must be discontented, yet I would not have them desperate; for, amongst many desperate men, it is like some one will bring forth some desperate attempt.

Therefore considering, that the urging of the oath must needs, in some degree, beget despair, since, in the taking of it, he must either think he doth an unlawful act (as without the special grace of God he cannot think otherwise) or else, by refusing it, must become a traitor, which, before some hurt done, seemeth hard: I humbly submit this to your excellent consideration, whether, with as much security of your Majesty's person and state, and more satisfaction for them, it were not better to leave the oath to this sense, that whosoever would not bear arms against all foreign princes, and namely, the Pope, that should any way invade your Majesty's dominions, he should be a traitor? for, hereof, this commodity will ensue, that those papists (as I think most papists would that should take this oath) would be divided from the great mutual confidence, which is now betwixt the Pope and them, by reason of their afflictions for him; and such priests as would refuse that oath then, no tongue could say, for shame, that they suffered for religion, if they did suffer.

But here it may be objected, they would dissemble and equivocate with this oath, and that the Pope would dispense with them in that case. Even so may they, with the present oath, both dissemble and equivocate, and also have the Pope's dispensation for the present oath, as well as for the other. But this is certain, that whomsoever the conscience, or fear of breaking an oath, doth bind, him would that oath bind.

And, that they make conscience of an oath, the troubles, losses, and disgraces that they suffer, for refusing the same, do sufficiently testify; and you know that the perjury of either oath is equal.

So then, the farthest point to be sought, for their contentment, is but to avoid their despair. How to weaken their contentment, is the next consideration.

Weakened they may be by two means: First, by lessening their number, Secondly, by taking away from their force. Their number will be easily lessened, by the means of careful, diligent preachers in each parish, to that end appointed; and especially by good schoolmasters, and bringers up of their youth; the former, by converting them after their fall; and the latter, by preventing them from falling into their errors.

For preachers, because thereon groweth a great question, I am provoked to lay at your Highness's feet my opinion touching the preciser sort.

First, protesting to God Almighty, and your sacred Majesty, that I

am not given over, no, nor so much as addicted to their preciseness; therefore, till I believe that you think otherwise, I am bold to think that the bishops, in these dangerous times, take a very ill and unadvised course in driving them from their cures; and this I think for two reasons:

First, because it doth discredit the reputation and estimation of your power, when foreign princes shall perceive and know, that even amongst your protestant subjects, in whom consisteth all your force, strength, and power, there is so great a heart-burning and division; and how much reputation swayeth in these, and all other worldly actions, there is none so simple, as to be ignorant: and the papists themselves (though there be most manifest and apparent discord between the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and other orders of religious persons, especially the Benedictines) yet will they shake off none of them, because, in the main points of popery, they all agree and hold together: And so far they may freely brag and vaunt of their unity.

The other reason is, because, in truth, though they are over squeamish and nice in their opinions, and more scrupulous than they need; yet with their careful catechising, and diligent preaching, they bring forth that fruit which your most excellent Majesty is to desire and wish, namely, the lessening and diminishing the papistical numbers.

And therefore, at this time, your Majesty hath especial cause to use and employ them, if it were but as Frederick the Second, that excellent emperor, did use to employ the Saracen soldiers against the Pope, because he was well assured, and certainly knew, that they only would not spare his sanctity.

And, for those objections, what they would do if once they got a full and intire authority in the church: methinks they are *inter remota & incerta mala*, and therefore, *vicina & certa*, to be first considered.

As for schoolmasters, they may be a principal means of diminishing their number; the lamentable and pitiful abuses in this way are easy to be seen. since the greatest number of papists is of very young men: but your Majesty may prevent that bud, and may use, therein, not only a pious and godly means, in making the parents, in every shire, to send their children to be virtuously brought up at a certain place for that end appointed; but you shall also, if it please your Majesty, put in practice a notable stratagem, used by Sertorius in Spain, by choosing such fit and convenient places for the same, as may surely be at your devotion; and, by this means, you shall, under colour of education, have them as hostages of the parents' fidelities, that have any power in England, and, by this way, their number will quickly be lessened; for I account, that putting to death doth no ways lessen them, since we find by experience, that it worketh no such effect, but, like Hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up, persecution being accounted as the badge of the church; and, therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood, and greatness of heart, is such, that they will even, for shameful things, go bravely to death; much more, when they

think themselves to climb heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems, to the common people, a divine constancy; so that, for my part, I wish no lessening of their numbers, but by preaching, and by education of the younger, under good schoolmasters.

The weakening and taking away of their force is as well of peace's authority, as of war's provision: their peace authority standeth either in offices, or tenantries. For their offices and credit, it will be available, if order be taken, that, from the highest counsellor to the lowest constable, none shall have any charge or office, but such as will really pray and communicate in their congregation, according to the doctrine received generally into this realm.

For their tenantries, this conceit I have thought upon (which I submit to your farther piercing judgment) that your Majesty, in every shire, should give strict order to some, that are, indeed, trusty and religious gentlemen; that, whereas your Majesty is given to understand, that divers popish landlords do hardly use some of your people and subjects, as, being their tenants, do embrace and live after the authorised and true religion; that, therefore, you do constitute and appoint them, to deal both with intreaty and authority, that such tenants, paying as others do, be not thrust out of their living, nor otherwise unreasonably molested.

This would greatly bind the commons hearts unto you (on whom, indeed, consisteth the power and strength of your realm) and it will make them much less, or nothing at all, depend upon their landlords. And although there may hereby grow some wrong, which the tenants, upon that confidence, may offer to their landlords; yet, those wrongs are very easily, even with one wink of your Majesty, redressed; and are nothing comparable to the danger of having many thousands depending on the adverse party.

Their war's provision I account men and ammunition, of whom, in sum, I could wish no man, either great or small, should so much as be trained up in any musters, except his parishioners would answer for him, that he orderly and duly receiveth the communion; and for ammunition, that not one should keep in his house, or have at command, so much as a halberd, without he were conformable to the church, and of the condition aforesaid.

And if order was taken, that, considering they were not put to the labour and charge of mustering, and training, therefore their contributions should be more and more narrowly looked into; this would breed a chilness to their fervour of superstition; especially in popular resolutions, who, if they love Egypt, it is chiefly for the flesh-pots; so that, methinks, this temper should well agree with your wisdom, and the mercifulness of your nature.

For to compel them you would not; kill them you would not; so, to trust them you should not: trust being in no case to be used, but where the trusted is of one mind with the trusting person; which commandeth every wise man to fly, and avoid that shamefacedness of the Greeks, not to seem to doubt them which give just occasion of doubt.

This ruined Hercules, the son of great Alexander; for, although he

had most manifest reasons, and evident arguments, to induce him to suspect his ill servant Poliperchon, yet, out of the confidence he had in him, and the experience he had of his former loyalty, he would not make provision accordingly, because he would not seem so much as to misdoubt or suspect him; and so, by that means, he was murdered by him.

But the knot of this discourse is, that, if your Majesty find it reasonable, on the one side, by relenting the rigour of the oath, and, on the other side, by disabling your unsound subjects, you shall neither execute any, but very traitors, in all men's opinions and constructions, nor yet put faith and confidence in any but those, who even for their own sakes must be faithful.

The second point of the general part of my discourse is, the consideration of your foreign enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you; and those are Scotland, for his pretence and neighbourhood; and Spain, for his religion and power: As for France, I see not why he should not rather be made a friend than an enemy; for, though he agree not with your Majesty in matters of conscience and religion, yet, in *hoc tertio*, he doth agree, that he feareth the greatness of Spain; and therefore that may solder the link which religion hath broken, and make him hope, by your Majesty's friendship, to secure himself against so potent an adversary.

And, though he were evilly affected towards your Majesty, yet, the present condition of his estate considered, I do not think it greatly to be feared, himself being a prince who hath given assurance to the world, that he loves his ease much better than victories, and a prince that is neither beloved nor feared of his people: And the people themselves being of a very light and unconstant disposition; and besides they are altogether unexperienced, and undisciplined how to do their duties, either in war or peace; they are ready to begin and undertake any enterprise before they enter into consideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be well begun; they are generally poor and weak, and subject to sickness at sea; divided and subdivided into sundry heads, and several factions, not only between the Huguenots and Papists, but also between the Montmorencies the Guises and the and the people being oppressed by all do hate all; so that, for a well settled and established government and commonwealth as your Majesty's is, I see no grounds why to misdoubt or fear them, but only so far forth as the Guisards happen to serve for boutefeus in Scotland; and while it shall please your Majesty, but with reasonable favour to support the king of Navarre, I do not think that the French King will ever suffer you to be from thence annoyed.

Therefore, for France, your majesty may assure your self of one of these two, either to make with him a good alliance, in respect of the common enemy of both kingdoms, or at the least so muzzle him, as that he shall have little power to bite you.

As for Scotland, if your Majesty assist and help those noblemen there, which are by him suspected, your Majesty may be sure of this, that those will keep him employed at home; and also, whilst he is a protestant, no foreign prince will take part with him against your

Majesty: And of himself he is not able to do much harm, the better part of his nobles being for your Majesty; and, if in time he should grow to be a papist, your Majesty shall always have a strong party at his own doors, in his own kingdom, to restrain his malice; who, since they depend upon your Majesty, they are, in all policy, never to be abandoned; for, by this resolution, the Romans anciently, and the Spaniards presently, have most of all prevailed: and, on the contrary, the Macedonians in times past, and the Frenchmen in our age, have lost all their foreign friends, because of their aptness to neglect those who depended upon them: but, if your Majesty could by any means possible devise to bring in again the Hamiltons, he should then be beaten with his own weapons, and should have more cause to look to his own succession, than to be too busy abroad. But Spain, yea Spain, it is in which, as I conceive, all causes do concur, to give a just alarm to your Highness's excellent judgment.

First, because in religion he is so much the Pope's, and the Pope in policy so much his, as that whatever the mind of Pope Gregory, and the power of King Philip, will or can compass, or bring upon us, is in all probability to be expected; himself being a prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journies, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion, constant, ambitious, politick, and valiant; the King rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worst, greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your Highness's subjects; a more lively proof whereof one could never see than in the poor Don Antonio, who, when he was here, was as much at mass, as any man living, yet there did not so much as one papist in England give him any good countenance; so factious an affection is borne to the Spaniards. Now as of him is the chief cause of doubt, so of him the chief care must be had of providence.

But this offers a great question, whether it be better to procure his amity? Or stop the course of his enmity? As of a great lion, whether it be more wisdom, to trust to the taming of him, or tying of him?

I confess this requires a longer and a larger discourse, and a better discourser than myself; and therefore I will stay myself from roving over so large a field: but only, with the usual presumption of love, yield this to your gracious consideration.

First, if you have any intention of league, that you see upon what assurance, or at least what likelihood, you may have that he will observe the same.

Secondly, that in a parlying season it be not as a countenance unto him the sooner to overthrow the Low Countries, which hitherto have been as a counterscarp to your Majesty's kingdom.

But, if you do not league, then your Majesty is to think upon means for strengthening yourself, and weakening of him, and therein your own strength is to be tendered both at home and abroad.

For your home strength, in all reverence I leave it, as the thing which contains in effect the universal consideration of government.

For your strength abroad, it must be in joining in good confederacy,

or at least intelligence, with those that would willingly embrace the same.

Truly not so much at the Turk and Morocco, but at some time they may serve your Majesty to great purpose; but from Florence, Ferrara, and especially Venice, I think your Majesty might reap great assurance and service, for undoubtedly they abhor his frauds, and fear his greatness.

And for the Dutch, and Northern Princes, being in effect of your Majesty's religion, I cannot think but their alliance may be firm, and their power not to be contemned: even the countenance of united powers doth much in matters of state.

For the weakening of him, I would, I must confess from my heart, wish that your Majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him both in the Indies, and the Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you; and that you would rather take him, while he hath one hand at liberty, than both of them sharply weaponed.

But, if this seem foolish hardness to your Majesty's wisdom, yet, I dare not presume to counsel, but beseech your Majesty that what stay and support your Majesty, without war, can give to the Low Countries, you would vouchsafe to do it, since, as king of Spain, without the Low Countries he may trouble our skirts of Ireland, but never come to grasp with you; but, if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness. Divers ways are to be tried; among the rest one, not the worst in my opinion, might be to seek either the winning of the prince of Parma from the King of Spain, or at the least to have the matter so handled, as that the jealousy thereof may arise betwixt them; as Pope Clement did by the noble Marquiss of Pescara, for he practised with him, for offering the kingdom of Naples, not so much with hope to win him, as to make his master suspect him. And when I consider that Parma is a Roman by blood, a Prince born; placed in the place he hath, by Don John, and maintained in it by the malecontents, whereunto the king hath rather yielded of necessity than any other way; lastly, when I remember the city of Pierousa kept by the Spaniards, and the apparent title of his son Remutio to the crown of Portugal, things hardly to be digested by an Italian stomach, I cannot see how such a mind in such a fortune can sell its self to a foreign servitude.

The manner of dealing with him should be by some man of spirit, with the Venetian ambassadors at Paris, and afterwards with his own father in Italy; both which are in their hearts mortal enemies to the greatness of Spain.

But these sheets of paper bear witness against me, of having offered too tedious a discourse to your Majesty, divers of which points yet, as of mitigating the oath, the school hostages, the heartening of tenants, and the dealing with the prince of Parma, would require a more ample handling; but it is first reason to know whether your Majesty like of the stuff, before it be otherwise trimmed.

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For myself, as I will then only love my opinions, when your Majesty liketh them; so will I daily pray, that all opinions may be guided with as much faith, as I have zeal to your Majesty's service, and that they may be followed with infinite success.

A

BRIEFE AND TRVE DECLARATION

OF THE

SICKNESSE, LAST WORDES, AND DEATH

OF THE

KING OF SPAINE,

PHILIP, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME,

Who died in his Abbey of S. Laurence at Escuriall, seven miles from Madrill, the Thirteenth of September, 1598.

Written from Madrill, in a Spanish Letter, and translated into English according to the true Copie.

Printed at London, by Edm. Bollifant, 1599. Quarto, containing a Sheet and an half,

This is the King of Spain, whose cruelties in the Indies and the Netherlands have recorded him among the most bloody tyrants, and his continual attempts to poison, assassinate, or dethrone Queen Elisabeth, and to invade and conquer England, have rendered his name odious to every true Englishman: and whose universal character is a compound of pride, ambition, injustice, oppression, treachery, and bloodshed: for all which, by the short account following, you will perceive, that God called him to judgment; and, by the plague of Lice, declared his detestation of that sinful prince, before he departed this life. Yet, in this same account, it is remarkable, that he was arrived to that state of hypocritical insensibility, and delusion, that he thought all his barbarities, treachery, and treasons were doing God service, and that himself was ready to depart this life in the favour of God.

TO satisfie my promise, and to giue answere to your letters, requiring my aduertisement of these present occurrences, I pray you understand, that this yeere, 1598, the Royal Maiestie of our Lord, Don Philip the Third, being then but prince, was upon S. Iohn's day,

in the market place at Madrill*, to beholde the bullbayting†, and other pastymes which were there, at which sports the King his father (which is now in heauen) was not present by reason of the paine of the gout which sore troubled him. His Highnes, being returned from the foresaid place, discoursed vnto his father all that he had scene, whereupon his Maiestie answered: I am right glad to see thee so pleasant, for thou shalt neuer, so long as I liue, see me haue any ease or comfort in this my painfull disease. And thereupon commaunded preparation to be made for his remouing to Escuriall. Doctor Marcado, one of his ordinarie phisitions, tolde him, he ought not to stirre, least the extremitie of his paine should increase. The King answered, seeing I must be carried thither, when I am dead, I had rather be carried thither being aliue. So that in the end, to satisfy his desire, his footmen took him vp vpon their shoulders, and spent sixe daies in going those seauen miles; where, after that he came, he was better for some fewe daies, though he was not able to stand, but was forced either to sit or to lie. But presently the gout reseasing him, accompanied with a feuer, made him far sicker than before; his phisitions shewed all the skil they could to giue him some ease, but the extremitie of paine so increased, that presently he entred into consideration of his soule, by shriuing or confessing himselfe, and receiuing the sacrament, at which instant he commaunded Garcin de Loyaza to be consecrated Archbishop of Toledo, which was performed by the Popes nuncio, with all the solemnities and rites accustomed. There happened also to this good King, vpon his right knee, a bile, so angrie and swellinge, that he could take no rest; his phisitions being amazed thereat, one Elias, a phisition of Toledo, by whose aduice and direction of others, one Vergara, a licentiate surgeon, hauing appllied all fit meanes to ripen the sore, opened it, and let forth all the bad matter therein contained; soone after the which, there arose fower other biles vpon his brest, which likewise were ripened, opened, and cleansed; this corrupt matter bred a great companie of lice, which were very hard to be killed, he remaining in this mean time so weake, that he was faine to be turned in sheetes, and lift vp with fower men, whilst two other made all things plaine, soft, and clean vnder him. Ten daies before he died, he fell into so great a traunce (lasting fiewe howers) that it was easily perceiued, that his life and vital powers began to faile, which caused diuers lords in Madrill to prouide mourning garments. Being returned to himselfe, he said to the Archbishop and to those of the chamber there present: My friends and subiects, your sorrowes are of no force to recouer my health, for no humane remedie can profit me. The chiefe matter of your care ought to be to prouide, in time, all necessities for my funerals; and, in the meane time I commaunde you to call hither your prince, which shall be your future King, and fetch hither vnto me my coffin that I shall belaide in, and place here, vpon this little cupboord‡, a dead man's skull crowned

* al. Madrid.

† Bull-feasts, which are a sport different from the English bull-baitings; in as much as these are performed by dogs; but the Spanish are the Recreation of men on horseback, who, attended with running footmen, to supply them with lances, attack a mad bull at full liberty, and neuer quit him till they have killed him.

‡ al. Cabinet.

with my imperial crowne; all which was forthwith done. The prince and the infanta, his sister, being in presence, the King called for Iohn Ruyz de Valasco, putting him in minde of a cofer*, which he had committed to his custodie, willing him to fetch it; the cofer was very little, yet, when it was brought, he caused it to be opened, and, taking forth a pretious stone of an infinite value, caused it to be deliuered to his daughter, speaking thus vnto hir: My daughter Izabella Eugenia Clara, receiue this iewell, brought vnto me by your mother, the which I bestowe vpon you for my last farewell. And then, turning him to the prince, said, are you contented with this that I giue unto your sister? Who answered, yea, sir, although you gaue her all that I haue. This answer lyking the king very wel, he willed them to looke in the cofer for another paper, and, giuing it to the Prince, he told him, that therein he should see the forme how to gouern his kingdome. Then they tooke out of the said cofer a whip with bloudie knots, which the King holding vp, said, this bloud is mine owne, and yet not mine but my fathers, who is in heauen, who made use of this kind of exercise; and therefore to make known the value of it, and the truth of it, I thought good to reueale it vnto you. After this he commaunded a paper to be taken from vnder his pillow, which, being read by Iohn Ruyz, contained these wordes: We, Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile and Lion, &c. hauing gouerned this realme forty yeeres in the seuenty-first yeere of mine age, giue over this kingdome vnto my God to whom it belongeth, and commend my soule into his blessed hands, to performe therewith whatsoeuer it shall please his diuine Maiestie. Commaunding that this my bodie, so soone as euer my soule shall be separated from the same, be embalmed; then apparelled with a royall robe, and so placed in this brazen shrine heere present, and that the howers† be kept, with all rites and ceremonies as the lawe requireth, and I commaund my funerall to be solemnised in this manner: before shall be borne the archbishops banner, then the crosse; the monkes and the clergie presentlie shall followe, all in mourning garments. The Adelantado‡ shall beare the royall standard, trailing it vpon the ground. The duke of Nayara shall carrie the crowne vnder a canopie. The marquesse of Aguillar shall carrie the sword. My body shall be borne by eight of my chiefest seruants, all in mourning weedes, with burning torches in their handes. The Archbishop shall follow the nobles, and our vniersal heir shall follow on the one side all in dewle||. When they come to the church, my body shall be placed in the herse there of purpose erected. All the praiers and deuotions ended, the prelate shall place me in the vault, my last habitation, which shall be giuen to me for euer. All this performed, your prince §, and third king of that name, shall go to S. Ierosmes¶ at Madrill, there to keep the holy ceremonies of the ninth daie yeerely, and my daughter, with my sister, her aunt, shall go to the gray nunnes barefoote. Then, speaking to the prince, he saide, besides all that which I haue heertoforespoken to you, I pray

* al. A small box or trunk.

† Adelantado is the Admirall of the gallies.

‡ Philip.

§ i. e. The office of the dead shall be performed.

|| i. e. Mourning.

¶ A conuent of Ieronimite friars.

you haue a great care and regard to your sister, because shee was my looking-glasse and the light of mine eies. Keepe the commonwealth in peace, placing there good gouernors to rewarde the good and punish the bad. Let the marquesse of Mondeiar be deliuered out of prison, on this condition that he come not to the court. Let the wife of Antonio Perez also be set at libertie, so that from hencefoorth shee liue in a monasterie, and let her daughters inherite the patrimonie which shee brought. Forgiue those which are prisoners for hunting, with all such as are condemned to die (the Kings pardon wanting) and so I giue my last farewell to my children, commending them to all peace and safetie. Then the Prince asked Don Christofer de Mora, for the royall key, commaunding him to deliuer it to him; who craued pardon of his Highnes, because it was the key of all trust and confidence, which hee could in no wise deliuer, without the leaue of his lord the King. Well, said the prince, it is ynough; and so went into his chamber, whilst Don Christofer, returning to the King, whome he found a little cheered, said vnto him, Sir, his Highness asked of me the royall key, which I haue denied him, as hauing no leave from your Maestie. But the King told him he had done ill. Not long after he fell into another fit, wherevpon he called for the extreme vnction*, which was giuen vnto him by the Archbishop. Then he called for a crucifixe which had beene kept safely in a chest, which was the very same his father held betweene his hands, when he died, with the which he desired likewise to die. Hereupon his Highness returned to his father, at whose comming Don Christofer, vpon his knees, presented to him the royall key, which the prince receiued, and gaue it to the Marquesse of Denia; whereupon the King said to him, Remember I commende vnto you Don Christofer for the most faithfull seruant which I euer had, and so haue care of all the rest, which I commende vnto you. And so he took his leaue of him againe, imbracing him, at which instant his speech failed; and in this sort he continued two daies, and died vpon Sunday, the thirteenth of September, about three of the clocke in the morning. The body was buried vpon Munday the fourteenth of that moneth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, the Archbishop saying the masse. The new King came from Escuriell, the sixteenth of that instant, leauing his sister at the grey nunnes, and so went to S. Ierosmes, the court remaining in great mourning and lamentation, making preparation for the great funerall.

* A sacrament of the Romish church; it is oil-olive consecrated by a bishop for the anointing each person, of whose life there is no hope.

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NASHE'S LENTEN STUFF,
CONCERNING THE
DESCRIPTION AND FIRST PROCREATION AND INCREASE
OF THE
TOWN OF GREAT YARMOUTH,
IN NORFOLK:
WITH A NEW PLAY NEVER PLAYED BEFORE,
OF THE
PRAISE OF THE RED HERRING.

Fit of all Clerks of Noblemen's Kitchens to be read; and not
unnecessary by all Serving-Men, who have short Board Wages,
to be remembered.

Famam peto per Undas.

London, printed for N. L. and C. B. and are to be sold at the West End of Paul's,
1599. Quarto, containing eighty-three Pages.

*To his worthy, good patron, Lusty Humphrey, according as the townsmen,
do christen him; Little Numps, as the nobility and courtiers do name
him; and Honest Humphrey, as all his friends and acquaintance
esteem him; King of the Tobacconists hic & ubique, and a singular
Maccænas to the Pipe and Tabor (as his patient livery attendant can
witness) his bounden orator, T. N. most prostrately offers up this
tribute of ink and paper.*

MOST courteous, unlearned lover of poetry, and yet a poet thyself,
of no less price than H. S. that, in honour of Maid-marrion,
gives sweet marjoram for his empress, and puts the sow most saucily
upon some great personage, whatever she be, bidding her (as it runs
in the old song)

————— Go from my garden, go,
For there no flowers for thee do grow.

These be to notify to your diminutive excellence, and compendious
greatness, what my zeal is towards you, that in no straighter bonds

would be pounded and inlisted, than in an epistle dedicatory. Too many more lusty blood Bravemente Signiors, with Cales beards, as broad as scullers maples, that they make clean their boats with, could I have turned it over, and had nothing for my labour, some fair words excepting; good sir, will it please you to come near, and drink a cup of wine? After my return from Ireland, I doubt not but my fortunes will be of some growth to requite you, my sword is a tyour command; and I have a goodly house runs here and there upon the banks of the river, and a goodly necessary prepossession. I have a double charge, look how much tobacco I have to expel cold, the like quantity of leaves aker we provide us of to kill lice in that rugged countrey (rebels) that I say unto you in the words of a martialist, We cannot but we would. I am no incredulous Dydimus, but have more faith to believe they have no coin, than they have means to supply themselves with it, and so leave them. To any other carpet-monger, or P. knight of Primero, bring I a dedication; if the dice over night befriended him, he sleeps five days and five nights to new beauty, and will not be known he is awake till his men, upon their own bonds (a dismal world for trenchermen, when their master shall not be so good as theirs) have took up commodities, and the droppings of the mint for him: and then; what then? He sends the ten dozen bottles he left upon the score at the tennis, he sends for the barber to depure, decurtate, and sponge him, having not paid a shilling five-month before, he now rains down the quarter angels into his hand, to make his liberality seem greater, and gives him a cast riding cap, and an old Spanish hat into the bargain, and God's peace be with him. The chamber is not rid of the dirt of his feet, but the great chambermaker with his squires, and a whole stall of ware upon the floor, enters, and sits upon his legs for an hour together, and after that draws deep, and by that time his tobacco is made even with, and he hath dined at a tavern, and slept his under-meal at a bawdy-house, his purse is on the heild, and only forty shillings he hath behind to try his fortune with at the cards in the presence; which if it prosper, the court cannot contain him, but to London again he will, to revel it and have two plays in one night, invite all the poets and musicians to his chamber the next morning, where, against their coming, a whole heap of money shall be spread upon the board, and all his trunks opened to shew his rich suits, but the devil a whit he bestows on them, save bottle ale and tobacco, and desires a general meeting.

The particular of it is, that Bounty is bankrupt, and lady Sensuality licks all the fat from the seven liberal sciences; that Poetry, if it were not a trick to please my lady, would be excluded out of Christian burial, and, instead of wreaths of lawrel to crown it with, have a bell with a cock's comb clapped on the crown of it by old Johannes de Indagines, and his choir of dorbelists. Wherefore, the premisses considered (I pray you consider of that word Premisses, for somewhere I have borrowed it) neither to rich, noble, right worshipful, or worshipful, of spiritual or temporal, will I consecrate this work but

to thee and thy capering humour alone; that, if thy stars had done thee right, they should have made thee one of the mightiest princes of Germany, not for thou canst drive a coach, or kill an ox so well as they, but that thou art never well but when thou art amongst the retinue of the muses, and there spendest more in the twinkling of an eye, than in a whole year thou gottest by some grasierly gentility thou followest. A king thou art by name, and a king of good-fellowship by nature, whereby I ominate this encomium of the King of Fishes was predestinated to thee from thy swaddling cloaths. Hug it, ingle it, kiss it, and cull it now thou hast it, and renounce eating of green beef and garlick till martlemas, if it be not the next stile to "The Strife of Love in a Dream;" or, "The lamentable Burning of Tiverton." Give me good words, I beseech thee, though thou givest me nothing else, and thy words shall stand for thy deeds, which I will take as well in worth, as if they were the deeds and evidences of all the land thou hast. Here I bring you a red herring, if you will find drink to it, there's an end, no other detriments will I put you to. Let the kan-of strong ale your constable, with the toast his brown bill, and sugar and nutmegs his watchmen, stand in a readiness to entertain me every time I come by your lodging. In Russia there are no presents but of meat or drink; I present you with meat, and you, in honourable courtesy to requite me, can do no less than present me with the best morning's draught of merry-go-down in your quarters; and so I kiss the shadow of your feet shadow, amiable donsel, expecting your sacred poems of the Hermit's tale, that will restore the golden age amongst us, and so, upon my soul's knees, I take my leave.

Yours, for a whole Last of Red Herrings,

TH. NASHE.

To his Readers, he cares not what they be.

NASHE'S Lenten Stuff! And why Nashe's Lenten Stuff? Some scabbed scalled Esquire replies: Because I had money lent me at Yarmouth; and I pay them again in praise of their own town and the red-herring. And, if it were so, Goodman Pig-wiggen, were not that honest dealing? Pay thou all thy debts so, if thou canst for thy life. But thou art a nimny-hammer, that is not it; therefore, Nickenoky, I call it Nashe's Lenten Stuff, as well for that it was most of my study the last lent as that we use so to term any fish that takes salt, of which the red-herring is one of the aptest. O! but, saith another John Dringle, there is a book of the Red-herring's Tail, printed four terms since, that made this stale. Let it be a tail of haberdine, if it will, I am nothing entailed thereunto; I scorn it, I scorn it, that my works should turn tail to any man. Hea! body, tail, and all of a red-herring you shall have of me, if that will please you; or, if that will not please you, stay till Easter term, and then, with the answer to the Trim Tram, I will make

you laugh your hearts out. Take me at my word, for I am the man that will do it. This is a light friskin of my wit, like the praise of injustice, the fever quartan, Busiris, or Phalaris, wherein I follow the trace of the famousest scholars of all ages, whom a wantonising humour once in their life-time hath possessed to play with straws, and turn mole-hills into mountains.

Every man can say bee to a battledore, and write in praise of virtue and the seven liberal sciences; thrash corn out of the full sheaves, and fetch water out of the Thames; but out of dry stubble to make an after-harvest, and a plentiful crop without sowing, and wring juice out of a flint, that is "Pierce a god's name", and the right trick of a workman. Let me speak to you about my huge words, which I use in this book, and then you are your own men to do what you list. Know, it is my true vein to be *Tragicus Orator*, and, of all stiles, I most affect and strive to imitate Aretine's, not caring for this demure, soft *mediocre genus*, that is like water and wine mixed together; but give me pure wine of itself, and that begets good blood, and heats the brain thoroughly. I had as live have no sun, as have it shine faintly; no fire, as a smothering fire of small coals; no cloaths, rather than wear linsey-wolsey. Apply it for me, for I am called away to correct the faults of the press, that escaped in my absence from the printing-house.

THE strange turning of the Isle of Dogs, from a comedy to a tragedy two summers past, with the troublesome stir, which happened about it, is a general rumour, that hath filled all England, and such a heavy cross laid upon me, as had well near confounded me: I mean, not so much in that it sequestered me from the wonted means of my maintenance, which is as great a maim to any man's happiness, as can be feared from the hands of misery, or the deep pit of despair, wherinto I was fallen, beyond my greatest friends reach, to recover me; but that in my exile, and irksome discontented abandonment, the silliest miller's thumb, or contemptible stickle-back of my enemies, is as busy nibbling about my fame, as if I were a dead man thrown amongst them to feed upon. So I am, I confess, in the world's outward appearance, though perhaps I may prove a cunninger diver than they are aware; which if it so happen, as I am partly assured, and that I plunge above water once again, let them look to it, for I will put them in brine, or a piteous pickle every one*. But let that pass, though they shall find I will not let it pass, when time serves, I having a pamphlet hot a brooding, that shall be called the Barbers Warming pan, and to the occasion a fresh of my falling in alliance with this lenten argument. That unfortunate imperfect embryo† of my idle hours, the Isle of Dogs before mentioned, breeding unto me such bitter throws

* *Quæssæ tamén nostra est, non mersa nec obruta navis.*

† An imperfect embryo, I may well call it, for, I having begun but the introduction and first act of it, the other four acts without my consent, or the least guess of my drift or scope by the players were supplied, which bred both their trouble and mine, too.

glance, I may not dully overpass the gallant beauty of their haven, which having but as it were a welt of land, or as M. Camden calls it *lingulam terræ*, a little tongue of the earth, betwixt it and the wide main, sticks not to manage arms, and hold its own undefeasably against that universal unbounded empire of surges, and so hath done for this hundred years. Two miles in length it stretches its winding current, and then meets with a spacious river or back-water, that feeds it. A narrow channel or isthmus, in rash view, you would opinionate it; when this I can devoutly aver, I beholding it with both my eyes this last fishing, six hundred reasonable barks and vessels of good burthen, with advantage, it hath given shelter to, at once, in her harbour, and most of them riding abreast before the key betwixt the bridge and the south-gate. Many bows length beyond the mark, my pen roves not, I am certain; if I do, they stand at my elbow that can correct me. The delectablest lusty sight and movingest object methought it was that our isle sets forth, and nothing behind in number with the invincible Spanish Armada, though they were not such Gargantuan boisterous gulliguts as they; though ships and galleasses they would have been reckoned in the navy of King Edgar, who is chronicled and registered, with three thousand ships of war, to have scoured the narrow seas, and sailed round about England every summer. That which especially nourished the most prime pleasure in me, was after a storm, when we were driven in swarms, and lay close pestered together as thick as they could pack; the next day following, if it were fair, they would cloud the whole sky with canvas, by spreading their drabbed sails in the full clue abroad a drying, and make a braver shew with them, than so many banners and streamers displayed against the sun, on a mountain top. But how Yarmouth, of itself so innumeraibly populous and replenished, and in so barren a spot seated, should not only supply her inhabitants with plentiful purveyance of sustenance, but provide and victual moreover this monstrous army of strangers, was a matter that egregiously puzzled and intranced my apprehension. Hollanders, Zelanders, Scots, French, Western-men, Northern-men, besides all the hundreds, and wapentakes, nine miles distance, fetch the best of their viands and mangery from her market. For ten weeks together, this rabble-rout of outlandishers are billeted with her, yet, in all that while, the rate of no kind of foot is raised, nor the plenty of their markets one pint of butter rebated; and at the ten weeks end, when the camp is broken up, no impression of any dearth left, but rather more store than before. Some of the town dwellers have so large an opinion of their settled provision, that if all her Majesty's fleet at once should put into their bay, within twelve days warning, with so much double beer, beef, fish, and bisket, they would bulk them as they could wallow away with.

Here I could break out into a boundless race of oratory, in shrill trumpeting and concelebrating the royal magnificence of her government, that, for state and strict civil ordering, scarcely admitteth any rivals. But I fear it would be a theme displeasing to the grave modesty of the discreet present magistrates; and therefore consultively I overslip it; howsoever I purpose not in the like nice respect to leap over the

laudable pedigree of Yarmouth, but will fetch her from her swadling clouts or infancy; and reveal to you when and by whom she was first forced out of the ocean's arms, and started up and aspired to such starry sublimity; as also acquaint you with the notable immunities, franchises, and privileges she is endowed with, beyond all her confiners, by the descending line of Kings from the conquest.

There are of you, it may be, that will account me a palterer for hanging out the sign of the Red-Herring in my title-page, and no such feast towards, for aught you can see. Soft and fair, my masters; you must walk and talk before dinner an hour or two, the better to whet your appetites to taste of such a dainty dish as the red-herring; and, that you may not think the time tedious, I care not if I bear you company, and lead you a sound walk round about Yarmouth, and shew you the length and breadth of it.

The masters and batchelors commencement dinners, at Cambridge and Oxford, are betwixt three and four in the afternoon, and the rest of the antecedence of the day worn out in disputations. Imagine this the act or commencement of the red-herring, that proceedeth batchelor, master, and doctor, all at once; and therefore his disputations must be longer. But to the point: May it please the whole generation of my auditors to be advertised, how that noble earth, where the town of Great Yarmouth is now mounted, and where so much fish is sold, in the days of yore hath been the place where you might have caught fish, and as plain a sea, within these six-hundred years, as any boat could tumble in; and so was the whole level of the marshes betwixt it and Norwich. Anno Domini 1000, or thereabouts (as I have scraped out of worm-eaten parchment) and in the reign of Canutus, he that died drunk at Lambeth, or Lome-hith, somewhat before, or somewhat after, not an apprenticeship of years varying,

——— *Caput extulit undis,*

The sands set up shop for themselves;

and, from that moment to this sextine century (or, let me not be taken with a lye, five-hundred ninety-eight, that wants but a paire of years to make me a true man) they would no more live under the yoke of the sea, or have their heads washed with his bubbly spurn, or barber's balderdash, but clearly quitted, disterninated, and relegated themselves from his inflated capriciousness of playing the dictator over them.

The northern wind was the clanging trumpeter, who, with the terrible blast of his throat, in one yellow heap, or plump-clustered, or congested them together, even as the western gales in Holland, right over-against them, have wrought unruly havock, and thrashed and swept the sands so before them, that they have choaked or clammed up the middle walk, or door of the Rhine, and made it as stable a clod-mould, or turf-ground, as any hedger can drive stake into. Caster, two miles distant from this New Yarmouth we treat of, is inscribed to be that Old Yarmouth, whereof there are specialties to be seen in the oldest writers, and yet, some visible apparent tokens remain of a haven that ran up to it, and there had its entrance into the sea, by aged

fishermen commonly termed Grubs Haven, though now it be gravell-ed up, and the stream, or tide-gate, turned another way. But this is most warrantable, the Alpha of all the Yarmouths it was, and not the Omega correspondently, and, from her withered root, they branch the high ascent of their genealogy. *Omnium rerum vicissitudo est*, one's falling is another's rising; and so it fell out with that ruined dorpe, or hamlet, which, after it had relapsed into the lord's hands for want of reparations, and there were not men enough in it to defend the shore from invasion, one Cerdicus, a plashing Saxon, that had revelled here, and there, with his battle-axe, on the bordering banks of the decrepid overworn village, now surnamed Gorlstone, threw forth his anchor, and, with the assistance of his spear, instead of a pike-staff, leaped a-ground like a sturdy brute, and his yeomen bold cast their heels in their necks, and frisked it after him; and thence sprouted that obscene appellation of Sarding Sands, with the draff of the carterly hoblobes thereabouts, concocted or digested for a scripture verity, when the right Christendom of it is Cerdick Sands, or Cerdick Shore, of Cerdicus so denominated, who was the first maylord, or Captain of the Morris-dance, that, on those imbenched shelves, stamped his footing where cods and dog-fish swam not a warp of weeks forerunning, and, till he had given the onset, they baulked them as quicksands. By and by, after his jumping upon them, the Saxons, for that Garianonum, or Yarmouth, that had given up the ghost, in those slimy plashy fields of Gorlstone trouled up a second Yarmouth, abutting on the west-side of the shore of this Great Yarmouth, that is; but, feeling the air to be unwholsome and disagreeing with them, to the overwhart brink or verge of the flood, that writ all one style of Cerdick-Sands, they dislodged, with bag and baggage, and there laid the foundation of a third Yarmouth, *Quam nulla potest abolere vetustas*, that I hope will hold up her head till Doomsday. In this Yarmouth, as Mr. Camden saith, there were seventy inhabitants, or housholders, that paid scot and lot in the time of Edward the Confessor; but a chronographical Latin table, which they have hanging up in their Guildhall, of all their transmutations from their cradlehood, infringeth this a little, and flatters her she is a great deal younger, in a fair text hand, texting unto us, how, in the scepterdom of Edward the Confessor, the sands first began to grow into sight at low water, and more shallow at the mouth of the river Hirus, or Ierus, whereupon it was dubbed Iernmouth, or Yarmouth; and then there were two channels, one on the north, another on the south, where through the fishermen did wander and waver up to Norwich, and divers parts of Suffolk and Norfolk, all the fenny Lerna betwixt, that, with reed, is so imbristled, being, as I have forespoken or spoken before, *Madona, Amphitrite*, fluctuous demesnes, or fee-simple.

From the city of Norwich on the east part, it is sixteen miles disjunct and dislocated; and, though betwixt the sea and the salt flood it be interposed, yet in no place about it can you dig six feet deep, but you shall have a gushing spring of fresh or sweet water for all uses, as apt and accommodated as St. Winifred's well, or Tower-Hill water at London, so much praised and sought after. My tables are not yet one quarter emptied, of my notes out of their table, which because it is,

as it were, a sea rudder diligently kept amongst them from age to age, of all their ebbs and flows, and winds that blew with or against them, I tie myself to more precisely, and thus it leadeth on:

In the time of King Harold and William the Conqueror, this sand of Yarmouth grew to a settled lump, and was as dry as the sands of Arabia, so that thronging theatres of people (as well aliens as Englishmen) hived thither about the selling of fish and herring, from St. Michael to St. Martin, and there built sutlers booths and tabernacles, to canopy their heads in from the rheum of the heavens, or the clouds dissolving cataracts. King William Rufus having got the golden wreath about his head, one Herbertus, bishop of the See of Norwich, hearing of the gangs of good fellows that hurtled and hustled thither, as thick as it had been to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, or our lady of Walsingham, built a certain chapel there for the service of God, and salvation of souls.

In the reign of King Henry the First, King Stephen, King Henry the Second, and Richard de Cœur de Lyon, the apostasy of the sands from the yelping world was so great, that they joined themselves to the main land of Eastflege, and whole tribes of males and females trotted, barged it thither, to build and inhabit, which the said kings, whilst they wielded their swords temporal, animadverted of, assigned a ruler or governor over them, that was called the King's Provost; and that manner of provostship or government remained in full force and vertue of all their four throneships, *alias* a hundrd years, even till the inauguration of King John, in whose days the forewritten of Bishop of Norwich, seeing the numerous Increase of souls of both kinds, that there had framed their nests, and meant not to forsake them till the soul-bell tolled them thence, pulled down his chapel, and, what by himself and the devout oblations and donatives of the fishermen upon every return with their nets full, re-edified and raised it to a church of that magnitude, as, under-minsters and cathedrals, very easily; it admits any, hail, fellow, well met; and the church of St. Nicholas, he hallowed it, whence Yarmouth road is nicknamed the road of St. Nicholas. King John, to comply, and keep consort with his ancestors, in furthering of this new water-work, in the ninth year of the ingirting his anointed brows with the refulgent Ophir circle, and, Anno, 1209, set a fresh gloss upon it, of the town or free borough of Yarmouth, and furnished it with many substantial privileges and liberties, to have and to hold the same of him, and his race, for fifty-five pounds yearly. In Anno 1240, it perched up to be governed by bailiffs, and, in a narrower limit than the forty years under meal of the seven sleepers, it had so much tow, to her distaff, and was so well lined and bumbasted, that, in a sea-battle, her ships and men conflicted the Cinque Ports, and therein so laid about them, that they burnt, took, and spoiled the most of them; whereof such of them as were sure flights, (saving a reverence of their manhoods) ran crying and complaining to King Henry the Second, who, with the advice of his council, set a fine of a thousand pounds on the Yarmouth men's heads for that offence, which fine, in the tenth of his reign, he dispensed with, and pardoned.

Edward the First, and Edward the Second likewise, let them lack for no privileges, changing it from a borough to a port town, and there setting up a custom-house, with the appurtenances for the loading and unloading of ships. Henry the Third, in the fortieth of his reign, cheared up their bloods with two charters more, and in Anno 1262, and forty-five of his court-keeping, he permitted them to wall in their town, and moat it about with a broad ditch, and to have a prison or jail in it. In the swindge of his trident he constituted two lord admirals over the whole navy of England, which he disposed in two parts; the one to bear sway from the Thames mouth northward, called the Northern Navy; the other to shape his course from the Thame's mouth to the westward, termed the western navy; and over this northern navy, for admiral, commissioned one John Peerbrown, burgess of the town of Yarmouth, and over the western navy one Sir Robert Laburnus, Knight.

But Peerbrown did not only hold his office, all the time of that King doing plausible service, but was again re-admiralled by Edward the Third, and so died; in the fourteenth of whose reign he met with the French King's navy, being four-hundred sail, near to the haven of Sluse, and there so sliced and slashed them, and tore their planks to mammocks, and their lean guts to kites meat, that their best mercy was fire and water, which hath no mercy; and not a victualler or a drumbler of them hanging in the wind aloof, but was rib-roasted, or had some of his ribs crushed with their stone-darting engines, no ordnance then being invented. This Edward the Third, of his propensive mind towards them, united to Yarmouth Kirtly road, from it seven miles vacant, and, sowing in the furrows that his predecessors had entered, enhanced the price of their privileges, and brought them not down one barley kernel.

Richard the Second, upon a discord betwixt Leystoffe and Yarmouth, after divers law-days, and arbitrary mandates to the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, directed about it, in proper person, 1385, came to Yarmouth, and, in his parliament the year ensuing, confirmed unto it the liberties of Kirtly road, (the only motive of all their contention). Henry the Fifth, or the Fifth of the Henries that ruled over us, abridged them not a mite of their purchased prerogatives, but permitted them to build a bridge over their haven, and aided and furthered them in it. Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fourth, Henry the Seventh, and King Henry the Eighth, with his daughters Queen Mary, and our *Chara Deum soboles*, Queen Elisabeth, have not withered up their hands in signing and subscribing to their requests; but our Virgin rectoress, most of all, hath showered down her bounty upon them, granting them greater grants than ever they had, besides by-matters of the clerk of the marketship, and many other benevolences towards the reparation of their port. This, and every town, hath its backwinters or frosts that nip it in the blade (as not the clearest sunshine but hath his shade, and there is a time of sickness as well as of health). The backwinter, the frost biting, the eclipse or shade, and sickness of Yarmouth, was a great sickness or plague in it, 1348, of which, in one year, seven thousand and fifty people toppled up their heels there. The new building at the

west end of the church was begun there 1330, which, like the imperfect works of King's College in Cambridge, or Christ-church in Oxford, have too costly large foundations to be ever finished.

It is thought if the town had not been so scourged, and eaten up by that mortality, of their own purses they would have proceeded with it; but now they have gone a nearer way to the wood, for with wooden galleries in the church that they have, and stairy degrees of seats in them, they make as much room to sit and hear, as a new west-end would have done.

The length and breadth of Yarmouth, I promised to shew, you have with you; but first look wistly upon the walls, which, if you mark, make a stretched out quadrangle with the haven. They are in compass, from the south chains to the north chains, two-thousand one hundred and fourscore yards: They have sixteen towers upon them; mounts underfonging and inflanking them, formerly two, now three, which have their thundering tools, to compel Diego Spaniard to duck, and strike the wind-cholick into his paunch, if he prance too near them, and will not veil to the Queen of England. The compass about the wall of this new mount is five-hundred feet, and in the measure of yards eight-score and seven: The breadth of the foundation nine feet, the depth within ground eleven: The height to the setting thereof, fifteen feet, and in breadth at the setting of it, five feet three inches, and the procerous stature of it, so imbailing and girdling in this mount, twenty feet and six inches. Gates to let in her friends, and shut out her enemies, Yarmouth hath ten, lanes sevenscore: As for her streets, they are as long as threescore streets in London, and yet they divide them but into three. Void ground in the town from the walls to the houses, and from the houses to the haven, is not within the verge of my geometry. The liberties of it on the fresh-water one way, as namely, from Yarmouth to St. Tooley's in Beckles-water, are ten miles, and from Yarmouth to Hardlie-cross another way, ten miles, and conclusively, from Yarmouth to Weybridge in the narrow north-water, ten miles: In all which fords, or meanders, none can attach, arrest, distress, but their officers; and, if any drown themselves in them, their coroners sit upon them.

I had a crotchet in my head, here to have given the reins to my pen, and run astray throughout all the coast-towns of England; digging up their dilapidations, and raking out of the dust-heap, or charnel-house of tenebrous antiquity, the rottenest relick of their monuments, and bright scoured the canker-eaten brass of their first bricklayers and founders, and commented and paralogised on their condition in the present, and in the preter tense: Not for any love or hatred I bear them, but that I would not be snubbed, or have it cast in my dish, that therefore I praise Yarmouth so rantingly, because I never elsewhere baited my horse, or took my bow and arrows, and went to bed. Which leeing, had I been let alone, I would have put to bed with a *Recumbentibus*, by uttering the best that with a safe conscience might be uttered of the best, or worst, of them all; and notwithstanding all at best, that tongue could speak, or heart could think of them, they should bate me an ace of Yarmouth. Much brain-tossing and breaking of my skull it cost me; but farewell it, and farewell the bailiffs of the Cinque-Ports, whose primordial *Gethæ-*

liaca was also dropping out of my inkhorn, with the silver oar of barony by William the Conqueror, conveyed over to them at that when he firmed and rubricked Kentishmen's gavel-kind of the inherit at fifteen, and the felony of the father not to draw a land from the son, and amongst the sons the portion to be equally tributed; and if there were no sons, much good do it the daughter for they were to share it after the same tenure, and might alien how they would, either by legacy or bargain, without the consent of the Lord.

To shun spight I smothered these dribblements, and refrained scant, how William the Conqueror, having heard the proverb of *Land and Christendom*, thought he had won a country as good as all Christendom, when he was enfeoffed of Kent; for which, to make it sure him, after he was entailed thereunto, nought they asked they need ask twice, it being enacted before the words came out of their mouth. Of that profligated labour yet my breast pants and labours, a month's mind of revolving meditation I ravelling out therein (as *ling out* signifies *Penelopes telam retexere*, the unweaving of a web before woven and contexted.) It pities me, it pities me, that, in case of so fair a diamond as Yarmouth, I have not a casket of dusky nish diamonds by me, and a box of muddy foils the better to set it. *Ut nemo miser, nisi comparatus, sic nihil pro mirifico, nisi cum aliis ratur: Cedite soli, stellæ scintillantes; soli Garriano cedite, oppida veligera sedium navalium speciosissimo; sed redeo ad cernacu*

All commonwealths assume their prenomination of their divided wealth, as where one man hath not too much riches, and another man too much poverty: Such was Plato's community, and Lycurgus and the old Romans laws of measuring out their fields, their pastures and houses, and meting out to every one his child's portion. To this *commune bonum* (or, every horse his loaf) Yarmouth's propinquity, is as the buckle to the thong, and the next finger to the thumb; not that it is Sib, or Cater-cousin to any mongrel *Demon* in which one is all, and all are one, but that, in her, as they are one, so one or two there pocket not up all the pieces, there being hundred in it worth three hundred pounds a piece, with poundage and shillings to the lurcher, set aside the bailiff's four-and twenty and and-forty. Put out my eye who can with such another brag of a town within two-hundred miles of it. But this common good itself is nothing to the common good it communicates to the state. Shall I particularise unto you *quibus viis & modis*, how wherein? There is my hand too, I will do it, and this is my error. A town of defence it is to the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk against enemies (so accounted at the first granting of their liberties) and the natural strength of the situation so apparent, being both invironed by many sands, and now of late, by great charge, much more fortified in ancient times. All the realm it profiteth many ways; as, by the fair of herrings, chiefly maintained by the fishermen of Yarmouth themselves; by the great plenty of salted fish there, not so little two past, as four-hundred thousand; wherein were employed about a score sail of barques of their own.

By the furnishing forth of forty boats for mackarel at the spring of the year, when all things are dearest, which is a great relief to all the country thereabouts, and, soon after Bartholomew-tide, a hundred and twenty sail of their own for herrings, and forty sail of other ships and barques, trading to Newcastle, the Low Countries, and other voyages. Norwich, at her Majesty's coming in progress thither, presented her with a shew of knitters, on a high stage placed for the nonce; Yarmouth, if the like occasion were, could clap up as good a shew of netbraiders, or, those that have no clothes to wrap their hides in, or bread to put in their mouths, but what they earn and get by braiding of nets (not so little as two-thousand pounds they yearly dispersing amongst the poor women and children of the country, for the spinning of twine to make them with, besides the labour of the inhabitants in working them) and, for a commodious green place, near the sea-shore, to mend and dry them, not Salisbury Plain or Newmarket Heath (tho' they have no vicinity or neighbourhood with the sea, or scarce with any ditch or pond of fresh water) may overpeer, or outcrow her, there being above five-thousand pounds worth of them at a time upon her dens a sunning. A convenient key within her haven she hath, for the delivery of nets and herrings, where you may lie a-float at low water; I beseech you do not so in the Thames; many serviceable mariners and seafaring men she traineth up; but of that in the herring.

The marshes and lower grounds, lying upon the three rivers that vagary up to her, comprehending many thousand acres, by the vigilant preservation of their haven, are increased in value more than half, which else would be a *Maotis Palus*, a mear, or lake of eels, frogs, and wild ducks. The city of Norwich, as in the *Prælude* hereof I had a twitch at, fares never the worse for her, nor would fare so well, if it were not for the fish of all sorts that she cloyeth her with, and the fellowship of their haven, into which their three rivers infuse themselves, and through which, their goods and merchandise, from beyond seas, are keeled up, with small cost, to their very thresholds, and to many good towns on this side, and beyond. I would be loth to build a labyrinth in the gatehouse of my book, for you to lose yourselves in, and therefor I shred of many things; we will but cast over the bill of her charge, and talk a word or two of her buildings, and break up and go to breakfast with the red-herring. The haven hath cost, in these last twenty-eight years, twenty-six thousand two-hundred fifty-six pounds, four shillings, and five-pence: fortification and powder, since *Anno* 1587, two-thousand marks; the sea service in *Anno* 1588, eight-hundred pounds; the Portuguese voyage, a thousand pounds; the voyage to Cales as much.

It hath lost by the Dunkirkers, a thousand pounds; by the Frenchmen, three-thousand; by Wafting, eight-hundred; by the Spaniards, and other losses not rated, at the least three thousand more. The continual charge of the town, in maintenance of their haven, five-hundred pounds a year, *Omnibus annis*, for ever; the fee-farm of the town fifty-five pounds, and five pounds a year above for Kirtley Road. The continual charge of the bridge over the haven, their walls, and a number of other odd reckonings we deal not with, towards all which they have not, in certain revenues, above fifty or threescore pounds a year,

and that is in houses. The yearly charge towards the provision of fish for her Majesty, one-thousand pounds; as for arable matters of tillage and husbandry, and grasing of cattle, their barren sands will not bear them, and they get not a beggar's noble by one or other of them, but their whole harvest is by sea.

It were to be wished, that other coasters were so industrious as Yarmouth, in winning the treasure of fish out of those profundities, and then we should have twenty eggs a penny; and, it would be as plentiful a world as when abbies stood; and now, if there be any plentiful world, it is in Yarmouth. Her sumptuous porches, and garnished buildings, are such, as no port-town in our British circumference, nay, take some port-cities overplus into the bargain, may suitably stake with, or adequate.

By the proportion of the east-surprised Gades, or Cales, divers have tried their cunning to configurate a twin-like image of it, both in the correlative analogy of the span-broad rouse running betwixt, as also of the skirt, or lappet of earth, whereon it stands, herein only limiting the difference, that the houses here have not such flat custard-crowns at the top, as they have. But I, for my part, cast it aside, as too obscure a canton to demonstrate and take the altitude by of so Elysian an habitation as Yarmouth. Of a bouncing, side-wasted parish in Lancashire we have a flying voice dispersed, where they go nine miles to church every Sunday; but, parish for parish, throughout Lancashire, Cheshire, or Wingandecoy, both for numbers in gross of honest housholders, youthful, courageous, valiant spirits, and substantial, grave burghers, Yarmouth shall drop vie with them, to the last Edward's groat they are worth. I am posting to my proposed scope, or else I could run ten quires of paper out of breath, in further traversing her rights and dignities.

But of that fraught I must not take in too liberally, in case I want stowage for my red-herring, which I rely upon as my wealthiest loading. Farewell, flourishing Yarmouth, and be every day more flourishing than other, until the latter day; while I have my sense, or existence, I will persist in loving thee, and so, with this abrupt postscript, I leave thee. I have not travelled far, though conferred with furthest travellers, from our own realm; I have turned over venerable Bede, and plenteous beadrolls of friary annals following on the back of him; Polydore Virgil, Buchanan, Camden's Britannia, and most records of friends, or enemies, I have searched, as concerning the later model of it; none of the inland parts of it, but I have traded them as frequently as the middle walk in Paul's, or my way to bed every night; yet for aught I have read, heard, or seen, Yarmouth, regal Yarmouth, of all maritime towns that are no more but fisher-towns, solely reigneth, *sans peer*.

Not any where is the word severelier practised, the preacher reverentlier observed and honoured, justice soundlier ministered, and a war-like people peaceabler demeanoured, betwixt this and the Grand Cathay, and the strand of Prester John.

Adieu, adieu, ten-thousand-fold delicate paramour of Neptune, the next year my standish may happen to address another voyage unto thee, if this have any acceptance. Now it is high heaking-time, and, be the

winds never so easterly adverse, and the tide fled from us, we must violently tow, and hale in our redoubtable sophy of the floating kingdom of Pisces, whom so much as by name I should not have acknowledged, had it not been that I mused, how Yarmouth should be invested in such plenty and opulence; considering, that, in Mr. Hackluyt's English Discoveries, I have not come in ken of one mizzen-mast of a man of war bound for the Indies, or Mediterranean stern-bearer sent from her zenith or meridian. Mercurial-breasted Mr. Harborne always accepted a rich spark of eternity first lighted and inkindled at Yarmouth, or there first bred, and brought forth to see the light; who since, in the hottest degrees of Leo, hath echoing noised the name of our island, and of Yarmouth, so Tritonly, that not an infant of the curtailed, skin-clipping pagans, but talk of London as frequently, as of their prophet's tomb at Mecca, and as much worships or maidenpeace, as it were but one sun, that shined over them all. Our first ambassador was he to the Behemoth of Constantinople; and, as Moses was sent from the omnipotent God of Heaven, to persuade Sultan Pharaoh to let the children of Israel go, so, from the prepotent goddess of the earth, Eliza, was he sent to set free the English captives, and open unto us the passage into the Red-sea and Euphrates. How impetrable he was in mollifying the * adamantinest tyranny of mankind, and hourly crucifier of Jesus Christ crucified, and rooter up of Palestine; those that be scrutinous to pry into, let them revolve the digests of our English discoveries, cited up in the precedents, and be documentised most locupletely. Of him, and none but him, who in valuation is worth eighteen huge Argus's full of our presentdated mishapen childish travellers, have I took, sent, or come in the wind of, that ever Yarmouth unshelled or ingendered, to weather it on till they lost the north-star, or sailed just antipodes against us; nor, walking in the streets so many weeks together, could I meet with any of these swaggering captains (captains that wore a whole ancient in a scarf, which made them go heave-shouldered, it was so boisterous) or huftitusty youthful ruffling comrades, wearing every one three yards of feather in his cap for his mistress's favour, such as we stumble on at each second step at Plymouth, Southampton, and Portsmouth; but, an universal merchantly formality, in habit, speech, and gestures, though little merchandise they beat their heads about, Queen Norwich for that going between them and home; at length (O, that length of the full point spoils me, all gentle readers, I beseech you, pardon me) I fell a communing hereupon with a gentleman, a familiar of mine, and he eftsoons defined unto me, that the red herring was this old ticklecob, or *Magister fac totum*, that brought in the red ruddocks and the grummel seed as thick as oatmeal, and made Yarmouth for argent to put down the city of Argentine. Do but convert, said he, the slenderest twinkling reflex of your eye-sight to this flinty ring that ingirts it, these towered walls, port-cullissed gates, and gorgeous architectures that condecorate and adorn it, and then perponder of the red-herring's priority and prevalence, who is the only inexhaustible mine that hath raised and begot all this, and, minutely to riper maturity, fosters and cherisheth it. The red-

* The adamant mollified with nothing but blood.

herring alone it is that countervails the burthensome detriments of our haven, which every twelvemonth devours a justice of peace's living, in wiers and banks to beat off the sand, and overthwart ledging and fencing it in; that defrays all impositions and outward payments to her Majesty (in which Yarmouth gives not the wall to six, though sixteen moth-eaten burgess towns, that have daubers and thatchers to their mayors, challenge, in parliament, the upper hand of it) and for the vaward, or suburbs of my narration, that impails our sage senators, or Ephori, in princely scarlet, as pompous ostentive as the *Vinti quater*, or Lady Troynonant; wherefore, quoth he, if there be in thee any whit of that unquenchable sacred fire of Apollo, as all men repute, and that Minerva, amongst the number of her heirs, hath adopted thee, or thou wilt commend thy muse to sempiternity, and have images and statues erected to her after her unstringed silent interment and obsequies, rouse thy spirits out of this drowsy lethargy of melancholy they are drenched in, and wrest them up to the most outstretched airy strain of elocution, to chaunt and carrol forth the Altezza and excelsitude of this monarchical floody Induperator.

Very tractable to this lure I was trained, and put him not to the full availing of me with any sound hammering persuasion, in that at the first sight of the top-gallant towers of and a week before he had broken any of these words betwixt his teeth, my muse was ardently inflamed to do it some right; and how to bring it about fitter I knew not, than in the praise of the red-herring, whose proper soil and nursery it is. But this I must give you to wit, however I have took it upon me, that, never since I spouted ink, was I of worse aptitude to go through with such a mighty March brewage as you expect, or temper you one right cup of that ancient wine of Falernum, which would last forty year, or consecrate to your fame a perpetual temple of the pine-trees of Ida, which never rot. For, besides the loud bellying prodigious flaw of indignation, stirred up against me in my absence and extermination from the upper region of our celestial regimen, which hath dung me in a manner down to the infernal bottom of desolation, and so troubledly bemudded with grief and care every cell or organ-pipe of my purer intellectual faculties, that no more they consort with any ingenious playful merriments; of my note-books, and all books else, here in the country, I am bereaved, whereby I might enamel and hatch over this device more artificially and masterly, and attire it in its true orient varnish and tincture; wherefore, heart and good-will, a workman is nothing without his tools; had I my topicks by me instead of my learned council to assist me, I might, perhaps, marshal my terms in better array, and bestow such costly cookery on this *marine magnifico*, as you would prefer him before tart and galingale, which Chaucer pre-eminettest encomioniseth above all junquetries or confectionaries whatsoever.

Now you must accept of it as the place serves, and, instead of comfits and sugar to strew him with, take well in worth a farthing-worth of flower, to white him over and wamble him in, and I having no great pieces to discharge for his benvenue, or welcoming in, with this volley of rhapsodies or small shot, he must rest pacified; and so

ad rem, spur, cut through thick and thin, and enter the triumphal chariot of the red-herring.

Homer of rats and frogs hath heroicked it; other oaten pipers after him, in praise of the gnat, the flea, the hasle-nut, the grasshopper, the butterfly, the parrot, the popinjay, philip-sparrow, and the cuckow; the wantoner sort of them sing descant on their mistress's glove, her ring, her fan, her looking-glass, her pantofle, and on the same jury, I might impannel Johannes Secundus, with his book of the two-hundred kinds of kisses. Philosophers come sneaking in with their paradoxes of poverty, imprisonment, death, sickness, banishment, and baldness; and as busy they are about the bee, the stork, the constant turtle, the horse, the dog, the ape, the ass, the fox, and the ferret. Physicians deafen our ears with the *honorificabilitudinitatibus* of their heavenly *panacea*, their sovereign guaiacum, their clysters, their treacles, their mithridates compacted of forty several poisons, their bitter rhubarb, and torturing stibium.

The posterior Italian and German cornugraphers stick not to applaud and canonize unnatural sodomitry, the strumpet errant, the gout, the ague, the dropsy, the sciatica, folly, drunkenness, and slovenry. The *galli gallinacei*, or cocking French, swarm every pissing while in their primer editions, *imprimeda jour duy*, of the unspeakable healthful conducibleness of the *gomorrihan* great *poco*, a *poco*, their true countryman every inch of him, the prescript laws of tennis or balonne (which is most of their gentlemen's chief livelihoods) the commodity of hoarsness, blear-eyes, scabbed-hams, thread-bare elokes, poached-eggs, and panado's. Amongst our English harmonious Calino's, one is up with the excellence of the brown bill and the long bow; another plays his prizes in print, in driving it home with all weapons, in right of the noble science of defence: a third writes passing inamorately, of the nature of white-meats, and justifies it under his hand to be bought and sold every-where, that they exceed nectar and ambrosia: a fourth comes forth with something in praise of nothing; a fifth, of an inflamed heal to coppersmith's-hall, all to be-times it of the diversity of red-noses, and the hierarchy of the nose *magnificat*: a sixth sweeps behind the door all earthly felicities, and makes baker's maulkins of them, if they stand in competency with a strong dozen of points; marry, they must be points of the matter, you must consider, whereof the foremost codpiece point is the crane's proverb in painted clothes, Fear God, and obey the King; and the rest, some have tags, and some have none: a seventh sets a tobacco-pipe instead of a trumpet to his mouth, and of that divine drug proclaimeth miracles: an eighth capers it up to the spheres in commendation of dancing: a ninth offers sacrifice to the goddess Cloaca, and disports himself very scholarly and wittily about the reformation of close-stools, and houses of office, and spicing and embalming their rank intrails, that they stink not. A tenth sets forth remedies of toasted turns against famine.

To these I might wedge in Cornelius the Brabantine, who was felo-
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niously suspected, in 87, for penning a * discourse of Tuftmockados; and a country gentleman of my acquaintance, who is launching forth a treatise, as big garbed, as the French academy of the *cornucopia* of a cow, and what an advantageable creature she is, beyond all the four-footed rabblement of herbagers and grass-champers, day nor night, that she can rest for filing and tampering about it; as also a sworn brother of his, that so bangeth poor paper, in laud of bag-pudding, as a Switzer would not believe it. Neither of their decads are yet stamped, but, before Midsummer term, they will be, if their words be sure payment; and then tell me, if our English sconses be not right Sheffield or no.

The application of this whole catalogue of waste authors is no more but this, *Quot capita tot sententiae*, so many heads, so many whirligigs; and, if all these have terlery-gincked it so frivolously, of, they know not what, I may, *cum gratia & privilegio*, pronounce it, that a red-herring is wholesome in a frosty morning, and rake up some few scattered syllables together, in the polishing; excursions and circumquaques, but *totaliter appositum*.

That English merchandise is most precious, which no country can be without; if you ask Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, or Lemster, or Cotswold, what merchandise that should be, they will answer you, it is the very same, which Polydore Virgil calls, *vere aureum vellus*, the true golden fleece of our wool and English cloth, and nought else: other ingrating upland cormorants will grunt out, it is *grana paradisi*, our grain or corn that is most sought after. The Westerners and Northerners, that it is lead, tin, and iron. Butter and cheese, butter and cheese, saith the farmer; but from every one of these I dissent, and will stoutly abide by it, that, to trowl in cash throughout all nations of Christendom, there is no fellow to the red herring. The French, Spanish, and Italian, have wool enough of their own, whereof they make cloth to serve their turn, though it be somewhat courser than our's. For corn, none of the east parts but what surpasseth us; of lead and tin is the most scarcity in foreign dominions, and plenty with us, though they are not utterly barren of them. As for iron, about Isenborough, and other places of Germany, they have quadruple the store that we have. As touching butter and cheese, the Hollanders cry, by your leave we must go before you; and the Transalpiners, with their lordly Parmesan (so named of the city of Parma, in Italy, where it is first clout-crushed and made) shoulder in for the upper-hand as hotly; whenas, of our appropriate glory of the red-herring, no region, betwixt the poles artick and antartick, may, can, or will rebate from us one scruple.

On no coast, like ours, is it caught in such abundance, no where dressed in his right cue but under our horizon; hosted, roasted, and toasted here alone it is, and as well powdered and salted as any Dutchman would desire. If you articulate with me of the gain or profit of it, without the which, the new fanglest rarity, that no body can boast of but ourselves, after three day's gazing, is reversed over to children for babies to play with: behold, it is every man's money from the King to the courtier; every housholder, or goodman Baltrop, that

* See the Epistle Commendatory, before Mr. Samuel Daniel's translation of the *Emperours of Paulus Jovius*.

keeps a family in pay, casts for it as one of his standing provisions. The poorer sort make it three parts of their sustenance: with it, for his dinner, the patchedest *leather pilche laboratho* may dine like a Spanish Duke, when the niggardly mouse of beef will cost him sixpence. In the craft of catching, or taking, and smudging it, merchant and chapmanable as it should be, it sets a work thousands, who live all the rest of the year gaily well, by what, in some few weeks they scratch up then, and come to bear office of questman and scavenger in the parish where they dwell; which they could never have done, but would have begged or starved, with their wives and brats, had not this captain of the squamy cattle so stood their good lord and master: carpenters, shipwrights, makers of lines, ropes and cables, dressers of hemp, spinners of thread, and net-weavers it gives their handfults to, sets up so many salthouses to make salt, and salt upon salt; keeps in earnings the cooper, the brewer, the baker, and numbers of other people, to gill, wash, and pack it, and carry it and recarry it.

In exchange of it from other countries, they return wine and woads, for which is always paid ready gold, with salt, canuas, vitre, and a great deal of good trash. Her Majesty's tributes and customs, this *emper Augustus* of the sea's finny freeholders, augmenteth and enlargeth unaccountably, and, to the increase of navigation, for her service, he is no enemy.

Voyages of purchase or reprisals, which are now grown a common traffick, swallow up and consume more sailors and mariners than they breed, and lightly not a slop of a rope-haler they send forth to the Queen's ships, but he is first broken to the sea in the herring-man's skiff or cock-boat, where, having learned to brook all waters, and drink as he can out of a tarry can, and eat poor John out of smutty platters when he may get it, without butter or mustard, there is no ho with him, but, once heartened thus, he will needs be a man of war, or a tobacco-taker, and wear a silver whistle. Some of these, for their haughty climbing, come home with wooden legs, and some with none, but leave body and all behind; those, that escape to bring news, tell of nothing but eating tallow and young blackamoors, of five and five to a rat in every mess, and the ship-boy to the tail; of stopping their noses when they drunk stinking water that came out of the pump of the ship, and cutting a greasy buff jerkin in tripes, and broiling it for their dinners. Divers Indian adventures have been seasoned with direr mishaps, not having, for eight days space, the quantity of a candle's-end amongst eight score to grease their lips with; and, landing in the end to seek food, by the cannibal savages they have been circumvented, and forced to yield their bodies to feed them.

Our mitred archpatriarch, Leopold Herring, exacts no such * Muscovian vassalage of his liegemen, though he put them to their trumps other times, and scuppets not his beneficence into their mouths with such fresh water facility, as M. Ascham, in his schoolmaster, would imply. His words are these, in his Censure upon Varro: 'He enters not,' saith he, 'into any great depth of eloquence, but, as one carried in a small low vessel by himself very nigh the common shore; not

* That is, for a man to be his own executioner, and, at his Prince's beck, to go up to the top of the rock, and thence throw himself headlong. Vol. lxiii. page 2.

much unlike the fishermen of Rye, or herring-men of Yarmouth, who deserve, by common men's opinion, small commendation for any cunning sailing at all.' Well, he was her Majesty's schoolmaster, and a St. John's man in Cambridge, in which house once I took up my inn for seven years together lacking a quarter, and yet love it still, for it is, and ever was, the sweetest nurse of knowledge in all that university. Therefore I will keep fair quarter with him, and expostulate the matter more tamely. *Memorandum non ab uno*, I vary not a minimum from him, that, in the captious mystery of Monsieur Herring, low vessels will not give their heads for the washing, holding their own pell-mell in all weathers, as roughly as vaster timber-men, though not so near the shore, as, through ignorance of the coast he soundeth; nor one man by himself alone, to do every thing, which is the opinion of one man, by himself alone, and not believed of any other. Five to one, if he were alive, I would beat against him, since one, without five, is as good as none, to govern the most egg-shell shallop that floateth, and spread her nets, and draw them in. As stiffly could I controvert it with him about pricking his card so badly in Cape Norfolk, or Sinus Yarmouthiensis, and discrediting our countrymen for shore-creeper, like the Colchester oyster-men, or whitingmongers and spratcatchers. Solyman Herring, I would you should persuade yourselves, is loftier-minded, and keepeth more aloof than so; and those that are his followers, if they would seek him where he is, more than common danger they must incur in close driving under sands, which alternately, or betwixt times, when he is disposed to insconce himself, are his intrenching rendezvous, or castle of retiring; and otherwise, forty or threescore leagues in the roating territory, they are glad, on their wooden horses, to post after him, and scour it, with the Ethiopian pitchboards, till they be windless in his quest and pursuing. Returning from waiting on him, have with you to the Adriatick, and abroad every where far and near, to make port-sail of their perfumed smoky commodities, and, that toil rocked asleep, they are for *Ultima Thule*, the North seas, or Iceland, and thence jerk overt that worthy Palamede Don Pedro de Linge, and his worshipful nephew Hugo Haberdine, and a trundle-tail tike or shaugh or two; and, towards Michaelmas, send home to catch herring again. This argues they should have some experience of navigation, and are not such halcyons to build their nests all on the shore, as Mr. Ascham supposeth.

Rye is one of the ancient towns belonging to the Cinque Ports, yet limpeth cinque ace behind Yarmouth, and it will sink when Yarmouth riseth, and yet, if it were put in the balance against Yarmouth, it would rise when Yarmouth sinketh; and, to stand thrashing no longer about it, Rye is Rye, and no more but Rye and Yarmouth wheat compared with it. Wherefore, had he been a right clerk of the market, he would have set a higher price on the one than the other, and set that one of highest price above the other.

Those, that deserve by common men's opinion small commendation for any cunning sailing at all, are not the Yarmouthers; however, there is a foul fault in the print escaped, that cursedly squinteth and leereth that way; but the bonny northern coblers of his country, with their Indian canoes, or boats like great beef trays, or kneading

troughs, firking as flight swift through the glassy fields of Thetis, as if it were the land of ice, and sliding over the boiling desert so early, and never bruise one bubble of it, as though they contended to outstrip the light-foot tripper in the Metamorphosis, who would run over the ripe-bending ears of corn, and never shed or perish one kernel. No such iron-fisted Cyclops, to hew it out of the flint, and run through any thing, as these frost-bitten crab-tree faced lads, spun out of the hards of the tow, which are donsel herrings lackies at Yarmouth every fishing.

Let the careeringest billow confess and absolve itself, before it prick up its bristles against them; for, if it come up on their dancing horse, and offers to tilt it with them, they will ask no trustier lances than their oars, to beat out the brains of it, and stop his throat from belching.

These rubs removed, on with our game as fast as we may, and to the gain of the red-herring again, another crash. *Item*, if it were not for this Huniades of the liquid element, that word Quadragesima, or Lent, might be clean spunged out of the kalendar, with Rogation Week, Saints Eves, and the whole ragman roll of fasting days; and fishmongers might keep Christmas all the year, for any overlavish takings they should have of clowns and clouted shoes, and the rubbish menialty; their best customers, and their bloody adversaries, the butchers, would never leave cleaving it out in the whole chines, till they had got a Lord Mayor of their company as well as they. Nay, out of their wits they would be haunted with continual takings, and stand cross-gagged, with knives in their mouths, from one Shrove-Tuesday to another, and wear candles-ends in their hats at Midsummer, having no time to shave their pricks, or wash their fly-blown aprons, if Domingo Rufus, or Sacrapant Herring, caused not the dice to run contrary.

The Romish rotten Pythagoreans, or Carthusian Friars, that mump on nothing but fish, in what a flegmatick predicament would they be, did not this counter-poison of the spitting-sickness (sixty-fold more restorative than bezer) patch them out and preserve them, which being double roasted, and dried as it is, not only sucks up all the rheumatick inundations, but is a shoeing-horn for a pint of wine overplus.

The sweet smack that Yarmouth finds in it, and how it hath made it *lippitudo Attice* (as it was said of *Ægina*, her near adjacent confronter) the blemish and stain of all her salt-water sisters in England, and multiplied it from a mole-hill of sand, to a cloud-crowned Mount Tene-riff, abbreviately and meetly, according to my old Sarum plain song I have harped upon; and that, if there were no other certificate, or instance of the inlinked consanguinity betwixt him and Lady Lucar, is *instar mille*, worth a million of witnesses, to exemplify the riches of him. The poets were trivial, that set up Helen's face for such a top-gallant summer maypole for men to gaze at, and strutted it out so in their buskin brags of her beauty, whereof the only Circe's pass, and repass, was that which drew a thousand ships to Troy, to fetch her back with a pestilence. Wise men in Greece, in the mean while, to swagger so about a whore.

Eloquious hoary beard, Father Nestor, you were one of them, and you Mr. Ulysses, the prudent dwarf of Pallas, another, of whom it is Iliadized, that your very nose dropped sugar-candy, and that your spittle was honey. Natalis Comes, if he were above ground, would be sworn upon it. As loud a ringing * miracle, as the attractive melting eye of that strumpet, can we supply them with of our dapper Piemont Huldrick Herring, which draweth more barques to Yarmouth bay, than her beauty did to Troy. O! he is attended upon most Babilonically, and Xerxes so evercloyed not the Hellespont, with his frigates, gallies, and brigantines, as he mantleth the narrow seas with his retinue, being not much behind in the checkroll of his janisaries and contributories, with eagle-soaring Bullingbrook, that at his removing of household into banishment, as Father Froysard threatens us down, was accompanied with forty-thousand men, women, and children weeping, from London to the Land's end, at Dover. A colony of critical Zenos, should they sinew their syllogistical cluster-fists in one bundle, to confute and disprove moving, were they but, during the time they might lap up a mess of buttered fish, in Yarmouth one fishing, such a violent motion of toiling myrmidons they should be spectators of, and a confused stirring to and fro of a † Lepanto like host of unfatigable flood-bickerers, and foam-curbers, that they would not move or stir one foot, till they had disclaimed and abjured their bedrid spittle positions. In truth and sincerity, I never crowded through this confluent herring fair, but it put me in memory of the great year of Jubilee, in Edward the Third's time, in which it is sealed and delivered under the hands of a publick notary, three-hundred thousand people roamed to Rome, for purgatory pills, and paternal venial benedictions, and the ways beyond sea were so bunged up with your daily orators or beads-men, and your crutched and crouched friars or cross-creepers and bare-foot penitentiaries, that a snail could not wriggle in her horns betwixt them. Small things we may express by great, and great by small; though the greatness of the red-herring be not small, as small a hop on my thumb as he seemeth. It is with him, as with great personages, which from their high estate, and not their high statures, propagate the elevated titles of their Gogmagogs. Cast his state, who will, and they shall find it to be very high-coloured, as high-coloured as his complexion, if I said there were not a pimple to be abated. In Yarmouth, he hath set up his state-house, where, one quarter of a year, he keeps open court for Jews and Gentiles.

To fetch him in, in ‡ Trojan equipage, some of every of the Christ-cross alphabet of outlandish cosmopoli furrow up the rugged brine, and sweep through his tumultuous ooze, will or nill he, rather than, in tendering their allegiance, they should be benighted with tardity. For our English Microcosmos or Phœnician Dido's hide of ground, no shire, county, count palatine, or quarter of it, but rigs out some oaken squadron or other to waft him along || Cleopatraean § Olympickly, and not the least nook or crevice of them, but is parturient of the like

* In old time, they used to ring out at any miracle.

† The sea battle at Lepanto, fought in the beginning of her Majesty's reign.

‡ The fatal wooden horse at Troy, fetched in with such pomp.

§ Cleopatra's glorious sailing to meet Anthony.

|| The solemn bringing of the champions at Olympus.

§ The solemn bringing

superofficiousness *, arming forth, though it be but a catch or pink no capabler than a rundlet or washing-bowl, to imp the wings of his convoy. Holy St. Taurbard, in what droves, the gouty-bagged Londoners hurry down, and dye the watchet air of an iron russet hue with the dust, that they raise in hot spurred rowelling it on to perform compliments unto him? One beck more, to the bailiffs of the Cinque-Ports, whom I was a ruder barbarian than Smill, the prince of the Crims and Nagayans, if in this action, I should forget (having had good chear at their tables, more than once or twice, whilst I loitered in this paragonless-fish-town) city, town, or country. Robin Hood and little John and who not, are industrious and careful to esquire and safe conduct him in; but in ushering him in, next to the bailiffs of Yarmouth, they trot before all, and play the provost marshals, helping to keep good rule, the first three weeks of his ingress, and never leave roaring it out with their brasen horn, as long as they stay, of the freedoms and immunities sourcing from him. Being thus entered or brought in, the consistorians, or settled standers of Yarmouth, commence intestine wars amongst themselves, who should give him the largest hospitality, and gather about him, as flocking to hansel him, and strike him good luck, as the sweetkin madams did about valiant Sir Walter Manny, the martial tutor unto the Black Prince, he that built the Charter-House; who being upon the point of a hazardous journey into France, either to win the horse, or lose the saddle (as it runs in the proverb) and taking his leave at court, in a suit of mail from top to toe, all the ladies clung about him, and would not let him stretch out a step, till they had fettered him, with their variable favours, and embroidered over his armour, like a gaudy summer mead, with three scarfs, bracelets, chains, and ouches; in generous regard whereof he sacramentally obliged himself, That had the French King as many giants in his country, as he hath pears or grapes, and they stood all enraged on the shore to hinder his disembarking, through the thickest thorny quickset of them, he would pierce, or be tost up to heaven, on their spears; but, in honour of those debonaire Idalian nymphs and their spangled trappings, he would be the first man should set foot in his kingdom, or unsheath steel against him. As he promised, so was his † Manly blade's execution; and, in emulation of him, whole herds of knights and gentlemen closed up their right eyes with a piece of silk every one, and vowed never to uncover them, or let them see light, till, in the advancement of their mistresses beauties, they had enacted with their brandished Bilboa blades some chivalrous Belle-rophon's trick at arms, that, from Salomon's Islands to St. Magnus Corner, might cry clang again. O! it was a brave age then, and so it is ever, where there are offensive wars, and not defensive, and men fight for the spoil, and not in fear to be spoiled, and are as lions, seeking out their prey, and not as sheep, that lie still, whilst they are preyed on. The red-herring is a legate of peace, and so abhorrent from unnatural bloodshed, that if, in his quarrel or bandying, who should harbing him, there be any hewing or slashing, or trials of life and death there, where that hangman, embowelling, is, his pursuivants or bailiffs return, *Non*

* Tugging forth by the strength of their arms.

† Manny quasi Manly, and from him, I take it, the Manny's of Kent are descended.

est inventus; out of one bailiwick he is fled, never to be fastened on there more. The Scotch jockies, or Red-shanks (so sir-named of their immoderate maunching up the red-shanks, or red-herrings, uphold and make good the same; their clack or gabbling to this purport: 'How, *in diebus illis*, when Robert de Breaux, their gud King, sent his deare heart to the Haly Land, for reason he caud not gang thider himself, (or then, or thereabout, or whilome before, or whilome after, it matters not) they had the staple or fruits of the herring in their road or channel, till a foule ill feud arose amongst his sectaries and servitours; and there was mickle tule, and a black warld, and a deale of whinyards drawne about him, and many sacklesse wights and praty barnes run through the tender weambis; and, fra thence, ne sarry taile of a herring in thilke sound they caud gripe.' This language, or parley, have I usurped from some of the deftest lads in all Edinburgh town; which it will be no impeachment for the wisest to turn loose for a truth, without any diffident wrestling with it. The sympathy thereunto in our own frothy streams we have took napping; wherefore, without any further bolstering or backing, this Scotch history may bear the palm; and, if any further bolstering or backing be required, it is evident, by the confession of the six-hundred Scotch witches executed in Scotland at Bartholomew tide was twelvemonth, that, in Yarmouth Road, they were all together in a plump on Christmas-eve was two years, when the great flood was, and there stirred up such Ternado's and Furicano's of tempests (in envy, as I collect) that the staple of the herring from them was translated to Yarmouth, as will be spoken of there, whilst any winds, or storms and tempests chafe and puff in the lower region. They, and all the seafaring towns under our temperate zone of peace, may well envy her prosperity, but they cannot march cheek by jowl with her, or co-equal her; and there is no such manifest sign of great prosperity, as a general envy encompassing it. Kings and noblemen it cleaves unto, that walk upright, and are any thing happy; and even amongst mean artificers it thrusts in its foot, one of them envying another, if he have a knack above another, or his gains be greater; and, if in his art they cannot disgrace him, they will find a starting-hole in his life, that shall confound him; For example: There is a * mathematical smith, or artificer, in Yarmouth, that hath made a lock and key that weighs but three farthings; and a chest, with a pair of knit gloves in the till thereof, whose poise is no more but a groat. Now I do not think, but all the smiths in London, Norwich, or York, if they heard of him, would envy him, if they could not out-work him. Hydra herring will have every thing † Sybarite dainty, where he lays knife a-board, or he will fly them, he will not look upon them. Stately-born, stately-sprung he is, the best blood of the Ptolemies no statelier; and, with what state he hath been used from his swaddling-clouts, I have reiterated unto you; and, which is a note above Eta, stately Hyperion, or the lordly sun, the most rutilant planet of the seven, in Lent, when Heralius Herring enters into his chief reign and scepterdom, skippeth and danceth the goat's jump on the earth, for joy of its entrance. Do but mark him on your walls, any morning at that season, how he sallies and lavantoes, and

* John Tirrkle.

† The Sybarites never would make any banquet, under a twelvemonth's ruling.

you will say I am no fabler. Of so eye-bewitching, a deaurate, ruddy dye is the skin-coat of this landsgrave, that happy is that nobleman, who, for his colours in armoury, can nearest imitate his chymical temper. Nay, which is more, if a man should tell you, that the god Hymen's saffron-coloured robe were made of nothing but red-herrings skins, you would hardly believe him. Such is the obduracy and hardness of heart of a number of infidels, in these days, they will tear herrings out of their skins, as fast as one of these Exchequer tellers can turn over a heap of money; but his virtues, both exterior and interior, they have no more taste of, than of a dish of stock-fish. Somewhere I have snatched up a jest of a king, that was desirous to try what kind of flesh-meat was most nutritive and prosperous with a man's body; and, to that purpose, he commanded four hungry fellows, in four separate rooms by themselves to be shut up for a year and a day; whereof the first should have his gut bombasted with beef, and nothing else, till he cried Hold, Belly, hold; and so the second to have his paunch crammed with pork, the third with mutton, and the fourth with veal. At the twelvemonth's end they were brought before him, and he inquired of every one orderly, What he had eat? Thereupon outstepped the stall-fed foreman, that had been at host with the fat ox, and was grown as fat as an ox with tiring on the sir-loins, and baft in his face, Beef, Beef, Beef. Next, the Norfolk hog, or swine worrier, who had got him a sagging pair of cheeks, like a sow's paps that gives suck, with the plentiful maste set before him, came lazily waddling in, and puffed out, Pork, Pork, Pork. Then the sly sheep-biter issued into the midst, and sommersetted and flip-flapped it twenty times above ground as light as a feather, and cried, Mutton, Mutton, Mutton. Last, the Essex calf, or lag-man, who had lost the calves of his legs by gnawing on the horse-legs, shuddering and quaking, limped after, with a visage as pale as a piece of white leather, and a staff in his hand, and an handkerchief on his head, and very lamentably vociferated, Veal, Veal, Veal. A witty toy of his noble grace it was, and different from the recipe's and prescriptions of modern physicians, that to any sick languishers, if they be able to waggle their chaps, propound veal for one of the highest nourishers.

But, had his Principality gone through with fish as well as flesh, and put a man to livery with the red-herring but as long, he would have come in * Hurrey, Hurrey, Hurrey, as if he were harrying and chasing his enemies; and Bevis of Hampton, after he had been out of his diet, should not have been able to have stood before him. A cholerick parcel of food it is, that whoso ties himself to rack and manger to for five summers, and five winters, he shall beget a child that will be a soldier and a commander before he hath cast his first teeth; and an Alexander, a Julius Cæsar, a Scanderbeg Barbarossa, he will prove ere he aspire to thirty.

But to think on a red-herring, such a hot stirring meat it is, is enough to make the cravenest dastard proclaim fire and sword against Spain: The most itinerant virgin wax phisnomy, that taints his throat with the least rib of it; it will imbrawn and iron-crust his flesh, and harden his soft bleeding veins as stiff and robustious as branches of coral. The art

* As much to as Vrray, Vrray, Vrray, one of the principal places where the herring is caught.

of kindling of fires, that is practised in the smoaking or parching of him, is old dog against the plague: Too foul-mouthed I am, to becollow, or becollier him, with such chimney-sweeping attributes of smoaking and parching. Will you have the secret of it? This well-meaning *Pater patriæ*, and proveditor and supporter of Yarmouth, which is the lock and key of Norfolk, looking pale and sea-sick at his first landing, those that be his stewards, or necessariest men about him, whirl him, in a thought, out of the raw cold air, to some stew or hot-house, where immuring himself for three or four days, when he un-houseth him, or hath cast off his shell, he is as freckled about the gills, and looks as red as a fox, clumsy, and is more surly to be spoken with than ever he was before; and, like Lais of Corinth, will smile upon no man, except he may have his own asking. There are that number of herrings vented out of Yarmouth every year, though the grammarians make no plural number of *Halec*, as not only they are more by two thousand lasts than our own land can spend, but they fill all other lands, to whom, at their own prices, they sell them, and happy is he that can first lay hold of them. And how can it be otherwise? For if Cornish pilchards, otherwise called Fumado's, taken on the shore of Cornwall, from July to November, be so saleable as they are in France, Spain, and Italy, which are but counterfeits to the red-herring, as copper to gold, or ockamy to silver; much more their elbows itch for joy, when they meet with the true gold, the true red-herring itself. No true flying fish but he; or if there be, that fish never flies but when his wings were wet, and the red-herring flies best when his wings are dry; throughout Belgia, High Germany, France, Spain, and Italy he flies; and up into Greece and Africa, south, and southwest, ostrich-like, walks his stations; and the sepulchre palmers or pilgrims, because he is so portable, fill their scrips with them: Yea, no dispraise to the blood of the Ottomans, the Nabuchedonesor of Constantinople, and giantly Antæus, that never yawueth nor sneeseth but he affrighteth the whole earth, gormandising, muncheth him up for imperial dainties, and will not spare his idol Mahomet a bit with him, no not though it would fetch him from heaven forty years before his time; whence with his dove, that he taught to peck barley out of his ear, and brought his disciples into a fool's paradise, that it was the Holy Ghost in her similitude, he is expected every minute to descend; but, I am afraid, as he was troubled with the falling sickness in his life-time, in like manner it took him in his mounting up to heaven, and so *ab inferno nulla redemptio*, he is fallen backward into hell, and they are never more like to hear of him. Whilst I am shuffling and cutting with these long-coated Turks, would any antiquary would explicate unto me this remblere, or quiddity: Whether those * turbanto grout-heads, that hang all men by the throats on iron hooks, even as our towers hang all their herrings by the throats on wooden spits, first learned it of our herring men, or our herring men of them? Why the Alchoranship of that Beelzebub of the Saracens, Rhinoceros Zelim aforesaid, should so much delight in this shiny animal, I cannot guess, except he had a desire to imitate Midas in eating of gold, or Dionysius

* Turbans, the great lawn roll, which the Turks wear about their heads.

in stripping of Jupiter of his golden coat; and, to shoot my fool's bolt amongst you, that fable of Midas's eating gold had no other shadow, or inclusive pith in it, but he was of a queasy stomach, and nothing he could fancy, but this new-found gilded fish, which Bacchus, at his request, gave him, tho' it was not known here two thousand years after, for it was the delicates of the gods, and no mortal food, till of late years. Midas, unexperienced of the nature of it, for he was a fool, and had ass's ears, snapped it up at one blow, and, because in the boiling or seething it in his maw, he felt it commotion a little and upbraided him, he thought he had eaten gold indeed, and thereupon directed his orizons to Bacchus afresh, to help it out of his crop again, and have mercy upon him and recover him; he, propensive and inclining to Midas's devotion in every thing, in lieu of the friendly hospitalities, drunken Silenus, his companion, found at his hands when he strayed away from him, bad him but go and wash himself in the river Pactolus, that is, go wash it down soundly with flowing cups of wine, and he should be as well as ever he was. By the turning of the river Pactolus into gold, after he had rinsed and clarified himself in it, which is the close of the fiction, is signified, that, in regard of that blessed operation of the juice of the grape in him, from that day forth, in nothing but golden cups, he would drink or quaff it; whereas, in wooden mazers, and Agathocles earthen stuff, they trilled it off before, and that was the first time that any golden cups were used.

Follow this tract in expounding the tale of Dionysius and Jupiter. No such Jupiter, no such golden-coated image was there; but it was a plain, golden-coated red-herring without welt or garde, whom, for the strangeness of it, (they having never beheld a beast of that hue before) in their temples inshrined for a god; and, insomuch as Jupiter had shewed them such slippery pranks more than once or twice, in shifting himself into sundry shapes, and raining himself down in gold into a woman's lap, they thought this too might be a trick of youth in him, to alter himself into the form of this golden scali-ger, or red-herring. And therefore, as to Jupiter, they fell down on their marrow bones, and lifted up their hay-cromes unto him. Now, King Dionysius being a good wise fellow, for he was afterwards a schoolmaster, and had plaid the coachman to Plato, and spit in Aristippus the philosopher's face, many a time and oft, no sooner entered their temple, and saw him sit under his canopy so budgely, with a whole goldsmith's stall of jewels and rich offerings at his feet, but to him he stepped, and plucked him from his state with a wennion; then, drawing out his knife most iracundiously, at one whisk lopped off his head, and stripped him out of his golden demy or mandillion, and fhead him, and thrust him down his pudding house at a gobbe; yet, long it prospered not with him, so revengeful a just Jupiter is the red-herring, for, as he tore him from his throne, and un eased him of his habiliments, so, in a small revolution of years, from his throne he was chased, and clean stripped of his royalty, and glad to play the schoolmaster at Corinth, and take a rod in his hand for his scepter, and horn book pigmies for his subjects, *id est* (as I intimated some dozen lines before) of a tyrant, to become a frowning pedant, or schoolmaster,

Many of you have read these stories, and could never pick out any such English; no more would you of the Ismael Persians Haly, or Mortuus Alli, they worship, whose true etymology is, *mortuum halec*, a dead red-herring, and no other, though, by corruption of speech, they false dialect and miss-sound it. Let any Persian oppugn this, and, in spite of his hairy tuft, or love lock he leaves on the top of his crown, to be pulled up, or pulled up to heaven by, I will set my foot to his, and fight it out with him, that their fopperly God is not so good as a red-herring. To recount *ab ovo*, or from the church book of his birth, how the herring first came to be a fish, and then, how he came to be king of fishes, and gradually, how from white to red he changed, would require as massy a tome as Hollinshead; but, in half a penny-worth of paper, I will epitomise them. Let me see, hath any body in Yarmouth heard of Leander and Hero, of whom divine Musæus sung, and a diviner muse than him, Kit Marlow?

Two faithful lovers they were, as every apprentice in Paul's church-yard will tell you for your love, and sell you for your money: the one dwelt at Abydos in Asia, which was Leander; the other, which was Hero, his mistress, or Delia, at Sestos in Europe, and she was a pretty pinkany and Venus's priest; and, but an arm of the sea divided them: It divided them, and it divided them not, for over that arm of the sea could be made a long arm. In their parents the most division rested; and their towns, that, like Yarmouth and Leostoff, were still at wrig wrag, and sucked from their mother's teats serpentine hatred one against each other; which drove Leander, when he durst not deal above-board, or be seen a-board any ship, to sail to his lady dear, to play the didopper and ducking water-spaniel to swim to her, nor that in the day, but by owl-light.

What will not blind night do for blind Cupid? And what will not blind Cupid do in the night, which is his blindman's holiday? By the sea-side on the other side, stood Hero's tower; such an other tower as one of our Irish castles, that is not so wide as a belfry, and a cobbler cannot jert out his elbows in; a cage or pigeon-house, roomsome enough to comprehend her, and the toothless trot her nurse, who was her only chatmate and chambermaid; consultively by her parents being so incloistered from resort, that she might live a chaste vestal priest to Venus, the queen of unchastity. She would none of that she thanked them, for she was better provided, and that, which they thought served their turn best, of sequestering her from company, served her turn best to embrace the company she desired. Fate is a spaniel that you cannot beat from you; the more you think to cross it, the more you bless it and further it.

Neither her father nor mother vowed chastity when she was begot; therefore she thought they begat her not to live chaste, and either she must prove herself a bastard, or shew herself like them. Of Leander you may write upon, and it is written upon, she liked it well; and, for all he was a naked man, and clean dispoiled to the skin, when he sprawled through the brackish fuds to scale her tower, all the strength of it could not hold him out. O ware a naked man, Cythera's nuna had no power to resist him; and some such quality is ascribed to the

lion. Were he never so naked when he came to her, because he should not scare her, she found a means to cover him in her bed; and, that he might not take cold after his swimming, she lay close by him to keep him warm. This scuffling, or bopeep in the dark, they had a while, without weam or brack, and the old nurse (as there be three things seldom in their kind, till they be old, a bawd, a witch, and a midwife) executed the huckstring office of her years, very charily and circumspectly, till their sliding stars revolted from them, and then, for seven days together, the wind and the Hellespont contended which should howl louder; the waves dashed up the clouds, and the clouds, on the other side, spit and drivelled upon them as fast.

Hero wept as trickling as the heavens, to think that heaven should so divorce them. Leander stormed worse than the storms, that, by them, he should be so restrained from his Cynthia. At Sestos was his soul, and he could not abide to tarry in Abydos. Rain, snow, hail, or blow it how it could, into the pitchy Hellespont he leapt, when the moon and all torch-bearers were afraid to peep out their heads; but he was peppered for it; he had as good have took meat, drink, and leisure, for the churlish, frampoled waves gave him his belly-full of fish-broth, before, out of their laundry or wash-house they would grant him his coquet, or Transire; and not only that, but they sealed him his *Quictus est*, for curveting any more to the Maiden Tower, and tossed his dead carcase, well bathed or parboiled, to the sandy threshold of his lemon or orange, for a disjune, or morning breakfast. All that live long night could she not sleep, she was so troubled with the rheum, which was a sign she should hear of some drowning: yet, towards cock-crowing, she caught a little slumber, and then she dreamed, that Leander and she were playing at check-stone, with pearls, in the bottom of the sea.

You may see dreams are not so vain as they are preached of, though, not in vain, preachers inveigh against them, and bend themselves out of people's minds, to exhale their foolish superstition. The rheum is the students's disease, and who study most dream most. The labouring men's hands glow and blister after their day's work: The glowing and blistering of our brains, after our day-labouring cogitations, are dreams, and those dreams are raking vapours of no impressions, if your matchless couches be not half empty. Hero hoped, and therefore she dreamed (as all hope is but a dream) her hope was where her heart was, and, her heart winding, and turning with the wind that might wind her heart of gold to her, or else turn him from her. Hope and fear both combated in her, and both these are wakeful, which made her at break of day, (what an old crone is the day, that is so long a breaking?) to unloop her luket, or casement, to look whence the blasts came, or what gait or pace the sea kept, when forthwith her eyes bred her eyesore, the first white, whereon their transpiercing arrows stuck, being the breathless corpse of Leander; with the sudden contemplation of this piteous spectacle of her love, sodden to haddock's meat, her sorrow could not choose but be indefinite, if her delight in him were but indifferent; and there is no woman but delights in sorrow, or she would not use it so lightly for every thing.

Down she ran in her loose night-gown, and her hair about her ears (even as Semiramis ran out with her lye-pot in her hand, and her black dangling tresses about her shoulders, with her ivory comb insnarled in them, when she heard that Babylon was taken) and thought to have kissed his dead corpse alive again; but as, on his blue-jellied sturgeon lips, she was about to clap one of those warm plaisters, boisterous wool-packs of ridged tides came rolling in, and forced him from her (with a mind belike to carry him back to Abydos.) At that she became a frantick Bacchanal outright, and made no more bones, but sprang after him, and so resigned up her priesthood, and left work for Musæus and Kit Marlow. The gods and goddesses, all on a row, bread and crow, from Ops to Pomona, the first apple-wife, were so dumped with this miserable wreck, that they began to abhor all moisture for the sea's sake; and Jupiter could not endure Ganymede, his cup-bearer, to come in his presence, both for the dislike he bore to Neptune's baneful liquor, as also that he was so like to Leander. The sun was so in his mumps upon it, that it was almost noon before he could go to cart that day, and then with so ill a will he went, that he had thought to have toppled his burning car, or hurry-curry into the sea (as Phaeton did) to scorch it and dry it up; and at night, when he was begrimed with dust and sweat of his journey, he would not descend as he was wont, to wash him in the ocean, but under a tree laid him down to rest in his cloaths all night; and so did the scowling moon under another, hard by him, which of that are beghighted the trees of the sun and moon, and are the same that Sir John Maundevile tells us, he spoke with, and that spoke to Alexander. Venus, for Hero was her priest, and Juno Lucina the midwife's goddess, for she was now quickned, and cast away by the cruelty of Æolus, took bread and salt, and eat it, that they would be smartly revenged on that truculent windy jailor; and they forgot it not, for Venus made his son and his daughter to commit incest together. Lucina, that there might be some lasting characters of his shame, helped to bring her to bed of a godly boy, and Æolus, bolting out all this, heaped murder upon murder.

The dint of destiny could not be repealed in the reviving of Hero and Leander; but their heavenly hood, in their synod, thus decreed, that, as they were either of them sea-borderers, and crowned in the sea, still to the sea they must belong, and be divided in habitation after death, as they were in their life-time. Leander, for that in a cold, dark, testy night he had his passport to Charon, they terminated to the unquiet, cold coast of Iceland, where half the year is nothing but dark night, and to that fish translated him, which with us is termed Ling. Hero, for that she was pagled and tympanised, and sustained two losses under one, they foot-balled their heads together, and protested to make the stem of her, loins of all fishes, the flanting Fabian or Palmerin of England, which is Cadwallader Herring; and as their meetings were but seldom, and not so often as welcome, so but seldom should they meet in the heel of the week, at the best men's tables, upon Fridays and Saturdays, the holy time of Lent exempted, and then they might be at meat and meal for seven weeks together.

The nurse or mother Mampudding, that was a cowering on the back-side, whilst these things were a tragedising, led by the scrotch or outcry, to the prospect of this sorrowful heigho: as soon as, through the ravell'd button holes of her blear eyes, she had sucked in and received such a revelation of doomsday, and that she saw her mistress mounted a cockhorse, and hoisted away to hell or to heaven, on the backs of those rough-headed ruffians, down she sunk to the earth, as dead as a door nail, and never mumped crust after. Whereof their supernalities (having a drop or two of pity left of the huge hogshhead of tears, they spent for Hero and Leander) seemed to be something sorry, though they could not weep for it; and because they would be sure to have a medicine, that should make them weep at all times, to that kind of grain they turned her, which we call mustard-seed, as well for that she was a shrewish snappish bawd, that would bite off a man's nose with an answer, and had rheumatick sore eyes, that ran always, as that she might accompany Hero and Leander, after death, as in her life-time; and hence it is, that mustard bites a man so by the nose, and makes him weep and water his plants, when he tasteth it: and that Hero and Leander, the red-herring and ling, never come to the board without mustard, their waiting-maid: and if you mark it, mustard looks of the tanned wainscot hue, of such a withered wrinkle-faced beldam, as she was, that was altered thereinto. Loving Hero, however altered, had a smack of love still, and therefore to the coast of Lovingland (to Yarmouth near adjoining, and within her liberties of Kirtley Road) she accustomed to come in pilgrimage, every year; but contentions arising there, and she remembring the event of the contentions betwixt Sestos and Abydos, that wrought both Leander's death and her's, shunneth it of late, and retireth more northwards; so she shunneth unquiet Hamber, because Elstred was drowned there, and the Scots seas, as before; and every other sea where any blood hath been spilt, for her own sea's sake, that spilt her sweet sweetheart's blood and her's.

Whippet, turn to a new lesson, and strike we up John for the King, or tell how the herring scrambled up to be King of all fishes. So it fell upon a time and tide, though not upon a holiday; a faulconer bringing over certain hawks out of Ireland, and airing them above hatches on ship-board, and giving them stones to cast and scour, one of them broke loose from his fist, before he was aware, which being in her kingdom, when she was got upon her wings, and finding herself empty gorged, after her casting; up to heaven she towered to seek prey, but there being no game to please her, down she fluttered to the sea again, and, a speckled fish playing above the water, at it she struck, mistaking it for a partridge. A shark or tuberon, that lay gaping for the flying fish hard by, what did me he, but, seeing the markfall so just in his mouth, chopped a-loft, and snapped her up bells and all, at a mouthful. The news of this murderous act being carried by the King's fisher to the ears of the land fowls, there was nothing but arm, arm, arm, to sea, to sea, swallow and titmouse, to take chastisement of that trespass of blood and death, committed against a peer of their blood royal. Preparation was made, the muster taken, the leaders allotted, and had their bills to take up pay; an old goshawk for

general was appointed, for marshal of the field a sparrowhawk, whom, for no former desert, they put in office, but because it was one of their lineage had sustained that wrong, and they thought they would be more implacable in condoling and commiserating. The peacocks with their spotted coats and affrighting voices, for heralds, they pricked and enlisted; and the cockadoodling cocks, for their trumpeters (look upon any cock, and look upon any trumpeters, and see if he look not as red as a cock, after his trumpeting, and a cock as red as he, after his crowing.) The kistrils or windsuckers, that, filling themselves with wind, fly against the wind evermore, for their full-sailed standard-bearers; the cranes for pikemen, and the woodcocks for demilances; and so of the rest every one, according to that place, by nature, he was most apt for. Away to the land's end they trig all the sky-bred chirpers of them; when they came there, *Æquora nos terrent & ponti tristis imago*. They had wings of good-will to fly with, but no webs on their feet to swim with; for, except the water fowls had mercy upon them, and stood their faithful confederates and back-friends, on their backs to transport them, they might return home, like good fools, and gather straws to build their nests, or fall to their old trade of picking worms. In sum, to the water fowls unanimously they recourse, and besought duck, and drake, swan and goose, halcyons and sea-pies, cormorants and sea-gulls for their hoary assistance, and aidful furtherance in this action.

They were not obdurate to beintreated, though they had little cause to revenge the hawk's quarrel, from them; having received so many high displeasures, and slaughters, and rapines of their race; yet, in a general prosecution, private feuds they trod under foot, and submitted their endeavours to be at their limitation in every thing.

The puffin that is half fish, half flesh, a John indifferent, and an Ambodexter b-twixt either, bewrayed this conspiracy to Proteus's herds, or the fraternity of fishes, which the greater giants of Russia and Iceland, as the whale, the sea-horse, the norse, the wasserman, the dolphin, the grampus, feared and jeered at as a ridiculous danger; but the lesser pigmies and spawn of them thought it meet to provide for themselves betimes, and elect a king amongst them, that might lead them to battle, and under whose colours they might march against these birds of a feather, that had so colleagued themselves together, to destroy them.

Who this king should be, beshackled their wits, and laid them a dry ground every one. No ravening fish they would put in arms, for fear, after he had everted their foes, and fleshed himself in blood, for interchange of diet, he would raven up them.

Some politick delegatory Scipio, or witty-pated Petito, like the heir of *Laertes per aphæresin*, *Ulysses*, well known unto them by his prolixious sea-wandering, and dancing on their topless tottering hills, they would single forth, if it might be, whom they might depose when they list, if he should begin to tyrannise; and such a one as, of himself, were able to make a sound party, if all failed, and bid base to the enemy, with his own kindred and followers.

None won the day in this, but the herring, whom all their clamorous suffrages saluted with *Vive le Roy*, God save the King, God save the King, save only the plaice and the butt, that made wry mouths at him, and, for their mocking, have wry mouths ever since; and the herring ever since wears a coronet on his head, in token that he is, as he is. Which had the worst end of the staff in that sea journey or canvazado, or whether some fowler with his nets, as this host of feather mongers were getting up to ride double, involved or intangled them; or the water fowls played them false, as there is no more love betwixt them, than betwixt sailors and land soldiers, and threw them off their backs, and let them drown, when they were launched into the deep: I leave to some Alfonsus, Poggius, or Æsop to unwarp, for my pen is tired in it. But this is notorious, the herring, from that time to this, hath gone with an army, and never stirs abroad without it; and, when he stirs abroad with it, he sends out his scouts or centinels before him, that oftentimes are intercepted, and by their parti-coloured liveries descried, whom the mariners, after they have took, use in this sort: Eight or nine times they swing them about the main mast, and bid them bring them so many last of herrings, as they have swunged them times; and that shall be their ransom, and so throw them into the sea again. King, by your leave, for, in your kingship, I must leave you, and repeat how from white to red you chameleonised.

It is to be read, or to be heard of, how in the puniship or nonage of Cerdick Sands, when the best houses and walls there were of mud, or canvas or poldavies intiltments, a fisherman of Yarmouth, having drawn so many herrings he wist not what to do withal, hung the residue that he could not sell nor spend, in the suttie roof of his shed a drying: Or say thus, his shed was a cabinet in *decimo sexto*, built on four crutches, and he had no room in it, but in that garret or *excelesis* to lodge them, where if they were dry, let them be dry; for in the sea they had drunk too much, and now he would force them to penance for it.

The weather was cold, and good fires he kept (as fishermen, what hardness soever they endure at sea, they will make all smoak, but they will make amends for it, when they come to land) and what with his firing and smoaking, or smoaky firing in that his narrow lobby, his herrings, which were as white as whalebone when he hung them up, now looked as red as a lobster. It was four or five days before either he or his wife espied it, and, when they espied it, they fell down on their knees, and blessed themselves, and cried, A Miracle! A Miracle! and with the proclaiming it among their neighbours they could not be content, but to the court the fisherman would, and present it to the King, then lying at Borough Castle two miles off.

Of this Borough Castle, because it is so ancient, and there hath been a city there, I will enter into some more special mention. The Flood Waveny running through many towns of High Suffolk up to Bungey, and from thence incroaching nearer and nearer to the sea, with its twining and winding it cuts out an Island of some amplitude, named Lovingland: the head town in that island is Leostoff, in which, he is

known to all men, I was born; though my father sprung from the Nashes of Herefordshire.

The next town from Leostoff, towards Yarmouth, is Corton, and next Gorlston. More inwardly, on the left-hand, where Waveny and the river Ierus mix their waters, Cnoberi Urbs, the city of Cnober, at this day termed Burgh, or Borough Castle, had its being.

This city and castle, say Bede and master Camden, or rather Mr. Camden out of Bede, by the woods about it, and the driving of the sea up to it, was most pleasant. In it one Furfæus, a Scot, built a monastery, at whose persuasion, Sigebert, king of the East Angles, gave over his kingdom and led a monastical life there; but forth of that monastery he was haled, against his will, to encourage his subjects in their battle against the Mercians, where he perished with them.

Nothing of that castle save tattered ragged walls now remains, framed foursquare, and overgrown with briars and bushes, in stubbing up of which, some time since they dug up Roman coins, and buoys and anehors. Well, thither our fisherman set the best leg before, and unfarded to the King his whole satchel of wonders. The King was as superstitious in worshipping those miraculous herrings as the fisherman, licensed him to carry them up and down the realm for strange monsters, giving to Cerdick Sands (the birth place of such monstrosities) many privileges; and, in that the quantity of them that were caught so increased, he assigned a broken sluice in the island of Lovingland, called Herring Fleet, where they should disburden and discharge their boats of them, and render him custom. Our herring-smoaker, having worn his monsters stale throughout England, spirited over seas to Rome with a pedlar's pack of them, in the papal chair of Vigilius, he that first instituted saints eves, or vigils, to be fasted. By that time he came thither, he he had but three of his herrings left; for, by the way, he fell into the thievish hands of malecontents, and of lance-knights, by whom he was not only robbed of all his money, but was fain to redeem his life beside, with the better part of his ambry of burnished fishes.

These herrings three he rubbed and curried over till his arms aaked again, to make them glow and glare like a turkey brooch, or a London vintners's sign, thick jagged, and round fringed, with theaming arsadine, and folding them in a diaper napkin, as lilly-white as a lady's wedding smock, to the market place of Rome he was so bold as to prefer them, and there, on a high stool, unbraced and unlaced them, to any chapman's eye that would buy them. The Pope's caterer, casting a liquorish glance that way, asked what it was he had to sell: The king of fishes, he answered. The king of fishes, replied he; what is the price of them? A hundred ducats, he told him. A hundred ducats, quoth the Pope's caterer, that is a kingly price indeed, it is for no private man to deal with him: Then he is for me, said the fisherman, and so unsheathed his cuttle-bong, and from the nape of the neck to the tail dismembered him, and paunched him up at a mouthful. Home went his beatitude's caterer with a flea in his ear, and discoursed to his holiness what had happened. Is it the king of fishes? The Pope frowningly shook him up like a cat in a blanket, and is any man to

have him but I that am king of kings, and lord of lords? Go, give him his price I comma. See, and let me taste of him incontinently. Back returned the caterer like a dog that had burnt his tail, and poured down the herring merchant his hundred ducats for one of those two of the king of fishes unsold, which then he would not take, but stood upon two hundred. Thereupon they broke off; the one urging that he had offered it him so before; and the other, that he might have took him at his proffer; which since he refused, and now halpered with him; as he eat up the first, so would he eat up the second, and let Pope, or Patriarch of Constantinople, fetch it out of his belly if they could: he was as good as his word, and had no sooner spoke the word, but he did as he spoke. With a heavy heart to the palace the yeoman of the mouth departed, and rehearsed this second ill success, wherewith Peter's successor was so in his mulligrums, that he had thought to have buffeted him, and cursed him with bell, book, and candle; but he ruled his reason, and bad him, though it cost a million, to let him have that third that rested behind, and hie him expeditely thither, lest some other snatched it up, and as fast, from thence again; for he swore by his triple crown, no crumb of refection would he gnaw upon, till he had sweetened his lips with it.

So said, so done, thither he flew as swift as Mercury, and threw him his two-hundred ducats, as he before demanded. It would not sadge, for then the market was raised to three-hundred, and, the caterer grumbling thereat, the fisher swain was forward to settle him to his tools, and tire upon it, as on the other two, had not he held his hands, and desired him to keep the peace, for no money should part them: with that speech he was qualified, and pursed the three hundred ducats, and delivered him the king of fishes, teaching him to geremumble it, sauce it, and dress it, and so sent him away a glad man. All the Pope's cooks, in their white sleeves, and linnen aprons, met him mid-way, to entertain and receive the king of fishes, and together by the ears they went, who should first handle him or touch him; but the clerk of the kitchen appeased that strife, and would admit none but himself, to have the scorching and carbonading of it, and he kissed his hand thrice, and made as many humblessoes before he would finger it; and, such obeysances performed, he dressed it as he was enjoined, kneeling on his knees, and mumbling twenty *Ave Marias* to himself, in the sacrificing it on the coals, that his diligent service in the broiling and combustion of it, both to his kingship and to his fatherhood, might not seem unmeritorious. The fire had not pierced it, but, being a sweaty loggerhead, greasy sutor, endungeoned in his pocket a twelve-month, it stunk so over the Pope's palace, that not a scullion but cried foh; and those, which at the first flocked the fastest about it, now fled the most from it, and sought more to rid their hands of it, than before they sought to bless their hands with it. With much stopping of their noses, between two dishes they stewed it, and served it up. It was not come within three chambers of the Pope, but he smelt it; and, upon the smelling of it, enquiring what it should be that sent forth such a puissant perfume, the standers-by declared that it was the king of fishes: I conceited no less, said the Pope, for less than a king he

could not be that had so strong a scent; and if his breath be so strong, what is he himself? Like a great king, like a strong king I will use him, let him be carried back I say, and my cardinals shall fetch him in with dirge and processions under my canopy.

Though they were double and double weary of him, yet, his edict being a law, to the kitchen they returned him, whither, by and by, the whole college of scarlet cardinals, with their crosiers, their censers, their hosts, their *Agnus dei's* and crucifixes, flocked together, in heaps, as it had been to the conclave, or a general council, and the senior cardinal, that stood next in election, to be Pope, heaved him up from the dresser, with a dirge of *de profundis natus est fix; rex* he should have said, and so have made true Latin, but the spirable odour and pestilent steam, ascending from it, put him out of his bias of congruity, and, as true as the truest Latin of Priscian, would have queazened him, like the damp that took both Bell and Baram away, and many a worthy man that day, if he had not been protected under the Pope's canopy, and the other cardinals, with their holy water sprinkles, quenched his foggy fume and evaporating. About and about the inward and base court they circumducted him with *kyrie eleison*, and *halleluiah*, and the chanters in their golden copes, and white surplices, chaunted it out above *gloria Patri*; in praising of him, the organs played, the ordnance at the Castle of St. Angelo went off, and all wind instruments blew as loud as the wind in winter, in his passado to the Pope's ordinary or dining-chamber, where, having set him down, upon their faces they fell flat, and licked every one his ell of dust, in douking on all four unto him.

The busy epitasis of the comedy was, when the dishes were uncovered, and the swarthrutter sowre took air, for then he made such an air, as Alcides himself, that cleansed the stables of Augæus, nor any hostler was able to endure.

This is once, the Pope it popped under board, and out of his palace worse it scared him than Neptune's phocases that scared the horses of Hippolytus, or the harpies Jupiter dogs sent to vex Phineus; the cardinals were at their *ora pro nobis*, and held this suffocation a meet sufferance, for so contemning the king of fishes, and his subjects, and fleshly surfeiting in their carnivals. Necromantic sorcery, necromantic sorcery, some evil spirit of an heretick it is, which thus molesteth his apostolickship. The friars and monks caterwauled from the abbots and priors to the novices, wherefore, *tanquam in circo*, we will tronce him in a circle, and make him tell what lanternman, or groom of Hecate's close-stool he is, that thus nefariously and proditoriously profanes and penetrates our holy father's nostrils: what needs there any more ambages? The ringol, or ringed circle was compassed and chalked out, and the king of fishes, by the name of the king of fishes, conjured to appear in the centre of it; but *surdo cantant absurdi, sive surdum incantant fratres sordidi*, he was a king absolute, and would not be at every man's call; and if friar Pendela and his fellows had any thing to say to him, in his admiral court of the sea, let them seek him, and neither in Hull, Hell, nor Halifax.

They seeing, that by, their charms and spells they could spell nothing of him, fell to a more charitable suppose, that it might be the distressed soul of some king that was drowned, who, being long in purgatory, and not relieved by the prayers of the church, had leave, in that disguised form, to have egress and regress to Rome, to crave their benevolence of dirges, trentals, and so forth, to help him forward on his journey to *Limbus Patrum*, or *Elysium*; and because they would not easily believe what tortures in purgatory he had sustained, unless they were eye-witnesses of them, he thought to represent to all their senses the image and idea of his combustion, and broiling there, and the horrible stench of his sins accompanying both under his frying and broiling on the coals, in the Pope's kitchen, and the intolerable smell or stink he sent forth under either. *Una voce* in this spleen to Pope Vigilius they ran, and craved that this king of fishes might first have Christian burial; next, that he might have masses sung for him, and last, that for a Saint he would canonize him. All these he granted, to be rid of his filthy redolence, and his chief casket, wherein he put all his jewels, he made the coffin of his inclosure, and, for his insainting, look the almanack in the beginning of April; and see if you can find out such a saint as Saint Gildard, which, in honour of this gilded fish, the Pope insainted; nor there he rested and stopped, but in the mitigation of the very embers whereon he was singed, that, after he was taken by them, fumed most fulsomely of his fatty droppings, he ordained Ember-weeks in their memory, to be fasted everlastingly.

I had well nigh forgot a special point of my Romish history, and that is, how Madam Celina Cornificia, one of the curiousest curtezans of Rome, when the fame of the king of fishes was cannon-roared in her ears, she sent all her jewels to the Jewish Lombard to pawn, to buy and incaptive him to her trencher; but her purveyor came a day after the fair, and, as he came, so he fared, for not a scrap of him, but the cobs of the two herrings, the fisherman had eaten, remained of him, and those cobs, rather than he would go home with a sleeveless answer, he bought at the rate of fourscore ducats (they were rich cobs you must rate them) and of them all cobbing country chuffs, which make their bellies and their bags their Gods, are called rich cobs. Every man will not clap hands to this tale: The Norwicheers, *imprimis*, who say, the first gilding of herrings was deducted from them: and, after this guise, they tune the accent of their speech, how that when Castor was Norwich (a town two miles beyond this Norwich, that is termed to this day Norwich Castor, and having monuments of a castle in it, invironing fifty acres of ground, and ring-bolts in the walls, whereto ships were fastened) our Norwich, now upon her legs, was a poor fisher-town, and the sea spawled and springed up to her common stairs in Confur-street.

All this may pass in the Queen's peace, and no mansay bo to it: but, bawwaw, quoth Bagshaw, to that which drawlatcheth behind, of the first taking of herrings there, and currying and gilding them amongst them; whereof, if they could whisper to us any simple likelihood, or raw-boned carcass of reason, more than their imaginary dream of Gilding-cross in their parish of St. Saviour's (now stumped up by the

roots) so named, as they would have it, of the smoaky gilding of herrings there first invented, I could well have allowed of; but they must bring better cards before they win it from Yarmouth.

As good a toy to mock an ape was it of him, that shewed a country fellow the Red Sea, where all the red herrings were made (as some places in the sea, where the sun is most transpiercing, and beats with his rays ferventest, will look as red as blood) and the jest of a scholar in Cambridge, that standing angling on the town-bridge there, as the country people on the market-day passed by, secretly baited his hook with a red herring, with a bell about the neck; and so conveying it into the water that no man perceived it, all on the sudden, when he had a competent throng gathered about him, up he twitched it again, and laid it openly before them; whereat the gaping rural fools, driven into no less admiration than the common people about London, some few years since, were at the bubbling of Moor-ditch, swore by their Christendoms, that, as many days and years as they had lived, they never saw such a miracle of a red-herring taken in fresh water before. That greedy sea-gull, ignorance, is apt to devour any thing: For a new Messias they are ready to expect of the Bedlam hatmaker's wife by London Bridge; he that proclaims himself Elias, and saith he is inspired with mutton and porridge: And, with them, it is current, that Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, slain twenty years since with Stukeley at the battle of Alcazar, is raised from the dead, like Lazarus, and alive to be seen at Venice. Let them look to themselves as they will, for I am theirs to gull them better than ever I have done; and this I am sure, I have distributed gudgeon dole amongst them, as God's plenty, as any stripling of my slender portion of wit far or near. They needs will have it so, much good do it them, I cannot do withal: For, if but carelessly, betwixt sleeping and waking, I write I know not what, against plebeian publicans and sinners, no better than the sworn brokers of candlestick-turners and tinkers, and leaye some terms in suspense, that my post-haste want of argent will not give me elbow-room enough to explain and examine as I would, out steps me an infant squib of the inns of court, that hath not half greased his dining-cap, or scarce warmed his lawyer's cushion; and he, to approve himself an extravagant statesman, catcheth hold of a rush, and absolutely concludeth, it is meained of the Emperour of Russia, and that it will utterly mar the traffick into that country, if all the pamphlets be not called in and suppressed, wherein that libelling word is mentioned. Another, if but a head or a tail of any beast, he boasts of in his crest or his escutcheon, be reckoned up by chance in a volume where a man hath just occasion to reckon up all beasts in armoury, he straight engageth himself, by the honour of his house, and his never reculed sword, to thrash down the hairy roof of that brain that so seditiously mutinied against him, with the mortiferous bastinado; or cast such an incurable Italian trench in his face, as not the basest creeper upon pattens by the highway-side, but shall abhor him worse than the carrion of a dead corpse, or a man hanged up in gibbets.

I will deal more boldly, and yet it shall be securely, and in the way of honesty, to a number of God's fools, that, for their wealth, might be

deep wise men, and so forth (as now-a-days, in the opinion of the best lawyers of England, there is no wisdom without wealth, alledge what you can to the contrary of all the beggarly sages of Greece) these, I say, out of some discourses of mine, which were a mingle mangle *cum putre*, and I know not what to make of myself, have fished out such a deep politick state meaning, as if I had all the secrets of court and commonwealth at my fingers ends. Talk I of a bear; O, it is such a man that emblazons him in his arms; or of a wolf, a fox, or a chameleon, any lording, whom they do not affect, it is meant by. The great potentate, stirred up with those perverse applications, not looking into the text itself, but the ridiculous comment; or, if he looks into it, follows no other more charitable comment than that, straight thunders out his displeasure, and showers down the whole tempest of his indignation upon me; and, to amend the matter, and fully absolve himself of this rash error of misconstruing, he commits it over to be prosecuted by a worse misconstruer than himself, *videlicet*, his learned council (God forgive me, if I slander them with that title of learned, for generally they are not) and they, being compounded of nothing but vociferation and clamour, rage and fly out they care not how against a man's life, his person, his parentage, two hours before they come to the point, little remembering their own privy escapes with their laundresses, or their night walks to Paucridge, together with the hobnailed houses of their carterly ancestry, from whence they are sprung, that have cooled plough jades buttocks time out of mind, with the breath of their whistling, and, with retailing their dung to manure lands, and selling straw and chaff, scratched up the pence to make them gentlemen. But, Lord, how miserably do these ethnicks, when they once match to the purpose, set words on the tenters, never reading to a period, which you shall scarce find in thirty sheets of a lawyer's declaration, whereby they might comprehend the intire sense of the writer together, but disjoint and tear every syllable betwixt their teeth severally? And if, by no means, they can make it odious, they will be sure to bring it into disgrace by ill-favoured mouthing and mis-sounding it. These be they, that use men's writings like brute beasts, to make them draw which way they list, as a principal agent, in church controversies of this our time, complaineth. I have read a tale of a poor man and an advocate, which poor man complained to the King of wrong that the advocate had done him, in taking away his cow. The King made him no answer but this, That he would send for the advocate, and hear what he could say. Nay, quoth the poor man, if you be at that pass, that you will pause to hear what he will say, I have utterly lost my cow, for he hath words enough to make fools of ten thousand. So he, that shall have his lines banded by our usual plodders in Fitzherbert, let him not care whether they be right or wrong; for they will writh and turn them as they list, and make the author believe he meant that which he did not mean; and, for a knitting up conclusion, his credit is unreprievably lost, that, on bare suspicion in such cases, shall but have his name controverted amongst them; and, if I should fall into their hands, I would be pressed to death for obstinate silence, and never seek to clear myself, for it is in vain, since both they will confound a man's

memory with their tedious babbling, and, in the first three words of his apology, with impudent exclamations, interrupt him; whereas their mercenary tongues, lye they never so loudly, without check or controul, must have their free passage for five hours together.

I speak of the worse sort, not of the best, whom I hold in high admiration, as well for their singular gifts of art and nature, as their untainted consciences with corruption; and, from some of them, I avow, I have heard as excellent things flow, as ever I observed in Tully or Demosthenes. Those that were present at the arraignment of Lopus, to insist upon no other particular, hereof, I am sure, will bear me record. Latinless dolts, saturnine heavy-headed blunderers, my invective hath relation to; such as count all arts puppet-plays, and pretty rattles to please children, in comparison of their confused barbarous law, which, if it were set down in any Christian language, but the Getan tongue, it would never grieve a man to study it.

Neither Ovid, nor Ariosto, could, by any persuasions of their parents, be induced to study the civil law, for the harshness of it; How much more, had they been alive at this day, and born in our nation, would they have consented to study this uncivil Norman hotchpotch? This sow of lead, that hath never a ring at the end to lift it up by, is, without head, or foot, the deformedest monster that may be? I stand lawing here, what with these lawyers, and self-conceited misinterpreters, so long, that my red herring, which was hot broiling on the coals, is waxed stark cold for want of blowing. Have with them for a riddle or two, only to set their wits a nibbling, and their jobbernowls a working, and so good night to their seignories, but, with this indentment and caution, that, tho' there be neither rhyme nor reason in it, as, by my good-will there shall not, they, according to their accustomed gentle favours, whether I will or no, shall supply it with either, and run over all the peers of the land in peevish moralising and anatomising it.

There was a herring, or there was not, for it was but a cropshin, one of the refuse sort of herrings, and this herring, or this cropshin, was sensed and thrified in the smoke, and had got him a suit of durance, that would last longer than one of Erra Pater's almanacks, or a constable's brown bill; only his head was in his tail, and that made his breath so strong, that no man could abide him. Well, he was a Triton of his time, and a sweet-singing calander to the state, yet, not beloved of the showery Pleiades, or the Colossus of the sun; however, he thought himself another *Tumidus Antimachus*, as complete an Adelantado, as he that is known by wearing a cloke of tufted taffety eighteen years; and to Lady Turbot there is no demur but he would needs go a wooing, and offered her, for a dowry, whole hecatombs, and a two-handed sword; she stared upon him with Megara's eyes, like Iris the messenger of Juno, and bad him go eat a fool's head and garlick, for she would have none of him; thereupon, particularly, strictly, and usually, he replied, That, though thunder never lights on Phæbus's tree, and Amphion, that worthy musician, was husband to Niobe, and there was no such acceptable incense to the heavens as the blood of a traitor: revenged he would be, by one chimera of imagination or other, and

hamper and embark her in those mortal streights, for her disdain, that, in spite of divine symmetry and miniature, into her busky grove she should let him enter, and bid adieu, sweet Lord, or the cramp of death should wrest her heart-strings.

This speech was no spirable odour to the Achelous of her audience; whereupon, she charged him, by the extreme lineaments of the Erimanthian bear, and by the privy fistula of the Pierides, to commit no such excruciating syllables to the yielding air; for she would sooner make her a French hood of a cowshard, and a gown of spiders webs, with the sleeves drawn out with cabbages, than be so contaminated any more with his abortive loathly motives: With this, in an Olympick rage, he calls for a clean shirt, and puts on five pair of buskins, and seeketh out eloquent Xenophon, out of whose mouth the muses spoke, to declaim, in open court, against her.

The action is entered, the complaint of her wintered brows presented, of a violent rape of his heart she is indicted and convinced. The circumstance that follows you may imagine or suppose; or, without supposing or imagining, I will tell you, the nut was cracked, the strife discussed, and the center of her heart laid open; and, to this wild of sorrow and excruciamēt she was confined, either to be held a flat thornback, or sharp pricking dog fish to the publick weal, or seal herself close to his seal-skinned rivelled lips, and suffer herself, as a spirit, to be conjured into the hellish circle of his embraces.

It would not be good cropshin, Madam Turbot could not away with such a dry withered carcass to lie by her; *currat rex, vivat lex*, come what would, she would have none of him; wherefore, as a poisoner of mankind with her beauty, she was adjudged to be boiled to death in hot scalding water, and to have her posterity thoroughly sauced, and soured, and pickled in barrels of brinish tears, so ruthful and dolorous, that the inhabitants on the Bosphorus should be laxative in deploring it. O for a legion of mice-eyed decipherers and calculators upon characters, now to augurate what I mean by this; the devil, if it stood upon his salvation, cannot do it, much less petty devils, and cruel Rhadamantus upon earth (elsewhere in France and Italy *subintelligitur*, and not in our auspicious island climate) men that have no means to purchase credit with their prince, but by putting him still in fear, and beating into his opinion, that they are the only preservers of his life, in sitting up night and day in sifting out treasons, when they are the most traitors themselves, to his life, health, and quiet, in continual commacerating him with dread and terror; when, but to get a pension, or bring him in their debt next to God, for upholding his vital breath, it is neither so, nor so, but some fool, some drunken man, some madman in an intoxicated humour, hath uttered he knew not what, and they being starved for intelligence, or want of employment, take hold of it with tooth and nail, and, in spite of all the waiters, will violently break into the King's chamber, and awake him at midnight to reveal it.

Say, that a more piercing lynceous sight should dive into the intrails of this insinuating parasite's knavery; to the strappado and the stretching torture he will refer it for trial, and there either tear him limb from limb, but he will extract some capital confession from him, that shall

concern the Prince's life, and his crown and dignity, and bring himself in such necessary request about his Prince, that he may hold him for his right hand, and the only staff of his royalty, and think he were undone, if he were without him; when the poor fellow, so tyrannously handled, would rather, in that extremity of convulsion, confess he crucified Jesus Christ, than abide it any longer. I am not against it (for, God forbid I should) that it behoves all loyal, true subjects to be vigilant and jealous for their Prince's safety; and, certainly too jealous and vigilant of it they cannot be, if they be good princes that reign over them, nor use too many means of disquisition by tortures, or otherwise, to discover treasons pretended against them; but, upon the least wagging of a straw, to put them in fear where no fear is, and make a hurliburly in the realm upon had I wist, not so much for any zeal or love to their princes, or tender care of their preservation, as to pick thanks and curry a little favour, that thereby they may lay the foundation to build a suit on, or cross some great enemy they have, I will maintain, it is most lewd and detestable; I accuse none, but such there have been belonging to princes in former ages, if there be not at this hour.

Stay, let me look about: Where am I? In my text, or out of it? Not out, for a groat: Out, for an angel: Nay, I will lay no wagers, for, now I perponder more sadly upon it, I think I am out indeed. Bear with it; it was but a pretty parenthesis of princes and their parasites, which shall do you no harm, for I will cloy you with herring before we part.

Will you have the other riddle of the cropshin, to make up the pair that I promised you? You shall, you shall (not have it, I mean) but bear with me, for I cannot spare it, and, I persuade myself, you will be well contented to spare it, except it were better than the former; and yet, I pray you, What fault can you find with the former? Hath it any more sense in it, than it should have? Is it not right of the merry cobbler's cut, in the witty play of 'The Case is altered'?

I will speak a proud word, though it may be accounted arrogancy in me to praise my own stuff: If it be not more absurd than Phillip's Venus, The White Tragedy, or The Green Knight, or I can tell what English to make of it in part, or in whole, I wish, in the foulest weather that is, to go in cut Spanish leather shoes, or silk stockings, or to stand bare-headed to a nobleman, and not get of him the price of a periwig to cover my bare crown; no, not so much as a pipe of tobacco to raise my spirits, and warm my brain.

My readers, peradventure, may see more into it than I can; for, in comparison of them, in whatsoever I set forth, I am (*Bernardus non vidit omnia*) as blind as blind Bayard, and have the eyes of a beetle; nothing from them is obscure, they being quicker sighted than the sun, to espy in his beams the moles that are not, and able to transform the lightest murmuring gnat to an elephant. Carp, or descant they, as their spleen moves them, my spleen moves me not to defile my hands with them, but to fall a crash more to the red-herring.

How many are there in the world, that childishly deprave alchymy, and cannot spell the first letter of it! In the black book of which igno-

rant band of scorners, it may be, I am scored up with the highest: If I am, I must intreat them to wipe me out, for the red-herring hath lately been my ghostly father to convert me to their faith; the *probatum est* of whose transfiguration *ex luna in solem*, from his dusky tin hue into a perfect golden blandishment, only by the foggy smoke of the grossest kind of fire that is, illumines my speculative soul, what much more, not sophisticate, or superficial effects, but absolute, essential alterations of metals there may be made by an artificial, repurified flame, and divers other helps of nature added besides.

Cornelius Agrippa maketh mention of some philosophers, that held the skin of the sheep, that bore the golden fleece, to be nothing but a book of alchymy written upon it; so, if we should examine matters to the proof, we should find the red herring's skin to be little less: The accident of alchymy I will swear it is, be it but for that experiment of his smoaking alone; and, which is a secret that all tapsters will curse me for blabbing, in his skin there is plain witchcraft; for, do but rub a cann, or quart pot round about the mouth with it, let the cunningest lick-spiggot swelt his heart out, the beer shall never foam or froth in the cup, whereby to deceive men of their measure, but be as settled as if it stood all night.

Next, to draw on hounds to a scent, to a red herring's skin there is nothing comparable; the round, or cob of it, dried and beaten to powder, is *ipse ille* against the stone; and, of the whole body of it itself, the finest ladies beyond seas frame their kickshaws.

The rebel Jack Cade was the first, that devised to put red herrings in cades, and from him they have their name. Now, as we call it, the swinging of herrings, when he caded them; so in a halter was he swung, and trussed up as hard and round as any cade of herrings he trussed up in his time, and perhaps of his being so swung and trussed up, having first found out the trick to cade herring, they would so much honour him in his death, as not only to call it swinging, but cading of herring also. If the text will bear this, we will force it to bear more, but it shall be but the weight of a straw, or the weight of Jack Straw more, who with the same *Græca fide*, I marted unto you in the former, was the first that put the red herring in straw, over head and ears like beggars, and the fishermen upon that Jack-strawed him ever after; and some, for he was so beggarly a knave that challenged to be a gentleman, and had no wit nor wealth but what he got by the warm wrapping up herring, raised this proverb of him, 'Gentleman Jack Herring that puts his breeches on his head, for want of wearing.' Other disgraceful proverbs of the herring there are, as, 'Never a barrel better herring; Neither flesh nor fish, nor good red herring,' which those, that have bitten with ill bargains of either sort, have dribbed forth in revenge, and yet not have them from Yarmouth; many coast towns, besides it, enterprising to cure, salt, and pickle up herrings, but mar them; because they want the right feat, how to salt and season them. So I could pluck a crow with poet Martial, for calling it *putre halec*, the scould rotten herring; but he meant that of the fat reasty Scottish herrings, which will endure no salt, and in one month (bestow what cost on them you will) wax rammish, if they be kept; whereas our imbarrelled

white herrings, flourishing with the stately brand of Yarmouth upon them, *scilicet*, the three half lions, and the three half fishes, with the crown over their head, last in long voyages, better than the red herring, and not only are famous at Roan, Paris, Dieppe, and Caen (whereof the first, which is Roan, serveth all the high countries of France with it, and Dieppe, which is the last save one, victuals all Picardy with it) but here at home is made account of like a marquiss, and received at court right solemnly; I care not much if I rehearse to you the manner, and that is thus:

Every year about Lent tide, the sheriffs of Norwich bake certain herring pies, four and twenty as I take it, and send them as a homage to the Lord of Caster hard by there, for lands that they hold of him; who presently upon the like tenure, in bouncing hampers covered over with his cloth of arms, sees them conveyed to the Court in the best equipage; at Court when they are arrived, his man rudely enters not at first, but knocketh very civilly, and then officers come and fetch him in with torch-light, where, having disfraughted and unloaded his luggage, to supper he sets him down like a lord, with his wax lights before him, and hath his mess of meat allowed him with the largest, and his horses (*quatenus* horses) are provendered as epicurely: After this, some four mark fee toward his charges is tendered him, and he jogs home again merrily.

A white pickled herring? Why, it is meat for a prince. Haunce Vandervecke of Rotterdam, as a Dutch post informed me, in bare pickled herring, laid out twenty thousand pounds, the last fishing: He had lost his drinking belike, and thought to store himself of medicines enow to recover it.

Noble Casarean Charlemain Herring, Pliny and Gesner were to blame they slubbered thee over so negligently. I do not see why any man should envy thee, since thou art none of these Lurcones or Epulones, gluttons, or flesh-pots of Egypt (as one, that writes of the Christians captivity under the Turk, stileth us Englishmen) nor livest thou by the unliving or eviscerating of others, as most fishes do, or by any extraordinary filth whatsoever; but, as the chameleon liveth by the air, and the salamander by the fire, so only by the water art thou nourished, and nought else, and must swim as well dead as alive.

Be of good chear, my weary readers, for I have espied land, as Diogenes said to his weary scholars, when he had read to a waste leaf. Fishermen, I hope, will not find fault with me for fishing before the net, or making all fish that comes to the net in this history, since, as the Athenians bragged, they were the first that invented wrestling; and one Erichthonius amongst them, that he was the first that joined horses in collar couples for drawing; so I am the first that ever set quill to paper in praise of any fish or fishermen.

Not one of the poets aforetime could give you or the sea a good word. Ovid saith,

—————*Nimum ne credite ponto,*

The sea is a slippery companion, take heed how you trust him.

And further,

———*Perjurū pœnas repetit ille locus,*



It is a place like hell, good for nothing but to punish perjurers:

With innumerable invectives more against it, throughout in every book.

Plautus, in his *Rudens*, bringeth in fishermen cowering and quaking, dung-wet after a storm, and complaining their miserable case in this form: *Captamus cibum e mari; si eventus non venit, neque quicquam captum est piscium, salsi lautique domum redimus clanculum, dormimus incœnati*: All the meat that we eat we catch out of the sea, and if there we miss, well washed and salted, we sneak home to bed supperless; and upon the tail of it he brings in a parasite that flowteth and bourdeth them thus: *Heus vos famelica gens hominum, ut vivitis, ut peritis?* Hough you hunger-starved gubbins, or offals of men, how thrive you? how perish you? And they cringing in their necks, like rats, smothered in the hold, poorly replied, *Vivimus fame, speque sitique*, with hunger and hope, and thirst, we content ourselves. If you would not misconceit, that I studiously intended your defamation, you should have thick hail-shot of these.

Not the lousy riddle wherewith fishermen constrained, some say Homer, some say another philosopher, to drown himself, because he could not expound it, but should be dressed and set before you *supernagulum*, with eight score more galliard cross-points, and kickshiwins, of giddy ear-wig brains, were it not I thought you too fretful and cholerick with feeding altogether on salt meats, to have the secrets of your trade in publick displayed. Will this appease you, that you are the predecessors of the apostles, who were poorer fishermen than you? That, for your seeing wonders in the deep, you may be the sons and heirs of the prophet Jonas; that you are all cavaliers and gentlemen, since the king of fishes vouchsafed you for his subjects; that, for your selling smoke, you may be courtiers, for your keeping of fasting days friar observants; and lastly, that, look in what town there is the sign of the three mariners, the huff-cappiest drink in that house you shall be sure of always.

No more can I do for you than I have done, were you my God-children every one: God make you his children, and keep you from the Dunkirkers, and then, I doubt not but, when you are driven into harbour by foul weather, the cans shall walk to the health of Nashe's Lenten Stuff, and the praise of the red herring; and even those, that attend upon the pitch kettle, will be drunk to my good fortunes and recommendums. One boon you must not refuse me in (if you be *boni socii* and sweet Olivers) that you let not your rusty swords sleep in their scabbards, but lash them out in my quarrel as hotly, as if you were to cut cables, or hew the main-mast over board, when you hear me mangled and torn in men's mouths about this playing with a shittlecock, or tossing empty bladders in the air.

Alas! poor hunger-starved muse, we shall have some spawn of a

goose-quill, or over worn pander, quirking and girding, Was it so hard driven that it had nothing to feed upon but a red herring? Another drudge of the pudding house (all whose lawful means to live by throughout the whole year will scarce purchase him a red herring) says I might as well have writ of a dog's turd, in his teeth sirreverence. But, let none of these scum of the suburbs be too vinegar tart with me; for, if they be, I'll take mine oath upon a red herring and eat it, to prove that their fathers, their grandfathers, and their great grandfathers, or any other of their kin, were scullions dishwash, and dirty draff and swill set against a red herring. The puissant red herring, the golden Hesperides red herring, the Mæonian red herring, the red herring of Red Herrings Hall, every pregnant peculiar of whose resplendent laud and honour, to delineate and adumbrate to the ample life, were a work that would drink dry fourscore and eighteen Castalian fountains of eloquence, consume another Athens of facundity, and abate the haughtiest poetical fury betwixt this and the burning zone and the tropick of Cancer. My conceit is cast into a sweating sickness, with ascending those few steps of his renown; into what a hot broiling Saint Laurence's fever would it relapse then, should I spend the whole bag of my wind in climbing up to the lofty mountain crest of his trophies? But no more wind will I spend on it but this: Saint Denis for France, Saint James for Spain, Saint Patrick for Ireland, Saint George for England, and the red herring for Yarmouth.

GOWRIES CONSPIRACY:

A DISCOVRSE OF THE

VNNATVRALL AND VYLE CONSPIRACIE,

ATTEMPTED AGAINST THE

KINGS MAIESTIES PERSON,

At Sanct-Iohnstovn, vpon Twysday the Fiftk of August, 1600.

Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Charteris, 1600. Octavo, containing three Sheets and a Half.

Cum Privilegio Regio.

This is one of the earliest accounts of this remarkable conspiracy, and therefore deserves to be reprinted, not only as it is very rarely to be found, but as it is very clear and elegant, with regard to the dialect in which it is written. In the language, though some passages may appear uncouth, no alteration has been made; both because we would not depart from the fidelity that we promised,

nor, by changing expressions, give reason to suspect, that we take the same liberty with facts; and because the language may be, to some, no less an object of curiosity, than the events to others.

Of this conspiracy, which, though some have questioned its reality, is by most allowed to be proved beyond contradiction, a very particular account may be found in Spotswood. ————— J.

HIS Maiestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck-hunting, as his vse is in that season, vpon the fifth day of August, being Twysday, hee raid out to the park, betwixt six and seuen hours in the morning, the weather beeing wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But, before his Maiestie could leap on horse-back, his Hienes being now come downe by the equerie, all the huntis-men with the houndes attending his Maiesty on the greene, and the court making to their horses, as his Hienes self was; Maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earle of Gowrie, being then lighted in the toun of Falkand, haisted him fast downe to ouer-take his Maiestie before his on-leaping, as he did: Where meeting his Hienes, after a verie low courtesie, bowing his head vnder his Maiesties knee (although he was neuer wont to make so low courtesie) drawing his Maiestie a-part, he beginnes to discourse vnto him, but with a verie dejected countenance, his eies euer fixed vpon the earth, how that it chanced him the euen-ing before to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the air, solitarie allone, without the toun of Sanct Iohnstoun, wher his present dwelling was with the lord his brother; and there by accident affirmed to haue recounted a base like fellow, vnknowne to him, with a cloke cast about his mouth; whome at as he enqyred his name, and what his erand was, to be passing in so solitary a part, being from all waies. The fellow become at the suddain so amased, and his tongue so faultered in his mouth, that, vpon his suspitious behauiour, he begouth more narrowly to look vnto him, and, examine him; and, perceauing that there appeared some thing to bee hid vnder his cloke, he did cast by the lappes of it, and so findes a great wyde pot to be vnder his arme, all full of coyned gold in great peeces. Assuring his Maiestie, that it was in verie great quantitie: vpon the sight whereof, as hee affirmed, he took back the fellow with his burthen to the toun; where he privatly, without the knowledge of any liuing, took the fellow, and band him in a prerie derved house, and, after lokking many dures vpon him, left him there, and his pot with him, and had haisted himself out of Sanct-Iohnstoun that day, by four houres in the morning, to make his Maiestie aduertised therof, according to his bound dutie: earnestly requesting his Maiestie, with all diligence and secrecie, that his Maiestie might take order therewith, before anie know thereof; swearing and protesting, that he had yet concealed it from all liuing, yea, from the earle his owne brother.

His Maiesties first answere was (after thanking him for his good-will) that it could not become his Maiestie to meddle anie wayes in that matter, since no mans treasure, that is a free and lawfull subiect, can by the lawe appertain vnto the King, except it bee found hid vnder the

earth, as this was not. Whereunto he aunswered, that the fellow confessed vnto him, that hee was going to haue hid it vnder the ground, but could not take leasure at that time to enquire any further of him. Whereunto his Maiestie replyed, that there was great difference betwixt a deed, and the intention of a deed; his intention to haue hid it not beeing alyke as if it had beene found alreadie hid. Maister Alexander's answer was, that hee thought his Maiestie ouer scrupulous in such a matter, tendingso greatly to his Maiesties profite; and that, if his Maiesty deferred to meddle with it, it might bee that the lord his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his Maiestie the more a-doe: whereupon the King, beginning to suspect that it had been some forraine gold, brought home by some Iesuites, or practising Papists (therewith to sturre vp some new sedition, as they have oftentimes done before) inquired of the said M. Alexander, what kinde of coine it was, and what a fellow hee was that carried it? His answer was, that, so far as hee could take leasure to see of them, they seemed to bee forraine and vncouth strokes of coine; and, although that the fellow, both by his language and fashion, seemed to bee a Scots fellow, yet hee could neuer remember, that hee had seene him before. These speeches increased his Maiesties suspition, that it was forraine coyne, brought in by some practising Papists, and to bee distributed into the countrie, as is before said. And that the fellow, that carried it, was some Scots priest or seminarie, so disguised for the more sure transporting thereof. Whereupon his Maiestie resolued, that he would send backe with the said maister Alexander a seruand of his own, with a warrand to the prouost and baillies of Sanct-Iohnstoun, to receaue both the fellow and the money off maister Alexanders hand, and, after they had examined the fellow, to retaine him and the treasure, till his Maiesties further pleasure were knowne: Whereat the said maister Alexander sturred meruelouslie, affirming and protesting, that, if either the lord his brother, or the baillies of the toun were put on the counsal thereof, his Maiestie would get a verie bad compt of that treasure; swearing, that the great loue and affection, he bare vnto his Maiestie, had made him to preferre his Maiestie, in this cace, both to himself, and his brother. For the which seruice he humblie craued that recompence, that his Maiesty would take the paines once to ryde thither, that he might bee the first sear thereof himself; which beeing done, he woulde remit to his Maiesties owne honorable discretion, how far it would please his Maiestie to consider vpon him for that seruice. His Hienes beeing stricken in great admiration, both of the vncouthnes of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behauiour of the reporter; and the court being alreadie horsed, wondring at his Maiesties so long stay with that gentleman, the morning being so fair, the game alreadie found, and the huntismen so long staying on the fields on his Maiestie, he was forced to break off onlie with these wordes: That hee coulde not nowe stay any longer from his sporte, but that hee would consider of the matter, and, at the end of of his chase, giue him a resolute answer, what order he would take therein. Whereupon his Maiesty parted in haste from him towards the place where the game was. Maister Alexander parting from his Maiestie verie discontent, that indelaiedlie hee raid not to

Sanct-Iohnstoun, as he desired him; protesting, that his Maiestie would not finde euerie day such a choise of hunting, as he had offered vnto him; and that hee feared, that his Maiesties long delay, and slowness of resolution, would breed leasure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such din, as would disappoint the secrecie of that hail purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be medled with, before any word could come from his Maiestie: as also, that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning; which if his Maiestie had pleased to haste, he might haue preuented, arryuing there in the tyme of his brothers and the whole townes being at the sermon; whereby his Maiestie might haue taken such secrete order with that matter, as hee pleased, before their outcomming from the church. But, his Maiestie, without any further answering of him, leaping on horse-back, and ryding to the dogs, where they were beginning to hunt, the said maister Alexander stayed still in that place wher he left his Maiestie; and, hauing two men with him appointed by the late earle his brother, to carrie back vnto him the certaine newes, in al haist, of his Maiesties comming, as heerafter more particularlie shall in this same discourse be declared, hee directed one of them, called Andrew Henderson, chalmerlane to the said earle, to ryde in all haste to the earle; commanding him, as hee loued his brothers honour, that hee shoulde not spare for spilling of his horse; and that hee should aduertise the earle, that hee hoped to moue his Maiestie to come thither, and that hee should not yet looke for him, the space of three houres thereafter, because of his Maiesties hunting, adding these words: pray my lord my brother to prepare the denner for vs. But his Maiestie was no sooner ridden vp to a little hil aboue the little woode, wher the dogs were laid on in hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, hee could not stay from musing and wondering vpon the newes. Whereupon, without making anie bodie acquainted with this purpose, finding Iohn Nesmith, chirurgian, by chance ryding beside him, his Maiestie directed him back to bring maister Alexander with him; who being brought vnto his Maiestie, and hauing newlie directed, as said is, one of his men, that was with him, back to my lord his brother, his Maiestie, vnknowing or suspecting that any man liuing had come with him, then tolde him, that hee had been aduysing with himself, and, in respect of his last wordes so earnest with him, hee resolved to ryde thither for that erand in his own person, how soone the chase was ended, which was alreadie begun; lyke as his Maiesty, vpon the verie ending of these words, did ryde away in the chase, the said maister Alexander euer following him at his back; no other liuing being with his Hienesse, but hee, and Iohn Hammilton of Grange, one of his Maiesties maister-stablers, the reste of the court being all before in the chase, his Maiestie onlie being casten back, vpon the staying to speak with maister Alexander, as is before said. The chase lasted from seuen houres in the morning, vntil alleuen and more, being one of the greast and sorest chases, that euer his Maiestie was at: All which tyme, the said maister Alexander was, for the most part, euer at his Maiesties back, as said is. But there neuer was anie stop in the chase, or so small a delay, that the said maister Alexander omitted to round to his Maiestie,

earnestly requesting him to haist the end of the hunting, that he might ryde the sooner to Sanct-Iohnstoun: So as, at the death of the buck, his Maiestie, not staying vpon the curie of the deir, as his vse is, scarcely took time to alight, awaiting vpon the comming of a fresh horse to ryde on, the greatnesse of the chase hauing wried his horse. But the said maister Alexander would not suffer the King to stay in the parke, where the buck was killed, whil his fresh horse, which was alredy sent for, was brought out of the equery to him, although it was not two flight shot of bounds betwixt the part, where the buck was killed, and his Maiesties equerie; but, with verie importunitie, forced his Maiestie to leap on againe vpon that same horse, that hee had hunted all the day vpon, his freshe horse beeing made to gallop a myle of the way to ouertake him; his Maiestie not staying so much as vpon his sword, nor whil the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diuerse gentlemen in his companie, had changed their horses; onlie saying vnto them, that hee was to ryde to Sanct-Iohnstoun to speak with the Earle of Gowry, and that hee would bee presently back againe before euen. Whereupon, some of the court galloped backe to Falkland, as fast as they could, to change their horses, and could not ouertake his Maiestie, whill he come within four myle of Sanct-Iohnstoun. Others raid forward with their horses, wried as they were, wherof some were compelled to alight by the way; and, if they had not both refreshed their horses, bled them, and giuen them some grasse by the way, they had not carried them to Sanct-Iohnstoun. The cause of his Maiesties seruands following so fast, vndesired by him, being onlie grounded vpon a suspition they had conceaued, that his Maiesties intention of ryding was for the apprehension of the maister of Oliphant, one who had latelie done a vyle and proud oppression in Angus; for repairing of the which, they thoght, that his Maiestie had some purpose for his apprehension. But the said maister Alexander, seeing the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diuers other of the court, getting fresh horses for following of his Maiestie, earnestlie desired him, that hee would publish to his whole traine, that, since he was to returne the same evening, as is before said, they needed not to follow him; especiallie, that he thought it meekest, that his Maiestie should stay the Duke and the Earle of Mar to follow him, and that he should onlie take three or four of his owne meane seruands with him; affirming, that, if anie noble man followed him, hee could not answere for it, but that they would marre that whole purpose. Whereupon his Maiestie, half angerlie, replied, that he wold not mistrust the Duke, nor the Earle of Mar, in a greater purpose nor that; and that hee could not vnderstand, what hinder anie man could make in that erand. But these last speeches of M. Alexanders maid the King to begin to suspecte what it could meane; wherewithon manie diuerse thoughts begouth to enter in the Kings minde. But that his Maiestie could neuer suspect anie harme to be intended against his Hienes, by that young gentleman, with whome his Maiestie had bene so well acquainted, as hee had, not long before, beene in sute to be one of the gentlemen of his chalmer: so as the farthest, that the Kings suspition could reache to, was, that it might bee, that the Earle his brother had handled him so hardlie, that

the young gentleman, being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure, as he was become somewhat by himself, which his Maiestie coniectured aswell by his raised and vncouth stairing, and continuall pensiuenesse, all the time of the hunting, as likewise by such strange sort of vnlykelie discourses, as is alreadie mentioned. Wherupon, his Maiestie took occasion to make the Duke of Lennox acquainted with the whol purpose, enquiring of him verie earnestlie, what he knew of that young gentlemans nature, beeing his brother in law? And, if he had euer perceiued him to be subiect to any high apprehension? His Maiestie declaring his suspition plainelie to the said lord duke, that hee thought him not well settled in his wits; alwaies desiring my lord duke not to faile to accompanie him in to that house, where the alledged fellow and treasure was. The Lord Duke wondered much at that purpose, and though it verie vnlikelie; yet he affirmed, that hee could neuer perceaue any such appearance in that gentlemans inclination. But maister Alexander, perceyuing his Maiesties priue conference with the duke, and suspecting the purpose, as it appeared, came to the King, requesting his Maiestie verie earnestlie, that he shoulde make none liuing acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his Maiestie, where he should conuoy him, but himself onlie, vntill his Maiestie had once seene the fellowe and the treasure: Whereunto his Maiestie, halfe-laughing, gaue answere, that he was no good teller of money, and behooued therefore to haue some to helpe him in that errand. His replye was, that hee woulde suffer none to see it, but his Maiesties selfe, at the first; but, afterward, hee might call in whom hee pleased. These speeches did so encrease his Maiesties suspition, that then he begouth directly to suspect some treasonable devise; yet, manie suspitions and thoughts ouerwhelming euerie one an other in his minde, his Maiestie coulde resolue vpon no certaine thing, but raid further on his iourney, betwixt trust and distrust, beeing ashamed to seeme to suspect in respect of the cleannesse of his Maiesties owne conscience, except he had founde some greater ground. The said maister Alexander still preasing the King to ride faster, although his owne horse was scarcely able to keepe companie with the King, for wearinesse, haying riden with him all the chase before. But, as the King was come two miles from Falkland, the said maister Alexander stayed a little behind the King in the way, and posted away the other seruand, Andrew Ruthven, to the earle his brother, aduertising him, howe farre the King was on his waye to come thither. Then, how soon soeuer the King come within a myle to the toun of Sanct-Iohnston, he said to his Maiestie, that he would poste in before, to aduertise the earle his brother of his Maiesties comming; who, at his incomming to him, was sitting at the middes of his denner, neuer seeming to take knowledge of the Kings comming, whill his brother told it him, notwithstanding of his two seruands aduertising him thereof before: and, immediatlie vppon his brothers reporte, rying in haste from the borde, and warning al the seruands and friendes to accompanie him to meete his Maiestie, met him, to the number of three or four score, at the end of the Insh, his Maiesties whole companie and traine not exceeding the nomber of sixteene persons, and al without any kinde of

armour, except swords; no, not so much as daggers, or whingears. His Maiestie stayed an houre, after his comming to the saide earles lodging, in Sanct-Iohnstoun, before his denner come in: the longsomnesse of the prepairing of the same, and badnesse of the cheare, beeing excused, vppon the sodainty of his Maiesties comming vnlooked for there. During the which tyme, his Maiestie enquired of Maister Alexander, when it was tyme to him to goe to that priuate house, for that erand, whereof he had informed him? Whose answer was, that al was sure enough, but that there was no haste yet, for an houre, whill his Maiestie had dynd at leisure; praying his Maiestie to leaue him, and not to be seen to round with him before his brother, who, hauing missed him that morning, might therupon suspect, what the matter could meane: therefore his Maiestie addressed him to the earle, and discoursed with him vpon sundrie purposes, but could get no direct answer of him, but halfe-words, and imperfect sentences. His Maiestie beeing set down to the denner, the said earle stood very pensiue, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his Maiesties table, oft rounding ouer his shoulder, whiles to one of his seruands, and whiles to another; and oftentimes went out and in to the chamber: which forme of behauiour he likewise kept before his Maiesties sitting downe to denner, but without any welcomming of his Maiestie, or anie other hartlie forme of entertainment; the noblemen and gentlemen of the court, that was with his Maiestie, standing about the table, and not desired to dyne, as vse is, when his Maiestie is once set down, and his first seruice brought up, vntil the Kings Maiestie had almost dynd. At the which time, the earle conuoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not down with them him selfe, as the common forme is, but come back, and stood silent at the end of the Kings table, as of before; which his Maiestie perceauing did begin to entertaine the earl in an homelie manner, wondering that hee had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertaine them there. In the meane tyme, his Maiestie beeing ready to rise from the table, and his whole seruands beeing in the hal at their dinner, the said Maister Alexander, standing behinde his Maiesties backe, pulled quietlie vppon him, rounding in his Maiesties eare, that it was tyme to goe, but that hee woulde haue faine bene quite of the earle his brother, wishing the King to send him out to the hall to entertaine his guests: Wherupon the King called for a drinke, and, in a merrie and homelie manner, said to the earle, that, although the earle had scene the fashion of entertainment in other countries, yet hee would teach him the Scottishe fashion, seeing hee was a Scottishe man; and therefore, since hee had forgot to drinke to his Maiestie, or to sit with his guests, and entertaine them, his Maiestie would drinke to him his owne welcome, desiring him to take it forth and drinke to the rest of the company, and, in his Maiesties name, to make them welcome. Wherupon, as he went forth, his Maiestie did rise from the table, and desired M. Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him; who, desiring the King to go forward with him, and promising that he should make anie one or two follow him, that he pleased to cal for, desiring his Maiestie to command publikly, that none should follow him. And thus the King, accompanied onelie with

the said maister Alexander, comes forth of the chamber, passes through the end of the hal, where the noble men and his Maiesties seruants were sitting at their dinner, vp a turne-pyke, and through three or four high chambers, the said Maister Alexander euer lokking behinde him euery dore as he past, and then, with a more smyling countenance nor he had all the day before, euer saying he had him sure and safe enough kept; until at last, his Maiestie passing through three or four sondrie houses, and all the dores lokked behind him, his Maiestie entered into a little studie, where his Maiestie did see standing, with a verie abased countenance, not a bound-man, but a free man, with a dagger at his girdle. But his Maiestie had no sooner entered into that little studie, and maister Alexander with him, but maister Alexander lokked to the studie dore behind him, and at that instant, changing his countenance, putting his hat on his head, and drawing the dagger from that other mans girdle, held the point of it to the Kings breast, avowing now, that the King behoued to be in his will, and vsed as he list; swearing manie bloody othes, that, if the king cried one word, or opened a windoe to look out, that dagger should presently go to his hart: affirming, that hee was sure, that now the Kings conscience was burdened for the murthuring of his father. His Maiestie, wondering at so suddaine an alteration, and standing naked, without any kynde of armour but his hunting horne, which hee had not gotten leisure to lay from him, betwixt these two traitors, which had conspird his life, the said maister Alexander standing, as saide is, with a drawne dagger in his hand, and his sword at his side, but the other trembling and quaiking, rather like a condemned man, then an executioner of such an enterpryse; his Maiestie begouth then to dilate to the saide maister Alexander, howe horrible a thing it was to him to meddle with his Maiesties innocent blood; assuring him it would not be left vnreueged, since God had given him children and good subiectes; and, if there were no more, God would raise vp stocks and stones to punish so vyle a deed. Protesting before God, that hee had no burthen in his conscience, for the execution of his father, both in respect that, at the tyme of his fathers execution, his Maiestie was but a minor of age, and guyded at that tyme by a faction, which ouer-ruled both his Maiestie, and the rest of the country; as also, that, whatsoeuer was done to his father, it was done by the ordinar course of lawe and iustice. Appealing the saide maister Alexander vpon his conscience, how well he, at al tymes since, had deserued at the hands of al his race; not only hauing restored them to al their landes and dignities, but also in nourishing and vbring of two or three of his sisters, as it were, in his owne bosome, by a continual attendance vpon his Maiesties dearest bedfellow in her priuy chamber. Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his Maiestie has euer professed; and namelie his Maiestie remembred him of that holie man, M. Robert Rollock, whose scholler he was, assuring him, that one day the said M. Roberts soule would accuse him, that hee had neuer learned of him to practise such vnnaturall crueltie. His Maiestie

promising to him, in the worde of a prince, that, if hee would spare his life, and suffer him to go out againe, hee should neuer reueale to any fleshe liuing what was betwixt them at that tyme nor neuer suffer him to incur anie harme or punishment for the same. But his Maiesties feare was, that hee could hope for no spairing at his hand, hauing such cruelty in his lookes, and standing so irreuerently, couered with his hat on; which forme of rigorous behauiour, could prognosticat no thing to his Maiestie, but present extremitie. But, at his Maiesties perswasieue language, hee appeareth to bee somewhat amased; and, discouering his head againe, swore and protested, that his Maiesties lyfe should be safe, if hee would behaue him selfe quyetlie, without making noyes, or crying; and that he would onlie bring in the earle his brother, to speak with his Maiestie: Wherupon, his Maiestie enquiring, what the earle would do with him, since (if his Maiesties life was safe, according to promise) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner? His answere onlie was, that hee could tel his Maiestie no more, but that his lyfe would bee safe, in case hee behaued him selfe quyetlie; the rest the earle his brother, whome hee was going for, would tel his Maiestie, at his comming. And with that, as hee was going forth for his brother, as hee affirmed, hee turned him about to the other man, saying these wordes vnto him: I make you heere the Kings keeper, vntill I come back againe, and look that ye keep him vpon your owne perill: And therewithall says to his Maiestie, Ye must content your selfe to haue this man nowe your keeper vntill my back-comming. And with these wordes he passes foorth, lokking the dore behinde him, and leauing his Maiestie with that man he fand there before him. At whome his Maiestie then enquyred, If he was appointed to be the murthurer of him at that tyme? and how far he was vpon the counsell of that conspiracie? Whose answere, with a trembling, and astonished voice and behauiour, was: That, as the Lord should iudge him, hee was neuer made acquainted with that purpose, but that hee was put in ther perforce, and the dore lokked behinde him, a little space before his Maiesties comming; as indeede, al the tyme of the said Maister Alexanders menassing his Maiestie, he was euer tremblinglie requesting him for Gods sake, and with many other attestations, not to meddle with his Maiestie, or to do him anie harme. But, because maister Alexander had, before his forth-going, made the King to sweare, that he should not cry, nor open anie of the windoes, his Maiestie commanded the saide fellow to open the windoe with his hand; which he readelie did; so that, although hee was put in there to vse violence ouer the King, yet God so turned his hart at that time, as hee become a slaue to his prisoner. While his Maiestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne seruants nor traine knowing in what part of the worlde he was in, as his Maiesties traine was arysing in the hal from their dimer, the earle of Gowry being present with them, one of the earle of Gowries seruants commes hastelie in, assuring the earle his maister, that his Maiestie was horsed and away through the Inshe; which the earle reporting to the noblemen, and the rest of his Maiesties traine that was there, they al rushe out together at the gate in great haste; and, some of his Maiesties seruants enquiring at the porter, when his Maiestie went forth? The porter

affirmed, that the King was not yet forth. Wherupon the saide earle looked verie angerlie vpon him, and saide he was but a liar; yet, turning him to the Duke and to the Earle of Mar, said, hee should presentlie get them sure word where his Maiestie was. And with that ran throug the close, and vp the staire. But his purpose indeede was to speak with his brother, as appeared verie well by the circumstance of the tyme, his brother hauing at that same instant left the King in the little studie, and ran down the staire in great haste. Immediately thereafter the earle commeth back, running againe to the gate wher the noblemen and the rest were standing in a mase, assuring them that the King was out long since at the back-gate, and, if they hasted not them al the sooner, they would not get him ouertaken, and with that cried for his horse; wherupon they rushe altogether out at the gate, and makes towards the Inshe, crying al for their horses; passing al (as it was the prouidence of God) vnder one of the windoes of that studie, wherein his Maiestie was. To whom maister Alexander verie spedelie returned, and, and at his incomming to his Maiestie, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner, saide, hee could not mend it, his Maiestie behoued to die; and with that offered a garter to bind his Maiesties hands, with swearing he behoued to be bound. His Maiestie at that word of binding said, hee was born a free King, and should die a free King. Wherupon hee gripping his Maiestie by the wrest of the hand to haue bound him, his Maiestie releued him selfe suddainlie of his grips; wherupon, as he put his right hand to his sworde, his Maiestie, with his right hand, seized vppon both his hand and his sworde, and with his left hand clasped him by the throat, like as hee with his left hand clasped the King by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his Maiesties mouth, to haue staied him from crying. In this forme of wrestling, his Maiestie, perforce, drew him to the windoe, which hee had caused the other man before to open vnto him, and vnder the which was passing by at the same tyme the Kings traine, and the Earle of Gowrie with them, as saide is; and, holding out the right side of his head and right elbowe, cried, that they were murthuring him there in that treasonable forme; whose voice being instantly hearde and knowne by the Duke of Lennox, and the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Maiesties traine there, but the saide Earle of Gowrie euer asking what it meant, and neuer seeming anie wayes to haue seen his Maiestie or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate together, the Duke and the Earl of Mar running about to come by that passage his Maiestie come in at, but the Earle of Gowrie and his seruants made them for another way vp a quyet turnpyke, which was euer condemned before, and was onlie then left open, as appeared for that purpose. And in this mean time his Maiestie, with strugeling and wrystling with the saide Maister Alexander, had brought him out perforce out of that study, the dore wherof, for haste, he had left open at his last incomming, and his Maiestie hauing gotten with long strugling the said Maister Alexanders head vnder his arme, and him selfe on his knees, his Maiestie did driue him backe per force, hard to the dore of the same turnpyke; and as his Maiestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to haue striken him therewith,

and then to haue shotte him ouer the stair, the other fellow standing behinde the Kings backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the tyme; Sir Iohn Ramsay, not knowing what way first to enter, after he had heard the Kings cry, by chance finds that turn-pyke dore open, and, following it vp to the head, enters into the chamber, and findes his Maiestie and maister Alexander struggling in that forme, as is before saide; and, after he had twise or thrise striken maister Alexander with his dagger, the other man withdrew him selfe, his Maiestie still keeping his grips, and holding him close to him; immediatly thereafter he tooke the saide maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the staire; who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Hereis, who there, vpon the staire, ended him; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being casten behinde the Duke and the Earle of Mar, that ran about the other way, by the occasion of his medling with the saide late earle vpon the street, after the hearing of his Maiesties cry. For, vpon the hearing thereof, hee had clasped the Earle of Gowrie by the gorget, and casting him vnder his feet, and, wanting a dagger to haue striken him with, the said earles men redde the earle their maister out of his hands; whereby he was casten behinde the rest, as saide is; and, missing the companie, and hearing the saide Sir Iohn Ramsayes voice vpon the turn-pyke heade ran vp to the said chamber, and cried vpon the said How Hereis and another seruant to follow him; where, meeting with the saide maister Alexander in the turn-pyke, he ended him there, as saide is; the saide maister Alexander onely crying for his last words, Allace! I had not the wyte of it. But no sooner could the saide Sir Thomas, Sir Hew, and another seruant win in to the chamber wher his Maiestie was, but that the said earle of Gowrie, before they could get the dore shutte, followed them in at the back, hauing casten him directly to come vp that priue passage, as is before saide; who, at his first entrie, hauing a drawne sworde in euerie hand, and a steil bonnet on his head, accompanied with seuen of his seruants, euerie one of them hauing in like manner a drawne sworde, cried out with a great oath, that they shoulde all die as traitors. At the which tyme his Maiestie was still in the chamber, who, sceing the Earle of Gowrie come in with his swordes in his hands, sought for maister Alexanders sworde, which had fallen from him at his out-shutting at the dore, hauing no sort of weapon of his owne, as said is; but then was shot back by his owne seruants that were there, into the little studie, and the dore shut vpon him; who, hauing put his Maiestie in safetie, re-encountered the said earle and his seruants; his Maiesties seruants being onlie in number four; to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, Sir Iohn Ramsay, and one Wilsoun, a seruant of Iames Erskines, a brother of the saide Sir Thomas; the saide earle hauing seuen of his seruants with him: Yet it pleased God after manie strokes on al hands to giue his Maiesties seruants the victorie, the saide Earle of Gowrie being striken dead with a stroke through the heart, which the saide Sir Iohn Ramsay gaue him, without once crying vpon God, and the rest of his seruants dung ouer the stair with many hurts; as in like manner the saide Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Hereis, and Sir Iohn Ramsay were all three

hurt and wounded. But, all the tyme of this fight, the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Maiesties traine were striking with great hammers at the vtter doore, wherby his Maiestie past vp to the chamber, with the said maister Alexander, which also he had lokked in hisbycomming with his maiestie to the chamber, but, by reason of the strength of the saide double dore, the whole wall being likewise of bordes, and yeelding with the strokes, it did byde them the space of half an houre and more, before they coulde get it broken and have entresse. Who, having met with his Maiestie, and (beyond their expectation) his Maiestie delivered from so imminent a perill, and the saide late earle, the principall conspirator, lying dead at his Maiesties feete. Immediatlie thereafter his Maiestie kneeling downe, on his knees, in the midst of his own seruants, and they all kneeling round about him, his Maiestie out of his own mouth thanked God of that miraculous deliuerance and victory, assuring him selfe that God had preserued him from so dispaired a perill for the perfiting of some greater worke behinde to his glorie, and for the procuring by him the wel of his people, that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the toun hearing of the slaughter of the saide earle of Gowrie, their prouost, and not knowing the manner therof, nor beeing on the counsell of his treasonable attempt, continued for the space of two or thre houres, thereafter, vntill his Maiestie by oft speaking out to them at the windoes, and beakening to them with his owne hand, pacifying them, causing the baylies and the rest of the honest men of the toun to bee brought into the chamber, to whom hauing declared the whole forme of that strange accident, hee commjtted the house and bodies of the said traitors, brethren, to their keeping, vntill his Maiesties further pleasure were knowne. His Maiestie, hauing before his parting out of that toun, caused to searche the saide earle of Gowries pockets, in case anie letters that might further the discoouerie of that conspiracie, might bee found therein. But no thing was found in them, but a little close parchment bag, full of magicall characters, and words of enchantment, wherein, it seemed, that he had put his confidence, thinking him selfe neuer safe without them, and therefore euer carried them about with him; beeing also obserued, that, while they were vppon him, his wound wherof he died, bled not, but, incontinent after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundance, to the great admiration of al the beholders. An infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house, for manie discents, as is notoriouslie knowne to the whole countrie. Thus the night was far spent, being neir eight houres at euening before his Maiestie could, for the great tumult that was in the toun, departe out of the same. But before his Maiestie had ridden four myles out of the same towardes Falkland, although the night was verie darke and rainie; the whole way was cled with all sorts of people, both on horse and foote, meeting him with great ioy and acclamation. The frequencie and concourse of persons of al degrees to Falkland, the rest of the weeke, and to Edinburgh the next, from al the quarters of the countrie; the testimonie of the subjects heartie affection and ioy for his Maiesties deliuerie, expressed euery wher by ringing of bels, bonfires, shutting of gunnes of al sorts

both by sea and land, &c. with all other things ensuing therupon, I haue of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to al men, and impertinent to this discourse; contenting my selfe with this plaine and simple narration; adding onlie, for explanation and confirmation therof, the depositions of certaine persons who were either actors, and eie-witnesses, or immediat hearers of those things that they declair and testifie; wherein, if the reader shall finde anie thing differing from this narration, either in substance or circumstance, hee may vnderstand the same to be vttered by the deponer in his owne behoof, for obtaining of his Maiesties princelie grace and fauour.

Apud Falkand, 9 August, 1600.

In presence of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Secretare, Lord Comptroller, Lord Aduocate, the Lord Incheffray, and Sir George Home of Spot, Knight.

JAMES Weimis of Bogy, of the age of xxvi. yeare, or therby, sworne and examined vpon the forme and manner of behauiour of late Iohn, Earle of Gowrie, the tyme of his being with him at Strabran, or if he had heard the saide Earle make anie motion of the treason intended against his Maiestie, depones that hee neither heard nor sawe anie appearance of anie such intention in the said earle.

Demanded, if hee was in anie purpose with the said Earle anent anie matters of curiositie; depones, that at their being in Strabran, some of their company found an edder, which being killed, and knowledge therof comming to the Earle, the Earle saide to this deponer, 'Bogy, if the edder had not beene slaine, yee should haue scened a good sport; for I should haue caused her stand still, and she should not haue preissed away, by pronouncing of an Hebrew worde, which in Scottish is called, Holinesse;' but the Hebrew worde the deponer remembers not of; and that the Earle saide hee had put the same in practice oft before. And this deponer enquiring at the Earle, where hee did get the Hebrew worde? The Earle answered, in a Cabbalist of the Iewes, and that it was by tradition; and the deponer enquiring, what a Cabbalist meant? The Earle answered, it was some wordes which the Iewes had by tradition, which wordes were spoken by God to Adam in Paradice, and therefore were of greater efficacie and force, nor anie wordes which were excogitate since by prophetes and apostles. The deponer enquiring, If there was no more requisite but the worde? The Earle answered, that a firm faith in God was requisite and necessarie, and that this was no matter of maruel amongst schollers, but that al these things were naturall. And that the Earle shew to this deponer, that hee had spoken with a man in Italie, and first hearing by report that hee was a nigromancer, and thereafter being informed, that hee was a verie learned man and a deep theologue, he entered in further dealing with him anent the curiosities of nature.

Depones further, that the said earle reported to him, that, hee being at the musick, hee fell in companie with another man, who stairing in the Earles face, spake to the rest of the companie things of him, which he could neuer attain vnto, nor be worthie of; and therefore that the Earle reproached him, and desired him to forbear these speeches. And that he met again with the saide man in a like company, who did begin with the same language which he had spoken before; and that the Earle said to him, My friend, in cace yee wil not hold your peace from speaking lies of mee, I wil make you hold your peace by speaking sooth of you; and saide unto him, Within such a space hee should be hanged for such a crime; and so it came to passe. This deponer enquiring of the Earle, who tolde him that? He answered merely, that hee spake it beguesse, and it fell out so. And that the Earle saide further, that it was no thing to make an herb flesh, which would dissolve in flies; and that, likewise, it was possible that the seed of man and woman might be brought to perfection otherwise then by the matrix of the woman; and that this deponer counselled the Earle to beware with whom he did communicate such speeches; who answered, that hee woulde speake them to none but to great schollers, and that hee woulde not haue spoken them to this deponer, if he had not knowne him to bee a fauourer of him, and a friend of his house, and woulde not reueale the same again, seeing he knew they woulde be euill interpreted amongst the common sorte.

Sic subscribitur,

I. WEIMIS OF BOGYE.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In Presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Aduocate; Sir George Home of Spot, Sir Robert Melvill, and Sir Iames Melvill, Knights.

MAISTER William Rynd, sworne and examined, and demanded, where he first did see the characters which were found vppon my Lord; depones, that hee, hauing remained a space in Venice, at his returning to Padua, did finde in my Lords pocket the characters which were found vppon him at his death; and the deponer enquiring of my Lord, where he had gotten them? My Lord answered, that by chance he had copied them him selfe; and that the deponer knowes, that the characters in Latin are my Lords owne hand write, but he knows not if the Hebrew characters were written by my Lord. Depones further, that, when my Lord woulde change his clothes, the deponer woulde take the characters out of my Lords pocket, and woulde say to my Lord, wherfore serues these? And my Lord woulde answere, can yee not let them bee, they do you no euill; and further the deponer declares, that sometimes my Lord would forget them vntill hee were out of his chamber, and would turn back as he were in an anger, vntill he had found them, and put them in his owne pocket; depones further, that

he was sundrie times purposed to haue bunt the characters, were not he feared my Lords wraith and anger, seeing, when the deponer would purposelic leaue them sometimes out of my Lords pocket, my Lord would bee in such an anger with the deponer, that for a certaine space he would not speak with him, nor coulde find his good countenance; and that, to this deponers opinion, my Lord would neuer be content to want the characters off him selfe, from the first time that the deponer did see them in Padua, to the houre of my Lords death.

Being demanded, for what purpose my Lord kept the characters so well? Depones, that, to his opinion, it was for no good, because he heard that, in those parts where my Lord was, they would give sundrie folks breeues.

Depones further, that M. Patrik Galloway did let this deponer see the characters, since hee came to this toun of Falkland, and that hee knowes them to be the verie same characters which my Lord had.

Depones also, that, yppon Monday the fourth of August, the Maister, Andrew Hendersoun, and the deponer remained in my Lords chamber vntil about ten houres at euen, and, after a long conference betwixt the Lord and the Maister, my Lord called for Andrew Hendersoun, and, after some speeches with him, dismissed them.

Denies that he knew of the Maisters or Andrew Hendersouns ryding to Falkland, and after Andrews returne from Falkland ypon the morrow, howbeit he did see him booted, yet he knew not that hee was come from Falkland.

Depones that, my Lord being at dinner when the Maister come in, the deponer heard my Lord say to the Maister, Is the King in the Inshe? And with that he did rise, and said, Let vs goe. But the deponer knowes not what the Maister said to my Lord.

Being demanded if he did see anie kinde of armour or weapons, except swordes, in the Kings companie, depones that he did see none.

It being demanded, how the deponer was satisfied with my Lords answer made to him concerning the Kings comming to Sanct. Iohnstoun, saying, that hee knewe not how hee come? declares, that hee thought that my Lord had dissembled with him, and that hee behooued to haue knowne it, seeing his brother was come with his Maiestie before that hee demanded of him, and that hee had confereed with my Lord priuilie.

Depones, that hee knew not that the Maister was ridden to Falkland, vntill after his Maiesties comming to Sanct. Iohnstoun, that Andrew Ruthwen told him, because the deponer enquired at Andrew Ruthwen, wher the Maister and hee had bene, and that Andrew answered they had bene in Falkland; and that, the Maister hauing spoken with the King, his Maiestie come forward with them, and that this conference betwixt the deponer and Andrew Ruthwen was in the yarde, when my Lord was there. And Andrew Ruthwen shew to the deponer, that Andrew Hendersoun was directed by the Maister to shew my Lord that his Maiestie was comming.

Depones also that, in his opinion, the Maister could not haue drawne the King to my Lords house, without my Lords knowledge; and that, when hee heard the tumult, he was resolued in his heart the Maister

had done his Maiestie wrong, and that no trewe Christian can think otherwise, but that it was an high treason, attempted against his Highnesse by the Maister and the Lord.

Depones also that, to his opinion, the Kings whole companie was within a dozen of men.

Sic subscribitur,

M. W. Rynd.

22 August, 1600.

Maister William Rynd sworne and reexamined, if euer he heard the Earle of Gowrie vtter his opinion anent the dutie of an wise man in the execution of an high enterprise? Declares that, being out of the countrie, hee has diuerse times heard him reason in that matter; and that hee was euer of that opinion that hee was not an wise man, that, hauing intended the execution of an high and dangerous purpose, communicate the same to any but to him selfe, because, keeping it to him selfe, it coulde not be discouered nor disappointed; which the deponer declared before vn-required to the comptroller, and Maister William Cowper, minister at Perth; and, hearing the depositions of Andrew Hendersoun red, and being enquired vpon his conscience what he thought of the fact that was committed against his Maiestie, declares that vpon his saluation that he beleeueth Andrew Hendersoun has declared the circumstances trulie.

Sic subscribitur,

M. W. Rynd.

Apud Falkland, 20 August, 1600.

In Presence of the Lords Chancellor, Treasurer, Aduocate, Comptrollar, and Sir George Home, of Spot, Sir Iames Melvill, Knights.

Andrew Hendersoun, sworne and examined, and demanded what purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrie, vpon Monday at night the fourth of this instant in the said Earles chamber? Depones, that the Earle enquired of him what he would be doing vpon the morrow, and hee answering that hee was to ryde to Ruthwen; the Earle said to him, you must ryde to Falkland with Maister Alexander, my brother, and when hee directs you backe, see that ye returne with al diligence, if he send a letter or anie other aduertisement with you.

Depones, that the Maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthwen, to be in readinesse to ryde with them the morrow at four houres in the morning.

Declares, that, they comming to Falkland, about senen houres in the morning, the Maister stayed in a ludging beside the palice, and directed the deponer to see what the King was doing; and, the deponer finding his Maiestie in the close comming forth, he past back and told the Maister, who immediatlly addressed him selfe to his Highnesse,

and spake with his Maiestie a good space beneth the equerie; and after his Maiestie was on horseback, the Maister commes to the deponer, and commands him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loued my Lords honour and his, and aduertise my Lord that his Maiestie and hee would be there incontinent, and that his Maiestie would be quiet; and, the deponer enquiring at the maister, if he should go presentlie, hee did bid him leap on and followe him, and not to go away vntill he spake with the King; and the Maister hauing spoken with the King, at a breach of the park wal, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his return in al possible haste to Sanct. Johnstoun, he fand my Lord in his chamber about ten houres, who left the companie hee was speaking with, and come to the deponer, and asked, Hath my brother sent a letter with you? The deponer answered, no, but they will be al heere incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my Lord to cause prepare the dinner. Immediatlie thereafter, my Lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked at him, how his Maiestie took with the Maister his brother? The deponer answered, very well, and that his Maiestie laide his hand ouer the Maisters shoulder. Thereafter my Lord enquired, if there was manie at the hunting with the King? The deponer answered, that he took no heed, but they who were accustomed to ride with his Maiestie, and some Englishmen were there? and that my Lord enquired what special men were with his Maiestie, and that the deponer answered hee did see none but my Lord Duke. And within an houre thereafter, when the deponent came in from his owne house, the Earle bid him put on his secreit and plait-sleeues, for he had an Heylandman to take, which the deponer did incontinent; and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his owne house to his dinner, the steward came to him and shewe him that George Craigingelt was not well, and was lyne down, desired him to tary and take vp my Lords dinner; and about half an houer after twelue my Lord commanded him to take vp the first seruice; and, when the deponer was commanded to take up the second seruice, the Maister and William Blair came into the hal to my Lord.

The deponer remembreth him selfe, that Andrew Ruthwen came before the Maister a certaine space, and spake with my Lord quyetlie at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soone as the Maister came to the hal, my Lord and the whole company raise from the table; and the deponer, hearing the noyes of their forth-going, supposed they were going to makebreakes for makilduy; and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steil bonnet; and seeing my Lord passe to the Inshe, and not the Shoe-gate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantrie, and caused his boy to take his steil bonnet to his owne house; and he followed my Lord to the Inshe, and returning backe with his Maiestie to the lodging, beeing directed to get drinke. And the Maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister William Rynd send him vp the key of the gallerie chamber, who past vp and deliuered the key to the Maister; and immediatlie my Lord followed vp, and did speak with the Maister, and came downe againe, and directed Maister Thomas Cranstoun to the deponer to come

to his Lordship in his Maiesties chamber. And that my Lord directed him to go vp to the gallerie to his brother; and immediatlie my Lord followed vp, and commanded the deponer to byde there with his brother, and to doe anie thing that hee bade him. The deponer enquired at the Maister, What haue yee to do, Sir? The Maister answered, yee must goe in heere, and tarry vntill I come backe, for I will take the key with mee. So he lokked the deponer in the rounde within the chamber, and took the key with him. Shortly therafter, the maister returned, and the Kings Maiestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the Maister, opening the dore, entered with the King into the said rounde; and at his very entrie, couering his head, pulled out the deponers dagger, and held the same to his Maiesties breast, saying, Remember you of my Fathers murther? Yee shall now die for it; and minting to his Hienes heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the Maisters hand, and swore, that, as God shall iudge his soule, if the Maister had retained the dagger in his hand the space that a man may go six steppes, he would haue striken the King to the hilts with it: but wanting the dagger, and the Kings Maiestie giuing him a gentle answer, hee saide to the Kings Maiestie with abhominable oathes, that, if hee would keep silence, no thing should aile him, if hee would make such promise to his brother as they would craue of him; and the Kings Maiestie enquiring what promise they would craue? He answered, that he would bring his brother. So he goes forth, and lokkes the dore of the rounde vpon his Maiestie and the deponer, hauing first taken the King sworne that hee should not cry, nor open the windoe.

And his Maiestie enquiring at the deponer what he was? He answered, a seruant of my Lords. And his Maiestie asking at the deponer, if my Lorde would doe anie euill to him? The deponer answered, as God shall iudge my soule, I shall die first. And, the deponer preising to haue opened the windoe, the Maister entered, and said, Sir, there is no remedie, by God, you must die; and, hauing a loose garter in his hand, preised to haue bound his Maiesties hands, and the deponer pulled the garter out of Maister Alexanders hand. And then the Maister did put one of his hands in his Maiesties mouth, to haue staid him to speak, and held his other arme about his Hienes neck: and that this deponer pulled the Maisters hand from his Hienesse mouth, and opened the windoe: and then his Maiestie cried out therat, wherupon his Hienes seruant came in at the gate, and this deponer did run and open the dore of the turn-pyke heade, whereat John Ramsay entered; and the deponer stode in the chamber vntill he did see Iohn Ramsay giue the Maister ane stroke, and thereafter priuile conuoyed him selfe downe the turnpyke to his owne house; and the deponers wife enquiring of him what the fraie meant? The deponer answered, that the Kings Maiestie would haue beene twise stikked, were not he releued him.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Hendersoun, with my Hand.

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, that, after his turning from Falkland upon the fifth of this instant, Maister Iohn Moncrief enquiring of him where he had beene? He answered, that he had bene beyond the bridge of Erne; and sayes, that he gaue the answere to Maister Iohn, because my Lord commanded him to let no man knowe that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my Lords direction to him was to come backe with his brother Maister Alexander, and to leave Andrew Ruthwen to await upon the Maister.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Hendersoun, with my hand

Further, the saide Andrew Hendersoun depones, that, when hee had taken the Maisters hand out of the Kings Maiesties mouth, and wth opening the windoe, Maister Alexander said to him, will thou not helpe? Wo betyde thee, thou wilt make vs all die.

Sic subscribitur,

Andrew Hendersoun, with my Hand

THE
GOLDEN SPEECH OF QUEEN ELISABETH
TO
HER LAST PARLIAMENT,

November 30. Anno Dom. 1601. [From a 4to Edition.]

Within these three hundred years last past, almost all Europe (except such as lived under the happy form of a mixt monarchical government; but the maxim of the ancients, that the King and the people's interest are one and the same. The King had his dues, and the people had theirs; as it was in France, Spain, Germany, Poland, &c. But the Pope, envying the happy princes, and people, under this mild monarchy; and to secure his new Antichristian supremacy, having gotten his Jesuits to be King's flattered and wheedled princes, that, as in the text, This shall be the punishment of your kings; God was giving the people the Jus Divinum of Government in truth, he was threatening them with the plague of Tyrants! And with such effect, as to turn the former easy monarchies into absolute ill-monarchies, which first began by Lewis the Eleventh, in France, and followed by the Inquisition in Spain, &c. So that Europe, and the West Indies, were the shambles of Papal barbarities in the massacres of millions of Christian and other human souls, ever since.

Our wise Queen Elisabeth, therefore, having a right regard to the general good and weal of the people, accommodated her government to the true genius of the monarchical institution, as it then stood: for she constantly courted the people, expressing her monarchy was founded in the people's affections: and by that expedient kept up herself and monarchy to that height and glory, as it first stood in its natural foundation; and this against all foreign powers. And she thus answered all the ends of government; for factions and parties were thus sunk, the interest of court and country were made one, and virtue, honesty, and piety were restored and encouraged.

This Speech ought to be set in letters of gold, that as well the majesty, prudence, and virtue of her gracious Majesty, Queen Elisabeth, might in general most exquisitely appear; as also that her religious love, and tender respect, which she particularly, and constantly, did bear to her Parliament, in unfeigned sincerity, might be nobly and truly vindicated, and proclaimed, with all grateful recognition to God for so great a blessing to his people of England, in vouchsafing them heretofore such a gracious Princess, and magnanimous defender of the Reformed Religion, and heroick patroness of the Liberty of her Subjects, in the Freedom and Honour of their Parliaments; which have been, under God, the continual conservators of the splendor, and wealth of this kingdom, against tyranny and oppression.

Her Majesty being set under State in the Council-chamber at White-hall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy-counsellors, besides Knights and Burgesses of the Lower House, to the number of eight-score, presenting themselves at her Majesty's feet, for that so graciously and speedily she had heard and yielded to her subjects desires, and proclaimed the same in their hearing, as followeth;

Mr. Speaker,

WE perceive your coming is to present thanks unto us: know, I accept them with no less joy, than your loves can have desire to offer such a present, and do more esteem it, than any treasure of riches; for those We know how to prize, but Loyalty, Love, and Thanks, I account them invaluable: and though God hath raised Me high, yet this I account the glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice, that God hath made Me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen overso thankful a people, and to be the mean, under God, to conserve you in safety, and to preserve you from danger; yea, to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonour, shame, and infamy; to keep you from servitude, and from slavery under our enemies*, and cruel tyranny, and vile oppression, intended against Us: for the better withstanding whereof, We take very acceptably your intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves, and largeness of heart to your Sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedyscraping grasper, nor a strict fast-holding Prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set upon any wordly goods, but only for my subjects good. What you do bestow on Me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to be-

* The Pope and Popish Princes, especially the King of Spain.

stow on you again; yea, my own properties I account yours, to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you, and the rest to stand up, for, I shall yet trouble you with longer Speech. Mr. Speaker, you give Me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you, thank them of the Lower House from Me, for, had I not received knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lapse of an error, only for want of true information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant, but upon pretext and semblance* made Me, that it was for the good and avail of My subjects generally, though a private profit to some of My antient servants, who have deserved well; but that My grants shall be made grievances to My people, and oppressions, to be privileged under colour of our patents, our princely dignity shall not suffer it. When I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and those varlets, lewd persons, abusers of My bounty, shall know that I will not suffer it. And, Mr. Speaker, tell the House from Me, I take it exceeding grateful that the knowledge of these things are come unto Me from them. And though, amongst them the principal members are such as are not touched in private, and therefore need not speak from any feeling of the grief, yet We have heard that other gentlemen also of the House, who stand as free, have spoken as freely in it; which gives Us to know, that no respects or interests have moved them, other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honour, and our subjects love unto Us. The zeal of which affection tending to ease my people, and knit their hearts unto Us, I embrace with a princely care, far above all earthly treasures. I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit; and God, that gave Me here to sit, and placed me over you, knows that I never respected myself, but as your good was concerned in Me; yet what dangers, what practices, and what perils I have passed, some, if not all of you know, but none of these things do move Me, or ever made Me fear, but it is God that hath delivered Me. And, in My governing this land, I have ever set the last judgment-day before My eyes, and so to rule, as I shall be judged and answer before a higher judge, to whose judgment-seat I do appeal, in that never thought was cherished in My heart that tended not to My people's good. And if My princely bounty have been abused, and My grants turned to the hurt of My people, contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under Me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps† to my charge. To be a King, and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that bear it; for Myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made Me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny, and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things unto Myself, or My sexly weakness, I were not worthy to

* Representation.

† Faults.

live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands; but to God only and wholly all is given and ascribed. The cares and trouble of a Crown I cannot more fitly resemble, than to the drugs of a learned physician, perfumed with some aromatical savour, or to bitter pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable, or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and, for My own part, were it not for conscience-sake, to discharge the duty that God hath laid upon Me, and to maintain his glory, and keep you in safety, in My own disposition I should be willing to resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours; for 'it is not My desire to live or reign longer, than My life and reign shall be for your good.' And, though you have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had, nor shall have any, that will love you better.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend Me to your loyal loves, and yours to My best care, and your further counsels; I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, and Mr. Secretary, and you of My council, that, before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss My hand.

THE TRUE HISTORY *

OF THE LATE AND LAMENTABLE ADVENTURES

OF

DON SEBASTIAN, KING OF PORTUGAL,

After his Imprisonment in Spain, until this present Day,

Being now in SPAIN, at ST. LUCAR DE BARRAMEDA.

There is no power but from God. Rom. xiii.

London, printed by Simon Stafford and James Shaw, 1602. Quarto, containing twenty-eight Pages.

THIS unfortunate King, Don Sebastian, having been brought from Florence to Naples, was put into the castle of Oeuf, into a chamber, without any other furniture in it, than a halter, and a long knife of the length of half the arm; where, for the space of three days, they neither gave him aught to drink, or to eat, nor whereon to lie; which space he spent in continual prayers, enduring his crosses with incredible

* This is the 79th number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

patience. On the fourth day after, the auditor-general, accompanied with two notaries, came to visit him, and found him, for his life, of good disposition, and marvelled exceedingly at him, (for all of them did verily believe, that, seeing himself so ill treated, he would, in despair, have hanged himself, or, with one of those two instruments, have ended his days; which for that purpose were prepared, and placed in that room; or, at least, incur thereby some grievous malady) and said unto him, That, if he would not deny, and cease to maintain what he had avouched and maintained, in reporting himself to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, he should never have either drink, meat, or lodging. To whom the King made answer:

‘Do what you will, for I shall never sing any other song; and I beseech God Omnipotent, of his infinite goodness and divine mercy, that he will stretch out his powerful hand, and assist me in these my troubles; and that he will not suffer me to commit so foul a fault, or to fall into so great a mischief, and so contrary to my own soul, that, for fear and terror of men, I should come to deny the truth, and to confess a falshood. God defend me from it. I am that self-same Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, who, in the year 1578, passed into Africa against the Infidels; and the very same, who, to augment the name and power of the Christians, put my life in hazard; and am that unfortunate Prince, who, for the punishment of his sins, lost a battle; which loss begat so many misadventures, and occasioned so many changes in Christendom. This is the very truth, neither can I say any other.’

With this answer, the auditor, and his notaries, went their way. After this, they began to give him, for his nourishment, some bread and water; and, some few days after, he was allowed five crowns a month, and a man to wait upon him. The viceroy of Naples, last deceased, came to visit him, and there passed between them that which hath been published by so many hands, and set forth in so many languages. Now, as soon as it was bruited abroad, and that fame had run and told it through the world, that he remained prisoner, and that all men had leave to see him, many persons, of divers, both qualities, and nations, made a voyage unto Naples, only to see him, and to speak unto him: And, amongst the rest, many Portuguese, some out of Portugal, and some from other places of their being, past into Italy, that they might, with their own proper eyes, behold so admirable, and so rare a wonder. Many of the Portuguese, especially the elder sort, who had seen him, and knew him; and some also of Castile, and other strangers besides, having seen him, and discoursed with him, confessed and maintained, That he was Don Sebastian, the true King of Portugal. During the life of the said viceroy, his imprisonment was not so austere, nor so strict, as it was afterwards, when his son succeeded in the said government; who kept him exceeding close, and double-guarded, suffering him, notwithstanding, to go abroad on the Sundays, and other festival-days, for to hear mass in a chapel within the said castle. He lived in perpetual prayers and fastings. Every Friday and Saturday, he fasted with bread and water. He did the like, sometimes, also on other days,

as on Mondays and Wednesdays. He often frequented the sacraments, and used much confession; and, all the Lent long, fed nor eat of any thing, save only herbs and pulse.

The seventeenth of April last past, within a year after that he was delivered to the Castilians, the said viceroy, who also is Count of Lemos, son to him that was deceased, married with the daughter of the Duke of Lerma, who now, at this day, is a governor in Spain: At that time it was demanded of him, that he should suddenly make answer, without any other proceedings, or diligence, in his cause, unto that which, on the fourth day, was proposed by the auditor-general, accompanied, as before we mentioned. To whom he replied:

‘That it was no lawful, nor direct course, to take upon them to examine, and judge him, without process; but rather, that they should present him to the Portuguese, who had both nourished him, knew him, and served him. For, on their relation, and their testimony, ought to depend the true proof and approbation of his business: Affirming, that, if it were possible for him to live a thousand years longer, he would never answer otherwise: And, that if they should determine to do justice on him, without any other order or proof, he must take God for his only judge, who knows the truth of this matter, and that he is the proper and true King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. Wherefore, if you are so disposed, take your course in effecting that, upon which, heretofore, you purposed.’

The officers, appointed for this affair, being gone from him with this answer, he went immediately, and threw himself down on his knees before the crucifix, and began to dispose and prepare himself for death. He fasted the space of three days with bread and water. He made his general confession, and received the holy sacraments. As he thus attended his latest hour, before the said month of April was ended, they sent again unto him for his final answer. To which message he made the like answer, as before. And, upon these his last words, he was judged and condemned, by the Castilians, to be led, in ignominy, through the streets of Naples, and from thence to labour in the galleys all the rest of his life.

The last day of the said month, they brought him out of the castle, and mounted him on an ass, and led him openly through the streets of the city, three trumpets marching before him, with a crier, who cried with a loud voice, This is the justice which his Catholick Majesty hath commanded to be executed. He hath commanded this man should be thus shamefully led up and down, and that he should perpetually be doomed to the galleys, for naming himself to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, being no other than a Calabrian. And still, before the crier began, the trumpets sounded, and so continued to the end. And, when they named King, he would cry aloud, Why, so I am. And when they said, Being no other than a Calabrian, he would answer, That is false. Yet, notwithstanding, in the repetition of these words, all the while that they were pronounced by the crier, he so wisely hindered the course of justice, nor once moved himself against it.

Now must you note, that the Castilians not knowing how to verify, that he was the said Marcus Tullius Cartizzone, as they endowed him with at the first, when he was delivered unto them, they proclaimed him at that hour, by the indefinite name of a Calabrian.

This act bringeth an extreme amazement to all the whole city, and ingenders a great sorrow, and causeth much compunction in the hearts of all men; insomuch that they went away struck with wonder, and full of astonishment. They looked one upon another with a silent strangeness, and were unable to utter so much as one word to another, the greatness of their grief stopping the passage of their speech. And if any, amongst them, were heretofore persuaded, that he was a Calabrian, after they had now beheld his own proper person, and this so strange a spectacle, they were confirmed in this belief, and did certainly assure themselves, that he, whom they thus reproachfully led up and down upon an ass, was the very right and true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; and they were touched with such great compassion, and remorseful fellow-feeling, in beholding this his miserable state, and the injustice wherewith they did treat him, that they were not able to refrain from tears: The sighs and lamentations of one inciting the rest to the same, who mourned, and bewailed his misery, whilst the King himself cried out in this pitiful manner:

"I am in the hands of my enemies, who work what themselves will upon this my body; but my soul I recommend unto God, who hath created it, and knows the truth, and can witness for me, that I am the same, whom I profess and say I am."

After they had carried him thus throughout the city, they brought him to the King's royal galleys; whereunto he was no sooner entered, but they presently pulled off his own apparel, and put upon him a slavish attire, and placed him at the prow of the galley, where he remained a whole day; and, the next day following, they put him, with a guard, in a little barque, that was linked to the galley, whither there repaired a great concourse of people, of divers nations. Amongst the which, were present a great number of noble personages, and of very honourable houses, who steadily viewing his visage, and marking him with an especial attention, and a most searching eye, Without doubt, said they, this is that true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal.

The fifth day they ranked him in the galleys, and shaved off the hairs both of his head and beard, the which were gathered up, and kept by those that stood by, as a most precious thing, and of great esteem.

This being done, they fettered him with chains, signifying unto him, that he should not be bound to row. Some French lords were present at most of these proceedings; and, among the rest, a son of Monsieur de Berault, who is, now at this day, nominated for to be ambassador of Castile, and a gentleman, who is a follower of his, with some others of the same suit.

In these days of so great affliction, the King ceased not to continue in his daily prayers and fastings, with such admiration of those that beheld

that they held him for a saint; and, by the means of his patience, modesty, and other apparent demonstrations of his virtues, he gained so much reputation amongst those with whom he lived, that they were forced to confess, that the truth of this matter was covered and hidden, by the inventions and subtleties of his enemies, and maintained, that he was the rightful Don Sebastian, King of Portugal.

Many of very good qualities have writ out of Naples into divers parts of Europe, touching the success of this affair, according to the truth thereof, and in such forcible manner, that as many as are either in the Court of Rome, or in Italy, are persuaded to believe, and do hold most constantly for true, that this miserable prince is the same person he professeth himself to be.

But some will haply say, that he doth deserve far more grievous chastisement, because he escaped alive from the battle of Africk, rendered so famous in the world, and, coming afterwards unknown into his own kingdom of Portugal, he did not demand it again, leaving it as a prey to his enemies; which hath occasioned so many men's deaths, so many and so divers misadventures, so many mischiefs, afflictions, and miseries, as have happened thereby, and have crossed those Christian people these twenty-two years; as one, who should have preferred the publick good before his own particular imaginations, and private fancies. But whosoever shall take knowledge of his pure virtue, piety, fear of God, wisdom and understanding, will sing another song, and only say this, *Sic erat in fatis*; and that God would have it so, to the intent that, in the law of grace, there should be found another Job, like unto him in the law of nature.

These gallies passed from Naples into Spain, where some do report, that they saw him at Barcelona, in one of the King's royal gallies; and that he sat on the third seat, and that they used him very well, and served him with very much honour, and with great respects.

We believe well the former, but not the latter, as it shall appear by what we shall manifest hereafter; for they are but tales and fables, divulged by his enemies, who have published it so abroad, for to cloak their malicious wickedness, and their treasonable intents, and to conserve the good love and favour of such as love him with all their hearts, and who, with all the art they can, with all their soul, and with all their power, seek to regain him, and to acknowledge him for their Lord and Master; whereas the others, preferring their own particular interest, and forgetting wholly the common good, have quite lost both the remembrance of their loyalty, and the obligation wherein they stand bound to their country.

From Barcelona, the gallies entered into the Ocean Sea, where they remained till the beginning of the month of August, at the Port of St. Lúcar de Barrameda.

A courier from his Catholick Majesty recounted, to the thrice Christian King, the cause why the aforesaid vessels passed forth of the Mediterranean Sea into the ocean, which was a rebellion in Angra, a city in the Isle of Tercere, which is the chiefest of the isles, which they call by the name of Azores, which is the key of all the Ocean Sea; for those that come out of Africk, out of Asia, and America, are constrained to

pass that way, as to the principal butt of their navigation. The Isle is situated in thirty-nine degrees, and some minutes, between the Septentrion and the Meridian.

The certainty of this insurrection is not yet, to this day, made fully known. Some say, that the Portuguese did rise against the Catholick King, a nobleman of Spain being a party with them. Others, that the governor of the isle, being by nation a Castilian, did mightily bastinado a captain of his regiment; who weighing with himself, that he could not challenge his superior in the field, and that he remained in an isle environed round with the sea, and 300 leagues from Lisbon, he resolved to take some other course to satisfy his vengeance upon him. For effecting of which revenge, he discovered his intentions to his soldiers, and especially to the Portuguese of the said isle, whom he finding propitious, and fully bent to yield him their best assistance, for to make himself satisfaction for the wrong he was offered, he determined to kill the governor, and to rise with the whole isle, in favour of the Portuguese; which was effected after the same manner it was resolved on.

This revolt was the cause that his Catholick Majesty caused his gallies to come from Naples into the ocean.

Yet, for all this, will I not deliver neither the one nor the other cause for current; for they are but fables, framed out of the forge of the enemy, whose custom it is to sow such false tales, to see how the world will stand affected with it, and to discover the hearts, as well of the nobler, as the vulgar sort. It is rather to be thought, that his Majesty commanded the said gallies to come out of Naples into the ocean, upon the rumour of those forces that were raised in England, being designed, as some say, to enter Portugal.

But, whatsoever they say, so it was, that his gallies came down thither; and it shall suffice us for our purpose, to know for certain, that the royal galley of Naples, in which Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, was put, rides at St. Lucar de Barrameda, and that the said Don Sebastian is within her, in the manner aforesaid.

On the twelfth or thirteenth day of the said month, there arrived in France, in a ship of the Rochellers, two French merchants, well known to be men of credit and truth, who did assure, as well by word of mouth, as by letters written to persons of honour in Paris, that they have seen the aforesaid prisoner at St. Lucar de Barrameda, within the royal galley of Naples; and that they spoke unto him; and that they saw him in chains poor and miserable; and that they offered him linnen, and silver, and other commodities, which he would by no means take, but refused their kindness, and returned them thanks; and that he brooked his affliction with wonderful patience; and that all they of the gallies did acknowledge him to be the same that himself had said he was, and did generally call him King; and that he is served by two galley slaves that are Turks; that he labours not at the oar, but in all things else is used like the rest of the slaves; and that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and his wife, had a desire to see him, who having talked a long time with him, the King demanded of him, if he had that sword still which he gave him, when he embarked himself for Barbary.

The Duke made answer, that indeed Don Sebastian, King of Portugal,

presented him with a sword, which he bestowed upon him before his embarking, which he had caused to be kept in his armoury amongst the rest.

Since that you have it then, replied the King, I pray you, let me intreat that it may be brought hither; for, although it be now twenty-four years since I gave it you, I doubt not but I shall know it full well. The Duke had commanded some dozen to be brought, the which the King having severally viewed, told him, Mine is not amongst any of these. Then the Duke willed they should bring all the rest. And, the King espying it in the hands of him that brought them, Lo, Duke, said he, behold the sword which I gave you, when I passed into Africa.

There was in the company of the Duchess a negro, whom the King knew, and said, that he had served him for the washing of his linnen, being one of his launderers, when he reigned in Portugal. The Duke, seeing these things to be so apparent, and so probably true, that they seemed miraculous unto him, blessed himself with many a cross, and was seen to go from him with a heavy and a sorrowful countenance, and weeping, as it were, through compassion and mere pity, to see so miserable a prince, in so wretched and unhappy an estate. And the most part of the Castilians themselves, subjects to King Philip, amazed with these so many signs and testimonies of truth, howbeit they dare not speak it openly, yet, notwithstanding, in their private discourses, they will not stick to say, that it is impossible that this man should be any other than the true Don Sebastian; and that it is to be feared, that God will swallow them all in hell, if the Catholick King restore not all that unto him, which of right appertaineth unto him. But those, who do not look on these great miracles, with the eyes of pity, say, that he is possessed with a devil.

This Duke, if I am not deceived, was called Duke Alphonso de Guzman le Bon, the tenth Count of Niebla, and the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia; who, in the year 1578, the King Don Sebastian arriving at Cales, for to go into Africa, received him with great royalty, magnificent feastings, with tilting and tourning, with bull-baiting, and other sports and pastimes, such as the isle could afford.

The said King continued eight days with the Duke, who, they say, took much pains with him to dissuade him from passing into Barbary in his own person.

This considered, men need not to think it strange, if the Duke had a desire to see him, and also to speak with him; nor that likewise, which the Rochellers report, touching the sword and the negro, since that the wife and lady of the said Duke is Dame Anna de Silva, daughter to King Gomez de Silva, a Portuguese, and Prince of Eboli, who governed the kingdom of Castile for many years; who might very well retain the said negro in her service, by reason he had been brought up in the Prince's house of Portugal.

We have divers letters, written from Cales into many places round about, which we find to be as followeth:

There arrived out of Spain six or seven merchants, inhabitants of this town, men of the most credit and wealth amongst them, who reported they had seen Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, in the King's galley of

Naples, at St. Lucar de Barrameda; and that they saw him chained as a prisoner, and treated as the rest of the slaves, but served with more respect, and free from the oar; which favour, it is thought, was obtained for him by the Pope's favour.

They added, moreover, That many old men, Portuguese of divers sorts, in great abundance, came thither to see him, and that all of them did confess, that this was the true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; and that the Castilians cried with a loud voice, in these terms which we have here above mentioned, touching the wrath of God hanging over Spain.

And, if we shall but weigh all the successes of this King, his peregrinations through the world, his imprisonments, his deliverance out of Venice, the manner of his coming from Florence unto Naples, his sentence, and execution upon it, it makes the case appear, in our sight, miraculous and full of wonder; but, above all, his embarking and arrival at St. Lucar de Barrameda. And yet, besides all these, this is a rare and extraordinary thing, that the gallies, coming down from Naples into the great sea, did suit in such conformity and correspondence with the ancient prophecies, which touch these adventures.

The reverend father, Dr. Sampayo, a religious and holy man, of the order of Preachers, being at Paris the last year, hath assured many men, that he had seen in the library of St. Victor, in a certain book, a prophecy, which we will openly deliver unto you; to wit, 'That the King, Don Sebastian, should come out of Naples upon a horse of wood, which, out of the Mediterranean Sea, should enter into the ocean; and, that his horse should rest at St. Lucar de Barrameda.'

See, what Father Sampayo hath truly recounted to these persons, touching this prophecy, the same is confessed and confirmed anew by the religious men of that monastery; for it hath been communicated and declared to divers of them; also they have writ the very same to some of his friends; and, within the self-same library, they have shewed the prophecy to some such secular gentlemen, as stand well affected to the liberty of this unfortunate king. And, forasmuch as the said Father Sampayo is far from hence, we cannot cite the very words of the prophecy, nor the author of it; yet, notwithstanding, it shall make very well for that we have in hand, if we shall but know that which is found written, touching the adverse and prosperous haps of this unhappy prince, by men of great learning and holiness of life; which if we do, we may the more easily be excused. St. Isidore, a very wise and learned man, and of the blood royal, as being the son of Theodora, and of Severian, son to Thierry, King of the Ostrogoths and of Italy, who flourished about the year 580, hath left unto us in writing: *Occultus Rex, his piè datus, in Hispaniam veniet in equo ligneo, quem multi videntes illum esse non credent, &c.* Which is as much as to say, 'A secret and unknown King, exceeding devoutly given, shall come into Spain; which many men seeing shall not believe it is he,' &c.

This here is found to be published in a strange adventure, lately printed:

A shoemaker of Portugal, named Bandarra, born in the town of Trancoso, who lived here about some three hundred years since, hath

left unto us in writing, in Portuguese verse, very many prophecies upon divers and sundry subjects; amongst the which there are found some, which treat *Del Incubierto*, viz. Of the concealed and hidden prince; in one part whereof, we have observed the accomplishment, in the person of King Don Sebastian; and, if those, which remain behind, shall prove but as true, as those that are past, doubtless, we shall see this king seated in his royal throne,

The poor labouring people of Portugal retain this as an old tradition:

'That a time shall come, wherein a king, whose name shall be, as it were, *De Bestia*, shall disappear for a time; and that, after he and his realm shall have suffered many afflictions and calamities, the very self-same king, whom all the world holdeth for dead, shall rise again, and gain his throne with incredible happiness.' In which tradition, we are to note one thing concerning the name of *Bestia*; for the peasants of Portugal, instead of saying Sebastian, pronounce *Bestiam*; so that, taking away the last letter of the word, there remains, *Bestia*. Moreover, we may also persuade ourselves, that this tradition of those base, rustick, and barbarous men shall have its full accomplishment, in the person of this prince, hitherto so unfortunate. It is no such strange and unusual thing to see God permit, that we behold his secrets in the mouth of ignorant persons, since that his son hath taught us, *Abecondisti ea a sapientibus, & revelasti ea parvulis*. And we may as well, by the permission of God, see this rustick prophecy fulfilled, as they did that, which runneth through the mouths of the labourers of Beaulse, in these latter years of the King that was; which was by tradition delivered still from the father to the son;

- 'The year one-thousand five-hundred eighty-nine,
- 'A new King unto the Throne of Portugal shall climb;
- 'The year one-thousand five-hundred and ninety,
- 'Far more hares, than sheep, shall you see.

We have also, elsewhere, another old fellow, who hath composed a book in Castilian verse, which serves as an explication of those prophecies of St. Isidore, and of some others, who have writ of the *Incubierto*. In which book I have read, some forty-five years since, many curious things, which, if I could remember them, would at this time stand me in good stead. But, because I read them in my youth, without any notice of things to come, or imagining of any changes or revolutions to happen in the world these twenty-four years past; and, besides, being then incapable of understanding them, it made me the more negligent in the apprehension of them; only my memory hath, in a confused manner, furnished me with a poem of seven lines very fit for our present purpose; and, not long since, a gentleman of Portugal, a faithful servant to his king, and very desirous of his country's liberty, gave it me in writing:

*Vendra & Incubierto,
Vendra cierto.*

*Entrera en el huerto,
Por el puerto.
Qu'esta mas a ca del muro,
Y lo que parece escuro,
Se tra claro, y abierto.*

Which is as much as to say :

- ' The unknown shall come,
- ' He shall come for certain,
- ' And shall enter at the garden,
- ' By the gate,
- ' Which is nearest to the wall ;
- ' And that, which seemeth dark and obscure,
- ' Shall appear full clear, and be discovered.'

For the better understanding of these verses, we are to understand what this Garden, and what this Wall is ; for the exposition and understanding of these two words shall give us light to the rest, and shall lay open to our view those admirable things, which a simple poem prophesieth unto us.

We are, then, to understand, that this Garden may be taken for the country which extends itself beyond the mount Calpe, which is in Spain, at the mouth of the Streight of Gibraltar, fronting mount Abyla, which is situated on the other side of the said Streight, in Africa ; which are the two mountains, that are named by the ancients Hercules's Pillars, as far as the river which the Latins call *Betis*, and is named now at this day, by the inhabitants, Guadal-quiver (a name imposed by the Moors, after they had made themselves lords of Spain) which signifieth, in our language, Great Water ; for *Guad*, in the Arabian tongue, is as much as Water, and *Quiver* signifieth great.

The isle of Cales is in that country, and was once far greater than now it is. All this country is very fertile, plentiful, and delightful.

Ancient authors do report of it, that, if their sheep should go but thirty days without letting of blood, they would die with fatness.

In this country did Homer dwell, before he grew blind, which was in the year 1307 after the flood, and two-hundred fifty-five, before the foundation of Rome, and a thousand before the incarnation of Christ. In those days they called it, *Melesegines*. They that have seen the fruitfulness and good temperature thereof, affirm, that these were the Elysian Fields, whither the gods sent the souls of the blessed. Whence we see clearly, that this country is the garden of Spain, and so we likewise call it.

Yet there are some authors, notwithstanding, who maintain and approve with very strong and evident reasons, that Lisbon is the garden of Spain, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging : For as much as it is a very pleasant territory, large, fertile, plentiful, fair, and delectable, wherein grow great abundance of all fruits, the most excellent, and the most perfect that Europe affordeth.

Your elder writers affirm, that the mares, that live thereabout, will

be impregnated by the wind; and that the colts, which come of them, seem rather to fly than run, so swift they are of foot.

Ulysses, whom writers allot unto us, as founder of the said city, and his companions, arrived after his shipwreck, in these quarters, and entering into the ocean sea by Tagus, moved by the fertility of the territory, with the waters, and the abundance of fish, that were bred in the said river, being so deep, and so marvellous fit for all kind of commodities, besides the great store of gold, which seemed to be in those sands, he named it Theodora, which in the Greek tongue, signifieth God's Gift. So that the garden of Spain is that country, which we affirm to be between the mount Calpe and the river of Gaudiana: Or else the town of Lisbon, with her territories.

The King Don Sebastian having entered some of these parts with prosperity, it importeth us a little for the verification of this prophecy, whether the one, or the other, be the garden of Spain.

Touching the wall, all they, that are well seen and practised in the ancient histories of Spain, confess, that it is the isle of Cales, which they call Gades, and by reason of the affinity of the G with the C, is converted into the name of Cades.

And for the better declaring from whence this name came, it is necessary that we here alledge some ancient histories, which teach us, that there are six men that bear the name of Hercules; whereof two of them have stifled each others reputation. One was son unto Jupiter and Alcmena; the other, son of the same father, and of Asteria sister to Latona. And this Hercules is adored with great reverence at Tyre.

The histories do report, that he commanded the Gaditanes by a dream, who were the inhabitants of that city, that they should pass into Spain, and build a temple unto him in Cales, where his name should be held in veneration.

For to accomplish this commandment, the Gaditanes embarked themselves in the year two-hundred thirty-five, after the foundation of Rome; and sailing by the Mediterranean sea, they entered the ocean; and not far from the mouth of the Streights, they landed at Cales.

There began they to build a town, observing the customs and ceremonies of the Hetruscians, who did, as Marcus Varro mentioneth, couple a bull and a cow under one yoke, and so made a deep furrow with their ploughshare, in a circular or round figure, whose circuit they drew as large as the city should be, which they intended to build. The ploughshare made the furrow, and the earth, they threw up, formed their walls. So did Romulus, when he undertook the foundation of Rome; as it is storied by Dionysius Halicarnassens. So did Æneas also, according to the testimony of Virgil:

Interea Æneas orbem designat aratro.

And thus, in this manner, was the said place held afterwards for a thing holy and religious.

Assoon as the building of this town and temple was bruited in the world, great multitudes out of Europe, Africa, and Asia came to see it. And in after years, the Carthaginians, considering that the inhabitants thereof, as being all of one country, for they and the Gaditanes came both out of Tyre, would continue still friends unto them, determined to undertake the conquest of Spain.

And for the better effecting their design, they cloaked their ambition, with piety and religion, as I shall shew you; giving the Spaniards to understand, that it was not fit, since so many out of all parts of the world came to visit this city, and the temple belonging unto it, and to do sacrifice unto the God thereof, of whom they had received such exceeding benefits, that the said God should be worshiped in so poor a temple, and of so base a structure, the walls thereof being no better than dirt and earth: and therefore would entreat them, that they might have leave to build a greater, a richer, and more sumptuous temple.

The Spaniards, not suspecting any ill that might succeed, nor any way being jealous of the Carthaginians at that time, did easily condescend to their request, suffering them to obtain whatsoever they desired.

Presently hereupon, the Carthaginians began, with incredible haste, to build a mighty huge temple of squared stone, and so strong, that it might serve them instead of a castle, for the effecting of this their intention.

There were also all along the temple some strong buildings, saying they were to serve for the priests, the officers, and the servants of the said temple.

Not content with this, acquainting the Spaniards with the bad entertainment, which those received, which came with such great devotion, and undertook such long journies for to visit the house of this their God, that they might have where to retire themselves, and to shelter themselves for all seasons, that they would permit them to build a greater number of houses, for to lodge and receive poor pilgrims.

In a word, the Carthaginians obtained all that they would; and joining one house to another, they made a very strong place, by means whereof, they grew great lords in Spain. And the same report is now at this day very common also in the mouths of many. When the Earl of Essex took the said town by force, the inhabitants trembled, and cried out, Is it possible that the walls of Spain should be taken by the enemy? O God, what shall we do?

Out of this, which hath been said, you may clearly see, that this is that wall, and that garden, which the author of these prophecies hath spoken of in his verses. So that, in knowing this, we may easily have knowledge of the gate, that is on the hither side of the wall, which must be that of St. Lucar de Barrameda, which is on the other side in the ocean sea, some five leagues distant from Cales.

God grant that this virtuous and holy prince, Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, fulfilling all that which is prophesied of him, may enter

into the possession of his Kingdom, for the peace and tranquillity of his countries, and the common good of all Christendom: Amen. Farewel, the last of August.

After I had ended this present discourse, news came out of divers places, and letters, sent by many persons worthy of credit, who confirm all this that hath been spoken of Don Sebastian: Adding withal, that the Duke of Medina Sidonia sent afterwards aboard the gallies four men, which had both seen, known, spoken, and served the said King, all the time he lay at Cales, before he passed into Africa, which was eight days, for to see and examine, whether he were the very same or no. These men saw him, spoke to him, and demanded of him many things, himself not knowing to what end they thus examined him: who returning to the Duke, did avouch with many oaths, that this man was that very self-same right and true Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, whom he had received at Cales, with such great joy and feasting, in the year 1578. Some say that the Duke writ letters of all this that had passed unto the Catholick King: and besides, that with these his letters, and ratification of what he had seen and heard, he sent the said men for to testify the truth of it.

God grant for his mercy's sake, and for our delivery out of so many troubles and miseries, that those prophecies set down in the two last lines of those verses in the Castilian tongue, before recited, may quickly be fulfilled, to wit:

*Y lo, que paresce escuro,
Se vna claro, y abierto.*

A CONTINUATION •

OF THE

LAMENTABLE AND ADMIRABLE ADVENTURES

OF

DON SEBASTIAN, KING OF PORTUGAL.

With a Declaration of all his Time employed since the Battle in Africk against the Infidels, 1578, until this present year, 1603.

London: Printed for James Shaw, and are to be sold at his Shop near Ludgate, 1603. Quarto, containing sixty-eight Pages.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

GENTLE READER,

In the entrance of this discourse which follows, you shall find three letters, written by an ancient man called Doctor Texere, a Portuguese,

• This is the 80th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

directed to a bishop, this father's very friend, which I have here compiled and expressed, among other proofs, to verify the unfortunate accidents this disastrous King hath sustained, since he was taken prisoner by the great Duke of Tuscany, until the last day of the year past 1601. You may also find within this pamphlet two letters translated; one written by Don Raimond Marqueti, a Knight of the order of St. John, born in Messina in Sicily, to Don Sebastian; the other sent from the said king to Don Prospero Baracco, dwelling in Padua. By the two last letters, it will evidently appear unto you, that the prisoner, detained now in Naples, is not that Marco Tullio Catizzone, whom the Spaniards in their libels have so falsely proclaimed, but the very true King of Portugal, Don Sebastian. Immediately after these letters followeth a discourse, in the beginning whereof there is a preface written by Father Texere, manifesting the natural disposition of the Portuguese, and witnessing how constantly they address themselves in loyalty towards their governors that reign over them, according to the sincere word of God, and the infallible rules of honour.

You may also behold a most ample declaration, about the end of this discourse, ministring four several points, worthy the reading and observing; to prove unto you assuredly, that the prisoner, for whom we travel so industriously with perseverance, is the true and lawful King of Portugal, Don Sebastian, whom God of his divine mercy will, I trust, restore to his former crown and dignity, for the good and propagation of the peace and welfare of all Christendom; which the eternal God effect, if it be his blessed will. *Amen.* The 26th of February, An. 1602.

POST acceptam Benedictionem. I wrote to your reverend lordship from Paris, to signify unto you the cause of my return from Lyons; where I received a letter from your lordship, dated the twentieth of March; in the which you gave me in charge, that, if I had occasion to travel into Italy, I should give you special intelligence of all the occurrents, that should be presented to my understanding in my journey. The sixteenth of April, in the same year, I departed from Paris towards these parts, passing through Campaigne; the very first day, the gout began to assail me, and ceased not, but accompanied me to Chalons, which was Wednesday, being a holy day; where I remained in my convent until the Wednesday after Easter.

The same day, after dinner, having urgent occasion, I was compelled, by means of my sickness, to use the benefit of a coach, and came the Friday following to Nantz. On Saturday following, I undertook to walk fair and softly, with much pain, to visit his Highness, and the lady sister to the King, and her husband, the Cardinal, the Count of Vaudemont, and the princess his sister. Believe me, I cannot express in words the consolation I conceived in beholding the inseparable bond of love and amity, wherein these noble princes seemed to be united and conformed; from whom, like one loaden and charged with honorable benefits, gifts, graces, and favours, I departed to Basil on Monday, being the seventh of May. Notwithstanding the great comfort

my entertainment gave me occasion of, yet a bitter spell of discontentment wounded me inwardly; for that, the Friday before, I had particular intelligence by the post, that the Calabrian, the false and counterfeit Don Sebastian, as they termed him, the pretended King of Portugal, was rendered into the custody of the governor of Orbitello, a town in Tuscany, bordering upon the Mediterranean sea, being a part of the King of Spain's territories, from thence to be conveyed to the viceroy of Naples: So swift were those bloody Spaniards in their cruel expeditions. The poor prince departed from that town the thirteenth of April, at eleven of the clock at night, passing by Sienna the twenty-fourth, and was delivered the twenty-sixth. The manner of divulging these news was by intelligence, that came to Nantz by Milan, in less than eight days. The eleventh of May I came to Basil; the thirteenth I entered Soleure; where, because I was ill at ease, Monsieur De Vic, your lordship's dear friend, and worthy ambassador of his most Christian Majesty in affairs to the Switzers and Grisons, forced me to stay and repose myself with him until the sixteenth day; from whence, after the fruition of infinite courtesies, I departed; passing by the Switzers, Grisons, Valtoline, and Valcamonica, I entered into Italy; the first town I lodged in was Bresse, the next Verona, Vicence, and Padua. The second of June I came to Venice, where, without delay, I hastened to visit Monsieur Villiers, ambassador of his excellent Majesty. This noble gentleman I found, in all respects, as your lordship had commended him to me, most reverend for honour, virtue, and wisdom, as the world can justly testify. From thence I retired myself, in his gondola, to a friend of mine, an honourable gentleman, by whom, with divers others of my friends, that came to see me, I was confirmed in my former knowledge concerning the mishaps before rehearsed; understanding in like manner, how grievously the nobles and citizens of Venice took the troubles of the worthy distressed King, ascribing the blame to the negligence of the Portuguese, that undertook the managing of his liberty, into whose hands they had committed him safe and sound; forasmuch as, in those lords presence, they seemed to acknowledge him; under which pretence they pressed before the senate to signify unto them a truth, beseeching them to allow him some other solemnity in proceeding, than they use to a common or private person, and to respect him as a king. The fourth day, I returned to Padua; the seventh I was at breakfast in Mantua, where I was well entertained by the reverend and virtuous prelate, the rare and honourable lord, father Francis Gonzaga, Bishop of the said city. And, soon after I had been in my convent, and received the chief prelate's benediction, I went to salute the Duke and the Duchess, to whom I carried certain letters; who received me with no less shew of account, than they could have made to an ambassador, that had been employed in the most Christian King's affairs.

The self-same day, to accompany this my glorious entertainment, the despitelous gout made a return into my feeble limbs, and there sojourned with me seventeen or eighteen days, in the same city. In which space I drew a tree with branches, expressing the genealogy of the house of Gonzaga; wherewith the Duke seemed so well pleased,

that he gave me a great present in gratification. I protest I should never have dreamed, that Mantua had been honoured with a prince so noble for virtue, so rare for honourable courtesy, so peerless for bounty, so familiar in histories, so conversant in languages, so great a lover of rare properties, so intire a Christian. I sifted divers of his court as narrowly as I might possibly, and I discovered them to be true and faithful well willers to our country of France.

On the feast-day of St. John Baptist, somewhat late, I set forward in my journey towards Ferrara through Bologna: On the eight-and-twentieth day of the last month I came to Ferrara, being St. Peter's eve: The next day, being the feast-day, after my morning repast, I went to the honourable Duke, delivering him certain letters, which he received with a smiling countenance, and made very fair weather to me by his honourable and courteous entertainment; so did likewise his Duchess. All this while making no mention to me of the King, nor of the Calabrian, nor I to any man: The Duke and Duchess severally demanded of me what news I heard of France or Lorraine? And so sleighted me off with licence to depart, saying, we will take another day fitter to handle these causes more at large: So I departed for that time. The next day following, the Duke came into our convent of St. Mark, where I remained; and our prior intreated me to bear the provincial company to entertain his Highness at the church-porch, where the Duke took notice of me, and talked with me all the way passing through the entry; and, at his departure, said, I will choose a more convenient time to talk with you more at large. After breakfast, I went to the archbishop of Pisa, and delivered him a letter from a very friend of his, in regard whereof he did me many kind offices. And I telling him, I had undertaken this journey for the dispatch of business that concerned my order, and myself particularly (for so was the tenor of my passport) and to acquaint myself in the families of the Princes of Italy: After long deliberation, and pausing for the space of an hour, he demanded of me, if I had not heard any speech of a Calabrian, that named himself Don Sebastian, King of Portugal? To whom I answered, that, being in the court of Lorraine, I understood by letters sent from Milan, that there was such a counterfeit, and abuser, and that therefore I would not meddle neither with him nor his affairs. And he replied unto me, that he thought it not amiss for me to know what passed, and was done in that business. When I found his purpose, I prepared myself to hear him as patiently as I could, and he very pleasantly began this invective which followeth:

This man, that would be called Don Sebastian, &c. is a Calabrian, a merchant, whose name is Marco Tullio Catizzone, that hath both wife and children alive, which have been compelled to come from Messina to go to Naples, to justify the truth. And the same Calabrian hath had access to Portugal for matters of traffick, where some religious professors of our order have persuaded him to call and proclaim himself Don Sebastian, King of Portugal: and the monk hath burned and branded him with hot irons, in the same places, with the like marks that Don Sebastian had; and the scar, which he carrieth in his arm, was forced by a gash given of purpose with his own hand, and the monk

that on his head. Besides, when he was first taken, he had only two crowns about him : and, as soon as the Venetians discharged him, the Portuguese consulted how they might embark him at Livorne, and send him presently into France : whereof the Great Duke being speedily advertised caused all the passages to be laid betwixt Florence and the sea-coast, that he could escape no way. And, as soon as he saw himself prevented and caught, he straightway discovered his legerdemain, saying, that he was no longer able to endure those torments and grievous imprisonments to maintain such foolish delusions and cosenage : presupposed that, before he made this confession, he indented to have his life assured him ; which they ascertained him of, comforting him, that he should not die. And, after that he was detected in Naples by the presence of his wife, Donna Paula Catizzone, he was instantly sent into Spain, without any violence done unto him, and was there openly and generally shewed to all the world, to the end that the Portuguese should no longer abuse him, and that it might be published to the world, that he was a very impostor, a counterfeit, and a deluder. After I heard so many foolish and gross absurdities uttered so confidently, my very soul was so deeply plunged into extreme grief and vexation, that I was forced to crave pardon of that reverend lord for not answering, being sore perplexed, knowing assuredly, that that Marco Tullio Catizzone died in Portugal, while he endeavoured the dispatch of some business, the king sent him thither about ; which is evident by a letter sent from one Don Raimond Marqueti, a Knight, dwelling in Messina, by whose means and persuasion the King sent this Marco into Portugal : which letter was sent by Marqueti to Venice, to have been delivered to Don Sebastian, which came to the Venetians hands, whereof the Lords of Venice caused a copy to be taken ; and the original remains in the custody of one Constantine Nicoline, citizen and inhabitant of the same city, from whence a transcript was made, which I have about me to shew. This Constantine, seeing the agents of Spain to justify an untruth so impudently, without blushing, saying, that the prisoner was called Marco Catizzone, shewed this letter openly in St. Mark's church, to stop and confound their malice : which letter when they had seen and perused, they were never afterwards so bold as to prosecute the matter any further, but kept silence. Moreover, it appeared, that this prisoner could not be Marco Tullio, by another letter, written by the prisoner to Don Prospero Baracco, which he shewed me in Padua, which I craved earnestly to have delivered me to bring with me ; but I could only obtain a copy thereof, which I have also in my custody. The same is likewise testified by an Italian gentleman attending the most Christian King. Whosoever is desirous to see the said letter, shall find it in the beginning of the book, called, *Admirable Adventures, &c.* which was printed in France, before I came from thence towards these parts. I have set down these proceedings in writing to your Lordship, to acquaint you with the forgery and devices of those detractors, called *Castilians*. Now to return to the Archbishop of Pisa, whom I cannot but charge with great abuse, to report that those natural marks were inscribed with an hot iron, and to lay it upon a religious monk of my own order. But, to set aside many reasons and proofs, that might

easily confute his allegations, this one shall serve to satisfy all men, that have any spark of discretion or judgment: it is impossible, that any man should, by art, force, or skill, make a man's right arm and leg bigger, in all proportions, than the left; that is only reserved to God that made him.

And further, this reverend lord would have persuaded me, that the religious man, that so marked him, was Don Sampayo; which was impossible to be true; for the said father never once saw the king, since he departed from Lisbon to go into Africa, until the eleventh of December last past, when he was set at liberty by the Venetians. Besides, this Don Sampayo never knew any privy marks of the King's body, until the year of our Lord 1599, when he went into Portugal to inquire of them. Hearing so many reports so much differing, and knowing how hardly this archbishop could hide his own error, and considering, that to answer him peremptorily might rather hurt than further my purpose, and to save myself from peril, being within his jurisdiction, I was fain to suppress my inward passion, but said unto him: My lord, seeing you understand, that the imprisonment of this man was the chief cause of my arrival in these parts, and as I understand the honourable knight came from thence, being four times sent for by letters from Paris, to the great Duke, since I was in Lorraine, whatsoever is, or shall become of his person or affairs, I resolve hereafter to take little care, but mean to follow the other employment, I recounted to your lordship. Notwithstanding, as one that hath some interest in the cause, I will render your lordship my censure and resolution in a word, and make you partaker of my inward and secret contemplations. Forasmuch as your lordship hath been acquainted with this impostor and deluder's confession, dissimulation, and trumperies, I can do no less than grieve thereat very much; and the rather, that he escaped without punishment, being, as your lordship assures me he is, so vile and so notorious an offender; marvelling you would suffer so pestilent and damnable a wretch to live, that hath been the cause of so many men's disasters, confiscation of goods, ruins, and extinguishments, by undertaking misadventures by sea and land, and what not indemnities for his sake; abandoning country, father, mother, wife, children, house and home, rest and safety. And I wonder it pleased God to suffer such an one to be born; that his mother, in his conception, before her deliverance, had not been transformed into a stone, or presently been dissolved into smoke, or air.

What unhappy man could have caused me to forsake my place in Paris, where I was well and quietly seated, to thrust my life into peril, but only he? That wicked and ungodly man. I have twice in this unlucky journey been afflicted with the gout; divers times almost overwhelmed with snow, drenched in waters, tormented with clambering rocks and hills, sustaining all hazards that sea and land might present me, with thunder and lightning from clouds; and is it justice, think you, my good lord, that a man, occasioning so many troubles, should live unpunished? This man hath troubled me much, and grieved my very soul. This noble duke might, by the approvement of many, have caused him to have been indited, arraigned, and condemned, and have

ministered to him some extraordinary death, to the terrible example of all others, and have manifested the same to all the world. In my conceit, my noble lord, this execution had been most expedient and convenient, to the commendation of equity and justice. The archbishop, hearing these words pronounced with such vehement passion, as though my soul had given frank consent to my passionate utterance, in lamentation of my hard success, said: I am much grieved for your vexation; notwithstanding I cannot so heinously accuse nor condemn the man, but only for his folly to call himself Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; for, surely, he was a reverend man for virtue and sincerity of life. I could rather agree to accuse that religious traitor, by whom he was first persuaded and suborned to take the name of King upon him. These, and many such like words he used, as well to justify himself, as to recover me out of that affliction, which he perceived his speeches had thrust me into; but, in the end, I took my leave of his lordship, and returned to my cloister of St. Mark, where the religious fathers received me with many courtesies and kind welcomes. The like entertainment I found in all other convents as I went, especially at Mantua, where I was importuned to remain many days. God give me ability and grace to requite them, that I may not be found unthankful; for I assure your lordship, I cannot express the merits and favours I found at their hands, much less see which way I may yield them due recompence. From Mantua I thought best to go to Rome; in hope, by the friendship of the cardinals, and other noble lords and gentlemen, to find some furtherance in my affairs, to the bettering of my unhappy prince's fortunes. That he should be my very king and lord, I am greatly fortified in hope, and find many good signs and apparent arguments amongst the most serious and religious men of estimation, princes, lords, and others; finding it not expedient to nominate all the favourers of this enterprise, desiring your lordship to pardon me for not satisfying you in every particular, concerning my success at this time, according to your request; which defects I will repair in my intelligence from Rome, from whence I hope to send your lordship more exact advertisements, concerning the life and success of this prince since the battle in Africk, from whence he hardly escaped by flight; with all that past here in the time of his imprisonment; how, in what manner, what day and hour he departed from hence. Father Seraphin Banchi hath hitherto much assisted me in the business, and was very joyful of the honourable greetings from your lordship, desiring his continuance in your honourable favours. By his means I am so much furthered, as I trust to-morrow morning to be dispatched hence. The Almighty bless your honourable person in all you desire. Florence, the third of July, 1601.

Your noble humble servant,

Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE, Portuguese, &c.

A Letter written by the said Father Texere to the Bishop before saluted.

IN my last letter, written to your excellent lordship from Florence, I promised to perform as much, or rather more at my arrival at Rome; wherein I fear I shall fail, for many causes checking my will and endeavour, to keep touch with your lordship. First, because I came not hither so soon as I intended, being hindered by reason of my sickness, which lengthened my journey; for, being in Viterbo, I sojourned seven or eight days in the house of our Lady De la Quercia, a monastery of our order, distant some half league from the town, where God, by the intercession of the Virgin, doth many miracles, to the benefit of the well-believers. So soon as I was entered into Rome, which was Sunday the fourteenth of July, I sought out my very friend, of whom I gathered, that his Holiness, and all the lords of the court of Rome, conceived, and were persuaded verily, that the prisoner which the Duke of Florence caused to be sent from thence the three and twentieth of April, at eleven of the clock at night, and delivered into the hands of the governor of Orbitello, was Don Sebastian, the true infallible King of Portugal. Of him I learned, how he was conducted from Orbitello to Hercules's port, and from that port in a galley to Naples, and last to Castlenovo. This galley the enemies made the subject, to give notice to the whole world, that the said Don Sebastian was condemned to the gallies, and after to the castle Del Ovo. Further, I was shewed the copy of a letter, which the Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, wrote to the Duke of Sessa, ambassador from the King of Castile unto his Holiness, giving him to understand, that the same prisoner was Don Sebastian, the true King of Portugal. I have also found out which of the cardinals and prelates favour the cause of that virtuous and holy prince. A friend of mine lent me his coach, wherein I went directly to the most excellent prince, the Cardinal of Florence, and kissed his hand, of whom I had the evidences your lordship is advised of; and, after an hour and a half's conference with him, I departed in the same coach to visit Sir Alexander Giusti, Justice de la Rota, our dear friend. From whom, so soon as I was departed, I met near his gate with another of my familiar acquaintance, that discovered unto me certain plots and circumventions, attempted and suggested by the Duke of Sessa, informing against me in the consistory of Rome, that I was a seditious man, prejudicial to the state of Christendom generally; for that heretofore the Christian princes had used to associate themselves in a league jointly to make war against the infidels; which I had been a cause to hinder, by interposing division and contention between those princes; and, as a principal reason to induce them to believe the same, he shewed publickly the discourse which I sent your lordship from Lyons, intituled, Admirable Adventures, &c. which, for the more familiar understanding, was translated into Italian and Spanish. The common dispersing of which discourse, was like to breed much dishonour and damage to Don Philippo the Third, King of Castile, his master, and so purchase unto himself, being his agent, infinite disgrace

and harm by his displeasure. For my part, I answered, that I merited no punishment for traducing into writing such true accidents, as they were, the confirmation whereof increased with the time; considering they were not of mine own invention or stamping. Relinquishing this friend, I hasted straight to the Cardinal of Ossat, into whose hands, when I had delivered letters, and informed him thoroughly of the cause of my repair thither: he advised me not to shew myself so openly there, until such time as I understood what my enemies had conspired to object against me since my entrance into this city, which could not be concealed, for that the patriarch of Constantinople, who was and is general of the order of St. Francis, a Sicilian born, and so much the more my forcible enemy, by how much he was zealous for the King of Castile his master, had a glance of me in the Cardinal of Florence's house. My occasions detained me so long with this cardinal till night grew on, so that his lordship caused me to remain with him until the morrow, from whence, after the hearing of his mass, I departed to my first friend's house; whither divers persons of quality repaired to visit me, signifying unto me, that the ambassador for Castile intended to work me all the mischief he could possibly; and, seeing he found no sufficient means to endamage me before the estate, he had a purpose to bring me within the inquisition, alledging these accusations that follow: First, he objected against me, that I had been in England six or seven years, and that I ever favoured the proceedings of hereticks; that I composed divers books fraught with heresies; that at Lyons I made and began to imprint a book against his Holiness, and the inquisitors-general of Portugal; with many other matters, which I let pass, for fear of troubling your lordship. To all which I answered, without blemish to my honour or reputation, in this manner: I thank God, all the time I was in England I lived amongst men that were religious, as mine enemies can testify; and, for my continuance in France, I hope to acquit myself easily from misdemeanor there. To the most capital matter and of greatest importance, that I wrote and began to print a book at Lyons against his Holiness, and the inquisitors-general of Portugal, I can purge myself purely, and pass as clear as the most unspotted innocent, being always approved religious and zealous, wherein I appeal to the sincere of all the brethren of mine own order. In that he terms me a rebel and a traitor to the king his master, for shewing myself serviceable and faithful to a foreign prince, his enemy; in that he is assistant to my affairs, recommending my estimation by opening a gap, to decipher the traitorous in Portugal, backsliders, enemies to their own friends, and very Castilian hypocrites; that I am a disperser of many lies in conventicles, at this instant. That article is worthy of such men's preferring as they seem to be, and not fitting men of worth and lovers of religion. As it happeneth, I have the book about me, that was printed at Lyons; which shall confute and display the malice and impudence of him that caused the rest of my books to be burned. The remainder, that concerns these affairs, is best known to your lordship, and therefore, to conclude this point, I crave pardon for being so tedious,

Now to return to my former subject. Sunday being the 15th of July, the Monday following, after I had finished the principal part of my intention, I determined, by the counsel of my friends, to return directly to France. And, being advertised that the Duke of Sessa had sent beforehand some of his people to way-lay me in the ordinary way, I changed my course by Umbria. I departed out of Rome the fourth day after my arrival; and, passing by the cities of Narne, Tarne, Spoleto, Foligni, and Assise, I came to Peruse, which I did only pass through, and shaped my course by Siene, Florence, and Bologna, through the confines of Modena and Mirandola; and, before I could reach to Mantua, my horse fell upon me, and hurt one of my legs very grievously, which caused me to stay in this place, where I might provide the best means for my recovery. I assure your lordship, I took this mischance to be ominous, that God would have it so, for that, by my return this bye-way, I gathered some certainty of much that happened to Don Sebastian the king, since his flight out of Africk, until he was discharged out of this commonwealth: and now I begin to make your lordship a true relation, certain, and without controulment. When it was spread at Rome that I remained in this town, and that, by reason of my hurt, I could not suddenly depart from hence; a friend of mine certified me by letters the 6th of August, in what manner Paula Catizzone, with her daughter, arrived at Naples, being shipped from Messina by the Catholick King's agents, to come and acknowledge this prisoner for her husband; and the said Paula meeting in the ship with a religious man of the order of St. Francis, of her acquaintance, she discovered the cause of her travel unto him, assuring him, she knew undoubtedly, that that prisoner was not Marco Tullio Catizzone her husband, saying, that same prisoner that they call Don Sebastian King of Portugal, had sent him into Portugal, which she trusted would make well for that prisoner, and do him no hurt at all, and that she came rather to justify, than to condemn him. The same man, my friend, promised me of particular advertisements of whatsoever shall be effected in this business. I beseech you consider the cunning the Castilians use in the expedition of their enterprises, who are both terrible and wary in all their practices. Although they know that Marco Tullio Catizzone died in Portugal, yet, notwithstanding they continue their indirect and false course, with inventions and sleights colouring their projects, to seduce and blind the world. This woman, a subject of the Spanish King's, was threatened, upon pain of death, not to hinder any of the King's proceedings; therefore she must take upon her to know this man, and justify him to be her husband Marco Tullio, &c. though she had never seen him before, be the matter never so false, as it is most untrue, and so proved by many reasons and letters, whereof I made mention to your lordship in my letters from Florence. I have sent a copy to my friend in Rome, to be delivered to his Holiness, and another to your lordship, with these presents, to controul all those that shall belye this action. Beside this testimony, there newly arrived a grave Portuguese, a man of good authority and credit, that, understanding at Rome which way I was departed, took post-horses, and came after me. Beside, that, he was one of my old acquaintance, he

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brought letters in his bosom of recommendation to induce me to trust him, and that he might open his secrets unto me, which certain lords of Portugal, that sent him, charged him to do. This man named the house in which Marco Tullio Catizzone died, to the owner whereof he brought and delivered certain letters from the King, and there were counter-letters written, which were never, as yet, delivered to the King. I trust I shall not have cause to stay in this town to write any more letters unto you, but purpose, by God's help, to make small delay to come myself to your lordship, and excuse all other messengers: beseeching the heavenly King to bless your excellent lordship. From Venice, the thirteenth of August, 1601.

Most humbly, at your excellent lordship's service,
Father Fr. JOSEPH TEXERE.

The Copy of a letter written by Don Raimond Marqueti, with this Inscription: To Don Sebastian, calling himself King of Portugal, being at Venice.

I Received letters from your lordship, the fifth of September last past, wherein I perceive the resolution your lordship hath taken, to commit your care and trust to Marco Tullio Catizzone, a man as worthy, as able, to manage such a business. Further, I render your lordship a thousand thanks, for the good opinion and confidence you have reposed in my person; in discharge of which trust, I will repair my diligence, to learn news of that Marco Tullio, who, as yet, is not returned into these quarters. As for the letter to Donna Paula Catizzone, I hold it no policy to deliver it her, considering it as a loose adventure, in such dangers, to trust a woman. Neither will I neglect to be careful, for the honour of the said Paula Catizzone's house, as your lordship required me; and, in the end, the effects shall shew. To conclude, I desire your lordship to excuse me for not using so reverend a stile to your lordship as I could wish, which I hope you conceive I refrain to do, because I would not be discovered in your weightier affairs; holding this the best and safest course to do your service: wherein I beseech the Almighty God to prosper your lordship, and grant you due success, to whose tuition, with reverend kissing your hands a thousand times, I commit your lordship. From Messina the eighth of October, 1598.

DON RAIMOND MARQUETI.

The Copy of a Letter by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, while he was prisoner in Venice, sent to Padua to the most reverend Don Prospero Baracco, Almoner to the Cathedral Church in that Town; the Original remaining in the Hands of Sir Georgio Bustarelli.

MOST Reverend Don Prospero, I am to signify unto your lordship, how much I have been grieved for your meritless afflictions, having suf-

ferred imprisonment for my sake, by the pursuit of the Castilians, mine enemies. But seeing things past are irrecoverable, and are only to be overcome with patience, considering you are not ignorant of the whole complotment: and, for as much as I am so restrained from writing at large, that I cannot express unto you my secret meaning, I only request you to send some trusty messenger to Messina, diligently to enquire and search, whether Marco Tullio Catizzone be returned thither with any directions, or not. And, to that end and purpose, your reverend lordship may use my name to Don Raimond Marqueti, to whom I wrote heretofore being at Moran, if you forget not, that I received also answer from him. And this gentleman you may inform of all that hath passed since that time, if you think good; and, when Catizzone shall happen to come thither, he may direct him covertly to this place, where he may secretly give me knowledge of the expedition in my affairs. And, for the love you owe to the Almighty, fail not in one whit in a business to me of so great importance, considering how much it may avail, to bring my long travels to a good end; and weighing, that the lords of Venice will not be brought to the true period of justice, notwithstanding I have oftentimes laboured unto them to do me right, and make me known personally to the world; saying, that, if they find me not to be Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, without favour let them worthily punish me. For all this suit, they neither yet would, nor will come to the center of my just cause, and wrongful imprisonment, saying, that they loved not to be mocked and trifled withal, offering always very readily, that, if I would deny, or not profess myself to be Don Sebastian, &c. they would set me at liberty, &c. Love me still as I have done you, and so farewell. From Venice the fifteenth of April, 1599.

DON SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal.

Another Letter written by the aforesaid Fr. Texere, a Portuguese, to the same Bishop.

I Wrote to your excellent lordship from Venice, the 13th of August, and departed from thence the 18th of the same, being then not thoroughly well; for which reason I made the way more long and tedious than I purposed. I staid many days at Soleurre, because Monsieur de Vic would not let me pass, until Monsieur de Sillery came to town. After whose coming he staid me to see the order of that town, in entertaining the Cantons, and other provincials, at their first feast; and this commandment I could not well disobey. This importunity, and such other were the impediments, that I could not reach unto Paris before the 14th of October. Then presently I went to Fontainebleau, to kiss his most Christian Majesty's hand, who entertained me very princely, shewing himself glad of my safe return. For, to tell you true, I had no assured being, but in France (so offensive and dangerous was the Spanish indignation unto me). At my return from Fontainebleau, I

met with your Lordship's advocate agent, praying him to give your Lordship advertisement of my return; promising to write unto your Lordship shortly after, which I did not effect, partly for mine unapt disposition, being vexed with slanderous lyes and tales, which mine enemies found occasion to spread in my absence; who, for the satisfaction of their malice, having neither care of the law of God, nor of his fear, stick not to suppress any truth, to further the confusion of their neighbour, or Christian brother: And, to gorge their wicked appetites, respect neither the honour of the King, his safety, nor the firing of Portugal, which they had lately kindled and disturbed; and more than that, being blinded in fury themselves, think no man else can perceive their intents, be the matter never so plain and manifest. But of this theme let this suffice, considering your Lordship is not ignorant of Castilian broils.

At my first entrance into this place, I found certain letters written from Rome, Venice, Padua, and other ordinary passages in Italy; all which gave me credible intelligence, that the King, my Lord and Master, lives, and that he is well treated in prison in the castle De Ovo. And my Roman friend, being joyful of my good news, wrote unto me in this form following: 'Forasmuch as your afflictions, dangers, and travels, have received some hope of good event, and for that it is certain, that the troubles of those that fear God shall be converted into prosperity, so it may fall out, that *Hæc oñem meminisse juvabit*.' These words and tidings seemed very common and vulgar; which being conferred with those things that fell out happily in Rome, for the good of my sovereign, I conceived great hope yet once again to see him re-established in his kingdom. By the same letter I understand, that my intelligence hath bred him great contentment, and that also he conceived no less pleasure by those copies which I sent him, to present unto his Highness; which were the transcripts of those I sent your Lordship from Venice, which prove that Marco Tullio Catizzone is one, and Don Sebastian another. A doctor and a friend of mine, dwelling at Lyons, shewed me a letter which a French gentleman his inward friend, of good calling dwelling in Rome, after he had recorded many things concerning the King my master, revealed as followeth: 'The Count of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, is very favourable to Don Sebastian, his prisoner, honouring him very much, allowing him some small liberty; which when he heard that the King of Castile took in ill part, he began presently to restrain and kept him shorter. When he was allowed to hear mass amongst other prisoners, they did honour him with much reverence, saying among themselves, that they discovered in his countenance and carriage a princely majesty. And, without all question, he must needs be Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, or some devil in his likeness. The Viceroy, as it is said, craved licence of the King of Castile to go into Spain, because in Naples he could not recover his health, which the King would in no wise grant him.' There be other letters sent into these parts, not from Portuguese, or any other by their appointment, the contents whereof are here expressed: 'Heretofore it hath been lawful and tolerable for this prisoner, that termed himself Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, to speak with any

Portuguese or men of other nations, that desired to see the said prisoner; that said they had seen him before; and since they verified him to be Don Sebastian, the true King of Portugal, he is most straightly kept from the sight and speech of any than before.' Another letter, having recounted something concerning this King, addeth: 'The Count Lemos, lying in his death-bed about the last of October, said to his son, in the presence of his wife and divers other prisoners, that he should look well to the place and charge he had, both of the viceroyship and his prisoners: For you see, said he, that I am upon the point to go to God, to render account for that I have done during my life; and here I must cease and end my worldly business: For the disburdening of my soul and conscience, I protest, that this prisoner here, whom the vulgar call a Calabrian, is the very true Don Sebastian, lawful King of Portugal. I know it assuredly, having examined him, and for that I have had often conference with him before his imprisonment. Therefore I command and intreat you to use him well. This done, he gave him a letter, which, said he, is written to his Majesty, I mean the Catholick King, touching these affairs, and use all the diligence you can in those things I have given you in charge. The father being dead, the son respected the prisoner with much more reverence than he did before, but allowed him less liberty than he had in the old Count's life.' I have also two letters from Doctor Sampayo, the one bearing date the eighteenth of November, the other the fourth of December, which confirm the same contents before mentioned. There be many other letters here lately sent from Portuguese to the same purpose, reinforcing the truth: And here lately passed a Portuguese by this town, that protesteth he spoke with Don Sebastian, declaring marks and token of his apparel, chamber, and bed, and other appurtenances. The same Portuguese said further, the King inquired of him for certain persons, which this party, being then but young, could not remember, and therefore gave him no direct answer. We have here many rumours from divers places near about. One wrote out of Portugal, which divers other coming from thence confirm, that upon St. Anthony's day of Padua, the last year, they rung the great bell at Villila in Arragon in the city of Coimbre, an university of Portugal, where befel a very admirable and rare wonder. In the same town there is a convent of canons regulars, of the order of St. Augustine, sincerely reformed, great and rich, in the which is interred the body of Don Alphonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, whom they adore for a saint. In whose behalf, they say, God hath shewed some miracles unto men, to confirm their opinion of him, that they believe not amiss. Many religious men, for this four-hundred years space successively, continuing this saint for their intercessor to God, *ut ferunt*, have obtained much release and consolation in their afflictions, as well strangers as the natural countrymen: And to this effect they have a book written, recording all the benefits received thereby: So that this house never harboured any other, than those that were devoted to this holy king. The last year an old man, whom age had made feeble and decrepit, used ever to kneel down and pray at the sepulchre of the said King; and, upon St. Anthony's day the last year, he there, in happy time, offered his solem prayers, and continued a long time in medita-

tion before the sepulchre, where he remained until he was stiff, and not able of himself to rise, but by the assistance of his juniors and religious brethren, who, beholding all his face bedewed with tears, demanded of him how it came to pass? This old man answered, I am very much displeased and grieved at the negligence of our Kings and Princes of Portugal, as well dead as living, I mean descending from this holy King, that being assured by infinite miracles, that he is in heaven in eternal glory, and lives in the presence of God, and we never yet knew any man that travelled to canonize him. To whom one or two answered, That hour shall come: And, Father, seeing your devotion and love is so great to this holy King, beseech him to be a mediator for the liberty of Don Sebastian, descending of his masculine line, that he may be restored to his former dignities and realms; and that good deed will cause him to be canonized.

We have heard lately more reports by the passengers from Italy and France, that he, whom the Venetians imprisoned and released the last year, is Don Sebastian, our true King and Lord, and that he seems no whit to degenerate from the steps and traces of his ancestors.

As those religious men were advising and contemplating upon the vision of this Alphonso, which was mentioned in the Admirable Adventures, &c. and considering the promise God made unto him, when he appeared unto him in the field Orique, the sepulchre resounded unto them three strokes, hearing the eccho with ability to judge from whence the noise came. The sound being past, they approached nearer unto the tomb, continuing their discourse; and suddenly again the tomb gave three other great blows, so terrible that they were forced to recoil for fear; and the eccho continued so long, that they were all amazed, and become as pale and wan, as men use to be in the horror of death. When afterwards they came to themselves, recovering their senses and perfect understanding, and conceived that it came by the old man's prayer, they went and revealed this accident to the bishop of that city, who, in all the time of treaty between Portugal and the King of Castile, approved himself as rank a traitor to his country, as he proved a true servant to the King of Spain; who, for his recompence, was established in that see, and created Bishop of Coimbra, Count of Arganill, &c. with fifty thousand ducats of yearly annuity. This bishop, advertised of the noise, came to the convent, and made inquisition, and, finding it a thing so extraordinary, said: 'You Portuguese, that wonder at these toys, and give credit to baubles, know, that the soul of this saint, being aloft in glory, is so sore offended with you, that God suffereth those senseless monuments to give testimony of your fopperies.' These words were so ill taken by the people of the town, assembled about that strange noise, that the bishop was constrained to unsay what he had said, and to confess it was very wonderful.

Furthermore, there are many letters come of late from Portugal, that testify, That at Lisbon, the last of October, in the year 1601, the church and hospital of the King, called All-Saints, suddenly fell on fire by night, and flamed so furiously, that the roof was burnt, and all the images of the Kings of Portugal, that were painted upon the wall, only the pourtrait of Don Sebastian was left undefaced. The self-same

ruin happened to the arms of the Kings and Princes of Portugal, which were drawn in escutcheons upon the wall. The day following, being the feast of All-Saints, in the forenoon, fell an infinite number of hail-stones, as big as small eggs, red of colour, which bred as great cause of wonder, as the rain that fell the day following; which was so extreme, that, as I have heard credibly reported by many, the people of that town durst not go out of their doors all that day, for fear of drowning. These things to me, as well as to others, I assure your Lordship, seem marvellous, and can find no reason of their rareness; God of his divine mercy turn them to good! I could have written to your Lordship more news of great consequence, if my paper had not been injurious. But now to return to our first subject, which I will intirely deliver unto your Lordship; and, seeing I have recovered my strength, I will proceed to declare unto you the success of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, since his escape from the battle in Africa; which I intreat your Lordship to cause to be printed, that all princes may have free knowledge of the history. Paris, the twelfth of January, 1602.

Immediately after my last writing, I received letters from my friends at Venice and Padua; by which I understand, the agent of that signiory, being resident in the Catholick King's Court, hath written a letter to that state, which hath been openly read at Pregay; part of the contents whereof are: 'That the Count Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, before his death, wrote a letter to the King his master; wherein he did assure him, that that prisoner, which he caused to be sent him from the Duke of Tuscany, under the name and title of a Calabrian, was Don Sebastian, the very true King of Portugal, which, in the year 1578, lost the battle in Africa; which he affirmed with many assured reasons and trials, as having thoroughly examined him of divers things, wherein he had dealt with him both in Portugal and Castile. This viceroy never received answer of this letter, in his life; and therefore, being then almost at the last gasp, for the disburdening of his soul, he detected this secret to his son, that succeeds in his place, in the presence of his wife, his confessor, and divers other persons of good account; giving him also a letter for the King, wherein is ratified the same he spoke before. The new viceroy sent to the Catholick King a nobleman of the house of Mauriques, of whose house proceeded the Dukes of Najara: This signior hesent with his father's letter; and it is reported, that the King returned answer of the same letter to the Count Lemos, commanding him to treat that prisoner well, and take especial care, that no disaster chanced unto him.' These news forced me to enlarge this treatise. I would to God they were like to be true, and that the Catholick King would answer his title with due correspondency to Christianity, according to his Christian stile, by yielding liberty to his cousin-german, and restoring all that to him belongeth; which were an excellent branch of honour and magnanimity, and an assured means to settle Christendom in peace, and to avoid the danger of present war, which now the lowering heavens and malicious inclination of stars do assure us to fall upon us. I confess, that so many extraordinary accidents do persuade me to expect a good issue out of all these troubles, that they may be both happy and profitable to the whole commonwealth of Christendom. Pleaseth it your

Lordship to remember, that, about the infancy of our amity, I said, That, if the Portuguese and Castilians be not separated, it will be impossible to maintain a general peace in Europe, justifying my opinion with many evident demonstrations; and yet, to this day, I hold the same resolution; in which many noblemen, both of the council, and others of great calling, do accord, saying, They from day to day see more apparent reasons so to judge. To that end, do I daily offer up my sacrifices and earnest prayers to intreat the Almighty God, That it may please him, of his divine mercy, to inspire the hearts of all Christian Princes to combine in one knot to set this cause aright before the increase of more mischief; for, so much the longer as they defer this good work, so much the greater will be the ruin of Portugal, and peril of our universal destruction.

Your noble Lordship's humble servant,

Fr. JOSEPH TEXEIRA, Portuguese.

THE PREFACE.

GENTLE reader, forasmuch as I have done you the favour by my travel to discover in writing unto you a peregrination so much desired: I shall intreat the like of you again, in giving credit to that I will most faithfully deliver unto you, concerning the natural inclination of the Portuguese, and the disposition of the King.

The Portuguese have two especial qualities, happily differing from other nations, which are as familiar to them, as to laugh is proper to all men. The first is, they are extremely scrupulous of conscience: The second, they are exceeding constant, in their resolutions, especially when they are assured that they are warranted by the law of God, and concern his glory: For the first, I will recommend unto your judgments two examples: The first, after the death of Don Henry, supposed King of Portugal; the succession of that kingdom, being left to the inheritance of women, came directly to Donna Catharine, Duchess of Braganza, daughter to the son of Don Duarte, brother german to the said Henry; who caused her title to be disputed of in the university of Coimbra, which disputation was published in print, and compiled in a book confirmed by the hands of fourteen doctors subscribing thereunto; all whose sentences were pronounced in the favour of the said Catharine. The like censure was exhibited by the doctors of Bologne, Pisa, and other universities in that part of Europe, the succession of the said realm of Portugal being adjudged to the said Catharine, and Don John, Duke of Braganza, her husband and cousin german; by reason whereof (while the Cardinal lived, being induced, or rather informed by the agents of Don Philip, the second King of Castile, not to publish the said Donna Catharine to be his heir, did respice the publication, pretending that Donna Catharine, Don Antonio, and Don Phillippo, being all at once with other competitors to the crown, might set some variance among the people about the title, leaving it after his

death by certain judges that he had appointed and named) he swore to stand to the sentence of those judges, and would not pronounce him King of Portugal himself, but said it might be a means for him to come to the best assurance of the enterprise before any other; for that he had on his part, not only the most of the Princes of Portugal, descending from that line, but also many cities and towns in that realm, whereof he was owner and lord, being about fifty with castles, beside the city of Braganza, and had under his government above two hundred thousand subjects of account, by reason whereof he was the greatest and the richest prince subject, among the Christian Princes of Europe: Considering withal, that out of the city of Braganza, and two other towns called Chaves, which the Romans termed *Æquas Flavas*, he was able to make and bring into the field thirty thousand men, between the age of five and twenty and fifty years. And it is to be noted, that the men bred in those parts are hard and valiant soldiers, and have been so approved in the battles and victories which the Portuguese have had against the Spaniards, by whom they have been often vanquished in ranged battles. This Prince's nice conscience was the cause, why he extended not his force to defend his right, but withdrew himself into a corner, without purpose or intent to marry either one or the other; by which means he left the crown to him in the right of his late wife, and his life in short time after.

The Second Example:

The Lord Don Antonio, the Prior of Crato, likewise supposed King of Portugal, by reason of his oath at Santaren, where he was chosen, and after at Lisbon, in which election he was confirmed by the deputies of the cities and towns of the kingdom, promised by oath that he would make no bargain or agreement with any of their enemies, but leave the same realm at liberty. The Catholick King, Don Philippo, offered to make him Viceroy of Naples for his life-time, with four hundred thousand ducats of yearly rent, and the bestowing of certain offices and benefits, and fifty thousand ducats presently to pay his debts to go into Italy; and likewise to restore to their former state, dignity, houses, and goods, those persons from whom they have been confiscated by his occasion, and to give both honour and riches to all them that should accompany and attend upon him, according to every man's place and calling; upon condition he would renounce and disclaim all his right and interest in the kingdom of Portugal, by vertue of their election: And if withal he would swear never to give attention to any, that might persuade him to the contrary. His answer was to all these great offers: That his conscience bound him to do nothing prejudicial to the contract he had already made, and that he had rather live poorly and die miserably in a simple chamber with credit, performing the duty of a good Christian, than to live in great pomp and pride in sumptuous palaces, disclaiming the law and commandments of God.

Courteous reader, no man can speak so assuredly, or so sensibly in this matter as I: For in the year 1582, upon St. Augustine's day, being prisoner at Lisbon, Don Christopher de Nôra (for that time appointed

Viceroy of Portugal, with whom his Catholick Majesty sent a gentleman of his chamber for me) assured me, that I might talk with him as boldly as with himself, telling me that the King meant to employ me to Don Antonio about these affairs. This was not then effected, for that I escaped out of prison; since when, in this country, and in England, I conferred with him divers times about this business, being his confessor, who often said unto me, God forbid I should do a thing so contrary to my conscience; if I should, said he, I persuade myself that every chink or furrow in the ground would open and swallow me up presently, by reason of that offence. God first I desire to take away my life: I had rather live laden with afflictions, accompanied with misery and beggary, reserving my serious and publick promise, than to lead a perjured life in great prosperity, pleasures, and delights. Thus he died, obtaining, as I think, for the preservation of his integrity, as well reputation among Christian men, as recompence at God's hand, desiring always to live and rest in peace: And, in regard of his small ambition, could have contented himself with the tenth part of the King's, his cousin's, offer, had it not been for the respect to his oath at their election; and could have found in his heart, to quit the right and claim he had by his father, while the right was in him, but could not dispense with the oath they bound him with when they elected him, having power to do the first, but not the second.

This is sufficient, as I take it, gentle reader, to prove unto you my first proposition, That the Portuguese dwell upon the severity of their conscience. Now coming to prove the second, which is, That they are most constant in their designs, when they resolve to build upon the true law of God, and his honour; I am to intreat you to defend me against the murmurers, our enemies, in two respects: That is to say, not only in the principal point that shall concern our subject, but that they may become censurers of me and of the cause; saying, That, in the first history of two, I speak not religiously, and that I give cause of offence to the Kings and Princes of Europe, or that I incite you to take arms against them. To the first objection I answer, That when a person, of what estate soever he be, deliver any thing to good purpose, or utter, by chance, that which is come to pass; in that he offends not, being thereunto obliged in duty and conscience. As for the second, where they suggest, that I transgress against Christian Princes, they are much deceived: For, though a man make fine gold into a chain, yet, for all that, it loseth neither the beauty nor reputation of gold, nor the name of the most excellent metal of all others: So let it be supposed, that a man, descended of a princely race, become a mean subject, yet cannot any man say, he loseth, by his dejection of fortune, his nobility that came by nature: For David's sheep-hook was no disgrace to the scepter of Judæa; nor Justin's wallet, nor the halter of Gratian, father to Valentine, were any blemish to the imperial crown. Therefore I conclude, that no man can accuse me of rashness, in the narration of my history, speaking to a good end accidentally; though I prove, that many Kings and Princes of Europe have been derived out of mean and vulgar houses.

The Chronicles of Portugal offer unto us, among the traditions of our ancestors, a notable history, well worthy the reporting and observing: In Portugal, in the province of Alentejo, otherwise called Transtagana, there is a town called Veyros, by estimation about the bigness of Manto upon Seine, situate upon a mountain, at the foot whereof westward, there runs a river which hath the beginning from the north part, the current passing into the south. Not far from that town, upon the highest part of a little mountain, regarding the west, for the most part, this river seems to have an issue towards the east; and there is a ford where men are constrained to pass, under this promontory: The river hath made a sandy shallow place, as it were, knee-deep, where the women inhabiting the said town use to wash their linnen, maids as well noble as vulgar. It fell out upon a day, that Don John, natural son to the King of Portugal, was to pass by that point with Don Pedro, justicier, and great master overseer of the cities, and, by reason of that office, was endued with spiritual and temporal honour and authority. He being a young and lusty gallant, and governor of the same town, beholding these maidens with their cloaths trussed up, as women use going about that labour, this nobleman began to jest with the rest of his company at the bare-legged wenches; and passing by them, some part of his train yet to come, one wench amongst the rest, as the History reporteth, in a red petticoat, as she was tucking up her cloaths, discovered her legs somewhat high, and, giving herself a clap with her hand on the calf of her right leg, said aloud, here is a white leg, girls, for the master of Auiz. Which being over heard by some of his followers, whom she took no heed of, hearing and seeing what the wench had both said and done, came no sooner into their lord's lodging, but they reported unto him what they had heard a young frolic wench say, and see her do. Wherewithal this noble gallant being stirred, sent for her presently, and, finding means to have her secretly, upon her begot a son. And this maid was a shoemaker's daughter of that town, very rich and of good account; who understanding that his daughter was sent for to such a nobleman, and being informed that her own speech and light behaviour was the first cause, and being assured she was deflowered by her own frank consent; took it so heinously, that, at her return home, he reviled her with most opprobrious and spiteful words, and beat her out of his doors openly: and to manifest unto the world, how much he was inwardly vexed with the spoil of his daughter, he never afterwards would eat at any table, nor sleep in a bed, nor put on any shirt; never pared his nails, polled his hair, nor cut his beard, which grew so long, that the people called him Barbadon, for it continued uncut till it reached beneath his knees. This malecontent lived so long, that his grandson, called Don Alphonso, grew to be a man, and Duke of Braganza, created by the great Auize master, his father, who, by the election of the people, afterward became King of Portugal, and, for his worthy acts, was surnamed memorable, and Barcelos, by the right of his wife, the sole daughter and inheritor to the constable of Portugal. This town of Veyros stands between seven or eight other towns belonging to the said duke, and is distant but four

leagues from Villa Vicosa, where his palace is. This vicinity was the cause that he had perfect intelligence of the shoemaker his grandfather, and the reports, he heard of him, made him so desirous to see him, that he determined to go seek him out himself in his own town; where, meeting him in the streets, he alighted from his horse, and kneeled down before him bare-headed, and desired him to give him his hand and his blessing withal. The shoemaker, having an eye to the duke's train that attended upon him, and seeing his base humbleness, and hearing his speeches, amazedly conceived him to be some great personage, unknown to him, and said: Sir, Do you mock me? The duke answered, So God help me, I do not; but in earnest I crave I may kiss your hand, and receive your blessing, for I am your grandchild, and son to Ines your daughter, conceived by the King, my lord and father. As soon as the shoemaker heard these sayings, he clapped his hand before his eyes, and said, God bless me from ever beholding the son of so wicked a daughter, as mine was. Yet, forasmuch as you are not guilty of her offence, hold, take my hand and my blessing, In the name of the father, &c. But neither the duke, nor his followers, could persuade him to pull away the hand that covered his eyes; so confident this old man was in his discontentment; neither would he talk any longer with the duke. Shortly after, this old man died, and before his death, he took order for a tomb to cover him, whereupon he commanded to be engraven all manner of tools that belonged to a shoemaker, with this epitaph:

This Sepulchre Barbadon caus'd to be made
(Being of Veyros, a shoemaker by his trade)
For himself, and the rest of his race,
Excepting his daughter Ines in any case.

I have heard it reported by the ancientest persons, that the fourth Duke of Braganza, Don James, son to Donna Isabel, sister to the King Don Emanuel, caused that tomb to be defaced, being the sepulchre of his fourth grandfather.

As for the daughter, after she was delivered of that son, she continued a very chaste and virtuous woman all her life, and the King made her commandress of Santos, a most honourable place, and very plentiful, to the which none but princesses are admitted, living, as it were, abbesses and princesses of a monastery, built without the walls of Lisbon, called Santos, that is, Saints, founded by reason of some martyrs that were there martyred. And the religious women of that place have liberty to marry with the knights of their order, before they enter into that holy profession; the order is called St. James, bearing the same cross. In this monastery the same Donna Ines died, leaving behind her a glorious reputation for her virtue and holiness. Observe, gentle reader, the constancy that this Portuguese, a shoemaker, continued in, loathing to behold the honourable estate of his grandchild, nor would any more acknowledge his daughter, having been a lewd woman, for purchasing advancement with dishonour. This

considered, you will not wonder at the count Julian, that plagued Spain, and executed the King Roderigo for forcing his daughter *la Cava*.

The example of this shoemaker is especially worthy the noting, and deeply to be considered; for, beside that it makes good our assertion, it teaches the higher not to disdain the lower, as long as they be virtuous and lovers of honour. It may be, that this old man, for his integrity, rising from a virtuous zeal, merited that a daughter, coming by descent from his grandchild, should be made Queen of Castile, and the mother of great Isabel, grandmother to two emperors, Charles the Fifth, and Ferdinando; and confute the proverb in Spain:

*De cien en cien annos los Reynes Villanos:
Y de cientos en seys los Villanos Reyes.*

Which is,

From a hundred to a hundred years kings become villains; and, from a hundred to six, villains become kings: so here the plough was converted into the scepter, in less than threescore and ten years.

For the proof of my second proposition, I must necessarily refer you to the history expressed in the discourse of the twelfth letter, intituled, "Admirable Adventures, &c. concerning Don Sebastian, the true and lawful King of Portugal:" where it is reported of Don Alphonso, the African, King of Portugal, that seeing King Lewis the Sixth deluded him, in not giving him aid, according to his promise made at the beginning, when he first arrived in France, by which means, for two years space, he left Portugal, not being able, for want of power, to bring his purpose to any good pass, for, at his return, being ashamed to be seen of the Portuguese, for that he lost a battle against the Castilians, determined with himself to steal as unknown out of France secretly, and place himself in a monastery near unto Rome. And, to effect that design, he disguised himself in a strange habit, taking with him but two of his people to accompany him; but he and they were intercepted, and taken by the way of Robinet, termed the ox of Normandy; which Philippus Comineus also confirmeth, with this addition, that King Lewis was much offended with Robinet for that piece of service; forcing him to supply him with an army, and embark him for Portugal, where he ended his life, as I have already more at large declared unto you elsewhere.

That which I have said, gentle reader, I think to be sufficient, to acquaint you with the natural disposition of the Portuguese. And, to induce you to believe what likewise hath been verified concerning Don Sebastian, my lord and master, it is convenient for you to know, that he resolved never to discover himself, or to make it appear to any man, what he was; but was fully persuaded to pass the rest of his time uncouthly, and so to finish his life in silence; because he wilfully took upon him, contrary to the advice of Xarifa, and all the princes, lords, and commanders that accompanied him, to give battle to

Muley Maluco, in the hour, the day and place, that, in their judgment, was not thought fit for his advantage; and the King, acknowledging his error and oversight he committed that day, so afflicted his soul, that the memory thereof bred him more inward torment and vexation, than any misfortune that ever befel him in all his woeful days. For the confirmation whereof, I will give you to understand, courteous reader, what I heard an old man say, being a man of great authority, an ordinary assistant, and a common reliever of afflicted persons, be they never so abject, and a religious man of mine own order, and archbishop of Spalato, a Venetian born, a maintainer and supporter of truth, who, during this realm's last troubles, wrote in behalf of his Christian Majesty. This reverend prelate, while I lay sick in his house, distant some half league from Venice, sitting by the bed side, said unto me, In this very self-same bed lay Don Sebastian your King, tormented with a fever, before his imprisonment in Venice, at which time, in my hearing, a father of the order of St. Bernard, a doctor in divinity, very famous for his profession, intreated him to tell him how it came to pass that he lost the battle in Africa; and, because the King condescended not to his demand, he reiterated the same again: Then suddenly I beheld tears gushing from his eyes as big as pease, and in such abundance, as they did wet not only his handkerchief, but his shirt, the sheet, and a silk quilt that lay upon him. This passion was without weeping or sobbing, for that he never could do, but ever shewed himself all one, no changeling, come prosperity or adversity. At length he requested us instantly, to use some other communication, saying, The remembrance of that intolerable mishap was to him such a torment, as it deprived him of reason and judgment, and made him desire to abandon both the sight and conversation of all men. All this grief could not supplant his sickness, which persecuted him so sore, as he was out of hope or care of his recovery, often tempting him to end his misery with his own hands. I considered, it was great inhumanity to add a torment to his affliction, in seeking to extract that from his knowledge, which his extreme sorrow would not give his tongue leave to utter; so I desired the nobleman to depart with me, and give him time to rest a while; for that, the night before, he had slept very little, or not at all. To conclude, the shame and grief he sustained inwardly by his rash attempt, as is before rehearsed, committing so great an error, and so prejudicial to Christianity, enforcing him to obscure and hide himself from all his acquaintance and familiars; imitating Alphonso, his predecessor, both in temerity and repentance; or to equal Bolislaus, King of Poland, who, to kill Stanislaus the Bishop of Cracovia, left both his crown and scepter, and retired himself into Hungary, where, some say, within few years after the execution of his bloody purpose, he slew himself. Others say, that he was devoured with dogs in a forest; but the most certain report saith, that he served a cook in a monastery at Carinthia, called Osia, a little distant from the town named Felikirchen; and, after the sufferance of many troubles and travels, he died, and was known by a writing, which was found in his bosom, the contents whereof was: "I am Bolislaus, some time King of Poland, that slew Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracovia."

In the same manner, I believe, had Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, died, had he not been a religious man, bound in conscience to shew and reveal himself, and take pains to seek to be restored to his former rights and dignities, so provoked to do by secret illumination from God himself, who otherwise had resolved to end his life in an hermitage; which intent he manifested in certain Italian verses, composed by him while he was in prison in Venice, which I have about me, uttering all his success since he lost the battle in Africk, &c. There were four examiners, appointed by the senate, to attend that business all the time of his imprisonment there, which examinations and verses he sent, inclosed in a letter, to his holiness, which also are in custody. The advocate, judge, counsellor, and inquisitor testify, that he gave them a princely, sen tentious, and a pithy answer, rehearsing all things that had passed, concerning himself and others, since that battle in Africk, with the names of the generals, colonels, captains, lords, and gentlemen, that accompanied him in that action; the number, and the diversities of nations, the day, the hour, the situation of the place, where it was fought; how, and in what manner he escaped.

I am again to intreat you, friendly reader, to give credit to that I shall report unto you, and not to measure the nature of Portuguese, by the light and lewd dispositions of other nations.

When I was in England with Don Antonio, the putative King of Portugal, as I told you before, I was solicited by Father Diego of Chaves, a professor of my own order, with great importunacy to relinquish and give over this signior Don Antonio, and incline towards his Catholick Majesty, whose confessor this Diego was, and his sole governor; assuring me, that, if I would yield to his request, I should be very bountifully rewarded; and wrote unto me most confidently, that my entertainment should not want one mite of twenty-five or thirty thousand ducats yearly in revenue, to be duly paid; which allowance would not only serve competently to maintain me in honourable estate, but I might also deduct a surplusage therefrom to enrich my kindred and friends withal, whom also the King promised to prefer and advance for my sake, (This confessor was my mother's cousin-german) assuring me, that all my actions, intents, and purposes whatsoever, prejudicial to his catholick Majesty, should be quite buried in oblivion, and no blame for any invectives, or writings in derogation of his Majesty, should be once objected against me. And, to the end I might the rather yield unto him, he recapitulated all the particular offices and favours, he had performed in my behalf at the time of my imprisonment; that he purchased my deliverance, and saved me from being adjudged to the gallies, and also prevented me from being stretched upon the rack; and, further, obtained pardon of his Majesty for *Emanuel Texere*, my uncle, that was condemned to lose his head, and caused all his goods to be restored, that were confiscated for being in employment with Don Antonio against the King; and, when he could not obtain a grant at my hands, of that which he demanded himself, he incited my friends and acquaintance to do their uttermost to win me from my constant resolution, hoping, in regard of the great distance and separation from my country, and what by the want and necessity I

endured in France, with my aged constitution of body, I would retire from that place, and end my age in Portugal, where I began my youth, attempting afterward, by rating and reviling, to make me recant, when other provocations would not prevail; all which enticements, mixed with bitter taunts, moved me nothing at all; and at this instant, if I would vouchsafe acceptance, I might receive the same entertainment before offered. It is not yet two years past, since a very dear friend of mine in this town pressed me, with vehement persuasions, to return into Portugal, assuring me of as much advancement there, as I would desire; but God forbid, that ever I should accept it; for I had rather be a poor religious beggar in France, than a great discontented Bishop in Castile, or in Portugal, considering the country is not itself, but in bondage, most servilely subject to Castilian tyranny. In this town, a nobleman of France, accompanied with some religious men of my own order, often persuaded me to leave the habit of St. Dominick and betake myself to another, assuring me, in lieu thereof, of an abbey (which he had in his power at that time to give) and afterwards a convent of eight or nine thousand livres annual rent; and, to make me capable thereof, he promised to procure me a dispensation from his holiness to allow the exchange of my present habit; all which bountiful proffers could not once move me to change my shape, like a mutable weather-cock, or an airy chameleon. For, if the spirit of God forsake me not, I will die, as I have lived, a religious votary to St. Dominick, and a natural Portuguese; and the same blessed stability possess all those that seek and spread my reproach and defamation. And, to those that make a scorn of me, I answer nothing, but that I am a true religious Portuguese, of the same disposition that others of my countrymen be, I mean, the godly, virtuous, and loyal Portuguese; neither will I admit any for my associates, in this case, but such as be most intirely sincere and constant. So I end my present narration in the name of God, and purpose to proceed to the handling of my promised discourse; which, albeit I cannot so exactly relate, as I desire, not being an eye-witness of all that hath been done and suffered by this miserable king, my lord and master, I have gathered out of the greatest probabilities and assertions of the justest and honestest, that I could possibly learn, or understand, that were able to give me the best intelligence; which diligence I was bound in duty and conscience to exercise; and am withal forced, by the importunity of many, meeting me in the town and field at every corner, to discourse unto them my master's adventures. Therefore, to satisfy them and all the world, and to meet with their tedious inquisitions, I have effected this collection, to rid myself of trouble, and to quench their inordinate thirst after the truth; referring all, that can read, to this and my former discourse of "Admirable Adventures." Farewell,

A Narration of things done by Don Sebastian King of Portugal, since the battle he lost in the Fields of Alquiber in Africk, fighting against Muley Maluco, an infidel, Anno 1578, until this present time. Written by Father Joseph Texere, a Portuguese.

AT my being in Venice, gentle reader, I understood by divers, that the opinion conceived of many, and the rumour commonly spread concerning the death of Don Sebastian the King of Portugal, my lord and master, was false; and believed rather, that their reports were more like to be true, that maintained the contrary. For that it was confidently justified by credible persons, that he was seen alive and safe since the battle in Africk, namely, by Cid Albuquerque, Emanuel Texere, my uncle, N. Murselo Higuera, and many other gentlemen and personages of great quality and account. He escaped by flight among the rout, being sore hurt in his head and in one arm, and passed as a private man to his ships, and was embarked amongst the remnant of his army, that saved themselves by flight, as he was forced to do. After a few days, he arrived in Portugal, in a town called Neu feu de mille fuentes, near unto St. Vincent's cape, where he refreshed himself, and sent for a chirurgeon from Faro; his name I have forgotten, but well I remember he was reckoned excellent in his art. There the King sojourned, accompanied with the Duke of Anciro, and Christopher Tavora, and divers other lords, until he was perfectly healed. The tidings of his being at the Cape were suddenly spread at Lisbon, and was soon published generally throughout all Portugal. And it was affirmed, that he was seen at the convent of capuchins, built upon the Point of St. Vincent, amongst his companions. This rumour was soon quelled by the policy and authority of *Petro de Alcacova*, great secretary of Portugal, in the behalf of Don Philip King of Spain, with whom he had before-hand concluded, whom Don Sebastian the King employed him in ambassage into Spain, before his departure into Africk. And for that cause this Peter Alcacova, a damnable politician, and a monstrous traitor, as soon as the first news came, that the Christians had lost the day, and his king and master slain, this Jew gave secret intelligence to the King of Castile of all that happened; signifying unto him, that now were a fit time to surprise the kingdom of Portugal, and bid him make ready for the purpose. I respected the handling of the second establishment of union between the King my master before his departure, and the King of Castile, which is expressed by one *Connestay* at large, who, being a man of good respect in Portugal, came post to seek me from Rome to Venice, and, amongst many other news, he reported unto me, that, as soon as ever it was bruited abroad in Portugal, that Don Sebastian the King was living, and prisoner in Venice, there were many devices revived concerning this bruit, that long time before lay buried. And withal you must note, that Don Diego de Sosa, the admiral, which conducted the King into Africk, re-embarked him from thence into Portugal again, and gave continual

intelligence unto his kindred and assured friends, that their King was living, and that he had secretly received him a-board, among the scattered troops, and gave them an especial charge that they should conceal it. And further, that he gave him a secret sign, whereby he might know him hereafter, if need required; which private Don Diego discovered unawares, when a counterfeit (suborned for the purpose) came to that Diego's house, sending for him into the field to come home to speak with Don Sebastian the King; to whom he said abruptly, Hath he delivered any secret token betwixt him and me, whereby I might credit thee? By which question he published that, which he secretly had bewrayed before to his allies. Whereupon the cardinal Don Henry, great uncle to the King, took occasion to send a trusty servant of his, called Emanuel Antunes, to St. Vincent's Cape, charging him to use all the industry he might, in finding out what certainty he could learn of the King his nephew. All which this Emanuel performed, with as much endeavour as he might possibly use; and, by his diligent inquisition about the Cape, found that the King had been in the monastery; and was there certified, that he was both hurt in the head and arm, and, in a manner frantick, not only for the exceeding anguish and vexation of mind which he suffered for the loss of victory, but withal the shame did ever perplex him, when he considered the overthrow came by indiscretion and rashness, and that, by his default, the flower and prime of all Portugal was defeated and cut off. Antunes brought a very large testimonial hereof to the cardinal, under the seal of the father guardian, and all the rest of his brethren of the said monastery; which the cardinal received with his own hands, commanding his servant to impart this secret to none, which he, for his own part, buried in his own bosom. And not being able to find out what course his nephew, and his company, took for their escape out of the country, gave over the expectation of his recovery either of his crown and scepter while he lived, though it were his due. But, when it was known in Portugal that the King lived, Antunes began to acknowledge the pains he had undergone in these affairs, by his master's appointment; which was no sooner conveyed to the King of Castile's ear, but he sent for this Antunes, of whom he had a liberal relation of all that he knew concerning that business; and, soon after Antunes's return into Portugal, he died. Whereby it appeareth unto me, that God lengthened his life some space, to reveal a truth, that seemed before to be very intricate and doubtful. Shortly after, the Portuguese began to murmur among themselves, boldly saying, that Don Philip the King had made away Don Sebastian their King, his nephew, going to him to crave his aid before his departure into Africk, because he had a meaning to gain the Kingdom of Portugal to him and his successors, and hold it by usurpation. And this scandal was never extinguished, because fame divulged his arriving at the Cape called St. Vincent, and no certainty appeared to the world, what way he passed from thence. But since it is proved, that from Spain he got shipping and travelled into Alexandria, and there lived in Prester John's court with his followers some twenty months, unknown of what quality he was, professing that he had a desire to see the world, and travelled only to

that end and purpose; for of want he made no shew, he and his company being well furnished with gold and jewels of great price. From Æthiopia they passed over the Red Sea, and so directly to the mount Sinai; from thence to the great Sophi, called Xatama King of Persia, whom he served as a commander five or six years against the Turks, where he atchieved many victories, and divers wounds in his body, with much honour and reputation. In requital whereof, the King of Persia did him many honourable offices, and gave him rich presents of inestimable price, with the which he and his company departed. I heard at Venice of his conference with Colonel Cigogna, a man of great experience in the wars, which assured the lords of the senate, that he never talked with any more wise, learned, or better experienced in military discipline, than this noble person; and he protested he could be no other, than the same he professed to be. The excellent and most reverend lord the archbishop said, he heard the discourse between the King and the Colonel, which delighted him exceedingly. This archbishop I could not speak withal at my being in Venice, for that he was employed in Dalmatia, in the affairs of the state.

The King, leaving Persia, went towards Jerusalem, from whence he travelled by firm land to Constantinople; which, after certain days, he left, and came into Italy, from thence to Hungary, and from thence fetched a compass by Muscovy, Poland, Swedeland, and Denmark, where he took shipping for England; and in London it is reported, he saw Don Antonio, the supposed King of Portugal. From England he passed into Holland; from Holland by Almain back to Antwerp; from thence to Paris, Anno, 1586. It comes to my memory, that, in the latter end of the same year, one Antonio Fernandes Pignero, a priest, which had sometime been almoner to the said Don Sebastian, &c. and was with me in service from the said lord Don Antonio, told me, that the same Don Antonio had heard it credibly reported, that Don Sebastian the King was living, &c. whereat Don Antonio seemed to be sore amazed and perplexed. About which time I craved license of Don Antonio to go out of England into this country, which he gave with some shew of discontentment therewith. By reason whereof, and to avoid all suspicion, I moved no question to him concerning the particularity of this matter; and I must tell you, by the way, that Pignero had all this discourse in writing, *sub sigillo confessionis*, which although, said he, I make the same known unto you, yet I pray you conceal it from Don Antonio, because it may be very prejudicial to him of whom I heard it. In the year following, after Easter, in the time of Ember, when I was come to that town, whither I made the scope of my journey, I heard the like concerning the same business which I before had heard in England, whereof I seemed to make no great care; and coming to Paris, after his Christian Majesty had entered the town, Don Nouvelet assured me, in the presence of divers Portuguese and Frenchmen, not once or twice, but many times, that it was as certain and assured that Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, had been lately in Paris, as he spoke to me; describing him to me by many circumstances; to all which I gave no credit, esteeming all he said to be mere fables. Not that I held any opinion or conceit that he was

slain at the battle in Africk; but my imagination could not receive any impression that he could be guilty of any such rare dissimulation, to pass so many cities and regions without discovery.

The last year writing to the said doctor to Annissi, where he dwelt, of the names which I heard, that my lord and master should be set at liberty by the consent of the signiory of Venice: I intreated him to write unto me at large, that which he had oft recited to me in this town, concerning the estate of that King. And because his answer was, that he could not agree to the satisfaction of my demands, I ceased to importune him any further in that behalf. But forasmuch as, at my being at Venice, some of the chiefest of the signiory of that state, asking me, if I were able to say any thing concerning what the King had answered upon his examination; saying, that he had been in Paris, and there conferred with a Portuguese, fled out of this country for Don Antonio's cause, being his cousin. And further, that he met with a gentleman of Switzerland at Soleurre, departing from thence towards Annissi, by whom I sent a letter to Don Nouvelet; in the which I most instantly desired him to set down in writing all that he had declared to me at Paris, concerning my master Don Sebastian, &c. At my great importunity, it pleased him to grant me my desire; and here I have annexed the same, copied out, *verbatim*, as it was written, in manner and form, with the recommendations he assigned me to do to his friends, named in the same original, men of good esteem for birth, office, and popular affection. So that to his truth and sincerity no man can take exception, being a professor in his art, both very learned and excellently experienced, in his life and manners never detected. Therefore all suspicion, either of the matter or the man, is prevented.

The Copy of a Letter, sent from Don Nouvelet, to Father Joseph Tesere.

SIR,

I received your last letter, dated the eighteenth of the month past; whereby you make me recall to mind the grief I conceived by your letters preceding, concerning the troubles of Emanuel Godigno, a gentleman born in Portugal. I had long since expressed in writing, and sent it you, if I had conjectured your disposition had been apt to entertain news: So ready and willing I am to apply my endeavours to do you service, in any thing you shall please to command me: But the consideration of your rare perfection of memory made me decline from doubt of any defect therein, and so much the slower in committing that to writing, which I had before so observantly uttered in your hearing, and in the presence of many persons of good respect, as well of your country, as of other nations; imputing this imposition rather to your desire to be better assured, *obsignatis tabulis*, than to any want of carriage in your understanding parts, I thus address my pen to confirm my tongue's discourse: In the year of our Lord 1588, being at Nantz, in employment and service of my Lord the Cardinal of Gondie, about

the affairs of my Lord the Bishop of Paris, his nephew, that was called Abbot of Buzai, I took up my lodging in the convent of the Jacobins, where I found good opportunity to ingraft myself in the favour and friendship of the reverend father, Dr. Sampayo, a man much commended for his liberal erudition in letters, but recommended for his integrity and zeal; one of your own order, and of your antient and approved acquaintance, and, being both godly and learned, united in more assured bonds of love and amity, than are exercised among the vulgar. Mean while, that league of friendship, then planted between that good Doctor, Sampayo, and me, took so good root in us both, that it continueth without peril of supplanting until this day, and is like, for your sake, to fructify abundantly, as well by increase of love, as of acquaintance with many other noblemen and gentlemen of good sort and condition. Among the rest of the ordinary frequenters, came Sir Emanuel Godigno to visit Dr. Sampayo at my lodging, and, taking some acquaintance of me, continued the same as long as I lay at Nantz, till I retired towards Paris, leaving, to my great sorrow, the sweet conversation betwixt Dr. Sampayo and myself, loving each other dearly. This Godigno, loth to let slip out of use the compliments that had past between him and me at Nantz, at his coming to Paris frequented my lodging daily, to understand of Doctor Sampayo's health and welfare; whereof I not being able to give him any certain intelligence, he began to mourn and look heavily, whom I could not chuse but in that passion to accompany, envying any man's affection should exceed mine in zeal to my friend. It followed that, upon a Sunday, in what month I remember not, this Signior Godigno received the communion very devoutly, ministred by the chief of the Jacobins, which made me refrain for that time to salute him, or he me; for, in truth, I think he saw me not, and I, not willing to interrupt his devotion, let him pass without any ceremony on my part performed. Notwithstanding, the same afternoon he repaired to my lodging, and as his custom was, demanded what tidings I heard of his friend and mine, Doctor Sampayo; and I, having no better means to inform him than before, desired him to excuse my ignorance, being unable to give him any contentment by intelligence of him, or from him. At which answer, the kind gentleman seemed very pensive and appaled, sitting still a long while mute and silent; whereby I imagined he had somewhat that inwardly distempered him, for I might perceive the tears trickle down his cheeks. Which perturbation, breaking out at his eyes, afforded him some liberty to utter these words following: 'Sir, I consider the great love that was betwixt Doctor Sampayo and you, that manifestly appeared to me at Nantz; and withal, the confidence he reposed in your fidelity towards him; which persuades me, that I cannot commit a secret matter of great consequence to a man that can more assuredly conceal it than yourself. And I doubt not but the same shall be as safely guarded in the treasury of your constancy, as in his, if you will vouchsafe to give me your unfeigned promise so to do.' Whereunto I answered: 'Sir, if it be a secret never as yet by you revealed unto any man but unto me, you may boldly speak it; but if you have already trusted any man, or shall hereafter declare the same to any other, it

may so fall out, that you may lay some other man's deserved blame to my charge. Therefore in this doubtful case I beseech you trust yourself, and tell me nothing; for I will not have you ransack your inclosure upon my protestation, although I presume so much upon your honest sincerity, being a gentleman both honest and religious, you will utter nothing unto me that shall not be like yourself; considering beside, I have seen you this day participate a sound mystery most reverently and devoutly among the Jacobins, which assures me, that you cannot produce any thing out of your mouth either profane or wicked.' Whereunto he replied, That he was expressly prepared to receive the holy communion upon this day, to the end God might inspire him with the understanding what was fittest for him to do in this case, and resolved absolutely to tell it me, that I might disclose it to Doctor Sampayo, fearing lest he might die burdened with so great a secret as concerned the good of all Christendom, holding his conscience greatly charged with the weight thereof, conjuring me seriously to deliver it safe to Doctor Sampayo; mean while if it please God to take him out of this transitory world, it might be lawful for me to publish it openly before my death. This and such other like speeches being ended, he began to unbosom his conceit in this manner: It was my chance to meet with a gentleman in this town, my countryman, between the which and me there had been antient amity; after many days conference at secret meetings, he told me that Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, was not dead; whereat the said Godigno seemed to be astonished, and said, he did not believe it, until he had seen him alive with his own eyes; and then, said he, I may have reason to be of your mind. Which the other promised should be effected, and, to that purpose carried him to dinner to the house where Don Sebastian was lodged, which was as I remember in St. James's Street, or in Harp street; whether the first or second day, or shortly after he had used that place, he could not certainly name the time, but a friend of his, a Portuguese, came and inquired at the house for Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; and, as he was coming up the stairs, Godigno hastened down the stairs to stop his passage, and took occasion to carry away his friend, feigning some other affairs with him, because he would prevent the King from discovery, who was very jealous of publick notice. But, the morrow after, the same gentleman came again about his former business, and inquired earnestly for the King, and, being there denied him, ceased not to ask, of every one he met throughout all the city, for Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; but, not prevailing at all, he fell into an extreme agony, and desisted not from inquisition to little purpose; and, surprised with great care what to do, was at length inspired with a motion from God to profess a solitary life, and take upon him the habit of an hermit: So, being disguised, he travelled towards Spain, and, arriving at the Court, found means to speak with the Catholick King, saying, That he had matters of great importance to reveal unto him, and to none but the King. And, after long attendance, he was admitted to the King's presence to have audience; to whom he protested he had lately seen Don Sebastian in Paris, and confirmed it by many signs and tokens of verity. The King presently

forbad him by any means to utter it to any man living, and willed him to go abroad every where to search out and discover what he might possibly; allowing him present money to bear his charges, delivering him a letter to Don Bernardin Mendosa, then his leager-ambassador in France, to give him any money he should have cause to use, not signifying unto him for what cause or intent; and thereupon he shewed me letters, which made the matter evident, that he had been in Spain, as is aforesaid; but for the particularities of the said letters I do not well remember, but that I hold myself satisfied thereby, that he had been in Spain, &c. But, to continue his tale, he told he had travelled so long, that, his money being well wasted, he was forced to go to Mendosa to be supplied in his necessity; to whom when he would not reveal the cause of his coming into those parts, and having letters of intelligence out of Spain from some great man, that he should deliver that Godigno no more money, being but an impostor and a deluder, as they termed him, Mendosa was soon confirmed in that parsimony, intending before to shut up his liberality, and to give him never a denier; at which denial this Godigno began to lament, and burst forth into bitter tears: as I judge, his lamentation was because he was, crossed and prevented for coming to the type of his enterprise.

In the end, protesting before God and his angels, and by vertue of that holy sacrament he had that day received, that all that he had uttered to me was true: in the end, without protestation of believing, or shew of infidelity, I promised him my secrecy, as he desired. Some few days after this conference, he returned unto me, as he used to do, inquiring what news I heard of Father Sampayo; to whom I answered, I understood of him no more than before. Mean while, I was, as it were, distracted in conceit, seeing this gentleman's relation a paradox adverse to the fame and vulgar opinion of Don Sebastian's death: and, weighing this gentleman's integrity, zeal, and communication, with the Jacobin's, could not in my conscience condemn him for a liar. But, whether it were true or false, according to my promise I concealed it, though it were in some sort an offence so to do. It came to pass in some little space after, in the house of an apothecary, dwelling in the suburbs called St. Germain's, near the gate, whose house was razed at the siege of Paris, that this man died. Here is all that I can say concerning this subject, which I never opened to any man, saving to Dr. Sampayo, which was a good while after, but the time I do not justly remember: and one cause why I was loth to speak of it, was, for that I was afraid to be thought deluded. And, methinks, this I have written unto you may seem very strange, notwithstanding the common report at this hour is, that Don Sebastian was seen alive two years after he was detained in Venice: but I tell you, the greater part of the world suppose that he is a counterfeit, suborned, &c. God knows what he is, who ever send you a happy and long life: so, with my humble recommendations to your reverend self, I leave you. From Annisi, the last of September, *anno* 1601.

I forgot to tell you, that Emanuel Godigno added to that before-mentioned, that the Catholick King gave him in especial charge to tell Don Sebastian, that the Catholick King requested him by any means

to hasten his return without delay to him, desiring nothing so much as to render him the possession of his realm and kingdom, and to bestow his eldest daughter upon him in marriage.

I am farther to desire of you so much favour, as to send me these books from Lyons, here mentioned in a catalogue, inclosed in this letter, and I will faithfully repay whatsoever you shall lay out to that purpose. Here follow the titles: all the works you can find, *De Regno Christi temporali*. I beseech you salute for me Monsieur le Fevre, recommending my faithful service unto him: of whom, if it please you, you may crave assistance in my business, for he is a man *multe sectionis*.

Good Lord! I had forgotten my duty to Monsieur de Tyron, to Monsieur Pellejay, to Monsieur de Marnay, and to my loving friends of Amboise, three brethren, reckoning myself much bound to them all: notwithstanding, I fear they little trouble themselves with the thinking upon so mean a man as myself; and this conceit half dismays me to trouble you so far, as to recommend me, in all humility, to my lord bishop of Eureux. Whatsoever you shall think convenient to perform in my behalf, either to add or diminish, I refer to your discretion.

Your most humble servant,

CL. D. Nouvelet.

The Superscription.

To M. Texere, Portuguese, Counsellor and
Almoner to the King, &c.

A Declaration.

THE King, Don Sebastian, departing from Paris, travelled through France directly into Italy: and I know not who followed him, or where he forsook his company; but most assured I am, he resolved to give over the pomp and glory of the world, and to retire himself to live privately; and being in Dalmatia, he made choice of an hermitage for his habitation, contenting him therewith, in lieu of his former princely palace. This poor hermitage was situated on the top of a mountain, near the city of Lesine, where he abode for the space of three years: in the issue of which time there arrived a ship of Portugal, from whence some passengers going a pilgrimage to that hermitage, seeing the King, knew him incontinently, and said aloud: "Behold, yonder is our King Don Sebastian"; and spread this rumour presently about the city. The King, perceiving that he was discovered, grew much displeased therewith, and, upon that discontentment, determined with himself to forsake the place, to the great crucifying of my soul, for there he lived in great tranquillity of mind, with no less consolation. Being in a bodily fear, lest the Portuguese should come thither and search for him, he thought good to go: and, before he went from Lesine, he distributed all his moveables and household-stuff amongst his

friends: three of the which, coming to Venice, were called before the senate, before whom they confirmed all which the said King confessed upon his first examination, touching his estate, and accidents in those quarters. The senators called them to come before the King face to face, in open view of the whole senate and assistants, and they knew one another very well; and one of them brought a picture with him, which the King had left behind him, upon the which was painted Jesus Christ crucified, with St. Sebastian and St. Anthony of Padua. And this act is so common in Venice, that they talk thereof without controulment.

The King departed from Lesine, wandering here and there, seeking some convenient place to retire himself into, fit for his design, lodged himself in a mountain near Pisa, where he spent his time as you shall hear. He had hose, and what else I know not, but no hat, nor other necessary thing that might serve instead thereof; by reason whereof you must needs imagine his complexion, of force, must alter, which, from swarthy, became black: his hair grew long, but not unseemly, for he used to cut it: his garments were of coarse cloth, and his food herbs, roots, and fishes, which were given him for God's sake: he frequented the city, where, the first months of his arrival, he gave money towards the dowries and marriages of poor maidens; and, at his own charge, delivered many out of prison, discharging their debts. And, having distributed all he had for God-sake, he was fain to receive again for God-sake, and took that in good part which was given him in the town, only to serve the necessities of his person, which were few, considering the austerity of his diet, and hard penance which he willingly endured, relieving prisoners with the surplusage of his poor fortunes, if he had any, to whom he did many services by his travel and labour, to dispatch their business whensoever they requested him. One reported unto me, that he had many charitable alms at a Portuguese's house in the town, who ministered unto him cloaths and other necessities, without knowledge what he was, or where he was born; which he, by his own confession, took very thankfully. The like befell him in St. Alexis, where he afterward arrived; and after in Edessa, a city in Syria, he received benevolence of his own servants, that wandered almost through the habitable parts of the world to seek him.

After he had remained certain years in these mountains, there appeared a vision unto him by night, wherein he thought God commanded him to repair home into his own kingdom, and leave this desolate and solitary life, and abandon both hermitage and mountains: but, afterward misliking his former opinion, he began to suspect the same apparition to be diabolical, or merely fantastical, and revoked that purpose for to proceed in his journey homeward: but a very old man dwelling near unto him in the foresaid desolate place, with whom he lived in a great league of amity, because he was a virtuous man, exercising himself wholly in devotion and prayer, made him revoke that unreverent conceit of his vision, saying that it was a good and godly motion, and therefore could not proceed from an ill spirit; and therefore a godly and a divine vision: and persuaded him to do his endeavour, to execute that, which therein was given him in charge.

The King listened unto this old man's advice, and so much the rather, for that he discovered unto him before many strange things, and foretold many matters that he had seen take event according to his prediction. Whereupon the King wiping away the tears from his cheeks, which his woeful heart had sent outward as messengers of secret sorrow, took his leave of his fellow in affliction, like one deprived (by grief) of ready use both of reason and judgment: so, abruptly leaving his loving friend and religious companion, trotted onwards of his journey from one place to another, until he came to Messina, a city in Sicily. In which place it is supposed he had left (passing that way before) some pieces of gold and jewels of value, which, to recover, to serve his present turn, and to furnish him in good sort, he was forced to discover himself to his companions, from whom he had stolen long before.

In this voyage he sent Marco Tullio Catizzone into Portugal, with divers letters, to many persons of quality (as is said before in my treatise called *Admirable Adventures*). And at Messina he shipped himself in a galley belonging to his holiness, bound for Genoa, being fraught with silks, and afterwards came to Civita Vecchia. From whence without any delay he posted to Rome, and was lodged near unto St. Peter's church, where as he was sleeping in his chamber, he was robbed by certain of his servants, whom he had newly entertained into his service, not long after his coming to Rome. And very near as shortly after my departure from thence, hearing of the rumour, I sent to a friend of mine there, to give me intelligence of the certainty of these tidings, and spoke with his hostess, being a widow, and with her children and servants, which reported all that had passed in that business, saying they well discerned by his behaviour, that he was some honourable personage, or some very great lord, and said they were very much grieved with the unfortunate rumour that was spread there, that he was declared to be Don Sebastian, the true King of Portugal; which, by his gravity and majestic behaviour, assured them no less, than that he was some great prince.

Conferring this I now learned, with these circumstances collected before in this country, and afterwards confirmed at Venice, any man may be assured that this report was true. At Venice one shewed me an inventory, written with his own hand, of those parcels of treasure that had been stolen from him: amongst the rest there was a chain of gold garnished with precious stones, which the great Sophi presented him, with a diamond of great value, and rings with precious stones most exquisitely set, with many other pieces of good estimation and value. And, while he was distempered for the loss of these jewels, he missed certain papers, the purports whereof were of great importance: all which were slipperily conveyed away; which being kept had been direct testimonies to serve his turn, in the doubtful opinions of them that were to try and sift him, whether he were the same Don Sebastian he pretended to be. And, having understanding of some ambushment laid to intrap him by the passage of Umbria, he altered his course and went by Narne; and when he came thither, and heard no news of his enemies in his way, he went forward by Tarne: where he had intelligence that his holiness would go to our Lady's of Loretto. Then he

addressed his journey to that place directly; and, when he came to Neuvaïne, he understood his holiness had changed his purpose, and was resolved to go by Bologna, and so to Ferrara: the King, after his devotion ended, bent his travel towards Bologna. Whither when he came sore wearied and tired miserably, he heard of another alteration, that his holiness, by means of some sickness, that came upon him suddenly, had no intent once to budge from Rome, being forced to keep his chamber. This tossing and reeling to no purpose troubled the poor King exceedingly, having broken the neck of his designs: not knowing then what way to take, thought with himself to go some way at a venture; not resolving upon any one, his fortunes grew so variable, that at last he directly past to a village, which belongs to the Count of Verona, in the midway to Mantua, which some call Nogara. And, when he came to that borough, a strange imagination possessed him, that one violently withstood him, for going any further that way. Then he, supposing himself to have day-light enough to guide him to Mantua, was contented to be checked in the other passage; finding his mind assailed with a thousand variable cogitations, which so afflicted him, that he could not utter any one period of his vexations, to him that accompanied him. All this time I had no certain report of the King's being in that place; which is the cause I made no mention of the day, as I used to do of his other passages.

The King being at Mantua told a gentleman of Loretto, that, when he was at our Lady's there, he named himself, Juan Poeta. This gentleman, being entered into very good terms of amity with the King, did him many kind favours and courtesies, entertaining him at his lodging in the best sort he could devise: and shortly after accompanied him to Ferrara, where he apparelled the King in silks and velvet. Shortly after this gentleman had performed these offices to the King, his urgent business called him from that place: but, before he went, he conducted the King to his taylor's house; and there took order for supplying of his wants, and gave charge for his special entertainment, willing his host to call him Joanne Baptista Sartori della contrada de Santa Maria la Frattura. This man was of good years, very virtuous and rich, into whose house the King entered the fourth of October, Anno 1597. In which year, the King, understanding the Pope was to make his entry into Ferrara, accompanied with this taylor, about the first of May set forward towards the same city: whither, when the King confessed himself to Friar Alonso, a religious professor of my order, a man of great virtue and sincerity (but very simple) who came, and found not his holiness there, he determined then to attend his coming; in which space the King, thinking to do well, did that which fell out to be very ill, in reporting to divers nobles and gentlemen, that Don Sebastian the King of Portugal was in the city, attending the presence of his holiness: and as it happeneth, that one evil seldom comes alone, the taylor being acquainted with a gentleman of Portugal (whose name I know not, some called him Baron) this gentleman the taylor conducted home to the King's lodging to dinner. This Portuguese, sitting at the table, often beheld the King advisedly as he sat at meat, and observed him in every respect. Soon after dinner was done, the King rose and departed to his chamber. After his retiring the gentleman said to his hostess, and

the rest of the company that dined with them, the taylor also being present: "Gentlemen (said he) this gentleman, that sat here at dinner amongst us, is surely Don Sebastian the King of Portugal. I am that countryman and know him well, for I have seen him many times before his departure into Africa to war against the Infidels. All we Portuguese hold it for an assured verity, that he escaped at that time very sore hurt, and that he was seen afterwards in Portugal, from whence he fled, but how or what way we could never yet learn." The taylor no sooner heard these words, but he went presently and told them to the King. This speech much offended the King, and grieved him not a little; and withal, remembering that Friar Alonso had in his mere simplicity betrayed him: and moreover, considering that the King of Castile's agent was advised that he was in that city, and plotted against him, being in great fear what evil might happen unto him, resolved presently to steal away secretly, without taking leave either of host, confessor, or taylor.

This discourse the taylor himself uttered unto me, with many other particularities, in the temple of St. Silvester, in Verona, confirming the same in his own house afterwards, with the effusion of abundance of tears running down his cheeks and beard, with such zealous lamentation, as he forced me to accompany him in the self-same manner of grieving. He told me also that he remained in his house with him seven months at the least, and was attended on by his daughter, being a fair young maiden: and in all that while he protested the King did not once look directly in her face, commending him for his temperate, affable, and exceeding virtuous behaviour, and that he observed his fasts very severely, praying almost continually: and said farther unto me weeping: "Father, I fear that prince is much injured: I beseech the Almighty God to preserve him: O that it were lawful for me, and for his safety, that I might keep him within my simple habitation, not as he is a prince, but in respect of his bounty and honour: and, if I should happen to die before him, I could leave him sufficient to live on all the days of his life." Trust me the simplicity of this poor old man pleased me exceedingly, and induced me the rather to believe him. He also informed me by what title the senate of Venice called him, and inquired of him if ever he entertained him in his house, and whether his answers to divers interrogatives were true or not, and whether all that he told the lords were true or false? To which he answered justly, and failed not a jot; and he maintained him to be the true King of Portugal, having many reasons so to persuade him: the one was, the confident assertion of the Portuguese gentleman that dined in his company at Ferrara, saying he departed out of Portugal secretly, yet proved by many circumstances: and this old man assisted me much when the senate convened him before them, asking him how long he kept company with him before he came to Ferrara, and whether he were the same man that lodged in his house. Then he kneeled down before his feet, embracing them, and, looking towards the senate, said: This is Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, which lodged in my house, whom afterward I accompanied to Ferrara. And when the King was asked of the judges, whether he knew that old man or no: he answered,

that he had never seen him before this day. At which answer, the old man told me he was more perplexed, than he was with his sudden departure from him at Ferrara, and wept most bitterly. I must excuse the King for thus confuting the old man before the senate, for that he understood at Venice and Padua, a little after he departed from the presence of the senate, that they had straightly imprisoned and punished one Monsieur Jeronimo at Venice, for entertaining him in his house, and had punished divers others for doing him the like favour. And the King, fearing that the like rigour might be offered this silly old man, made him disclaim his acquaintance: which the King, upon his return to prison, revealed incontinently to Count Caesar Martinengo, to Count Charles his brother, and divers others his fellow prisoners. "And the lords said unto me, they called me to see one John Baptista Sartori de Verona, and asked me if I knew him; and for that I was much bound to this good old man, for many good offices done unto me, and for that I saw it turned them all to displeasure, that did me any good, I answered for his safety, that I knew him not, nor had ever seen him: which the poor old man digests very heavily: and, if any good friend would but deliver this my excuse unto him, I will acknowledge myself much bound to him for that friendly courtesy."

The self-same act, in the like words, a canon of Bresse reported unto me, meeting me in that city, accompanying me as far as Lac, happening to speak of the King, and of the opinion that was delivered of them generally that had seen him: that it was thought verily he was Don Sebastian the King most assuredly, not knowing me to be a favourer of his proceedings: telling me that all he knew of the matter, he heard of these counts and gentlemen that were in prison with him, for the space of five months: whereof he recited unto me many particulars: and this canon (as I take it to be) was called De Lone: so after long conference, the night approaching, I took my leave of him, &c.

The King, departing from Ferrara, held on his way to Padua, and being there, he thought it fit he should attend the answer of his letters he sent into Portugal by Marco Tullio Catizzone: his devotion performed to St. Anthony, he determined to go to Venice, where all these things happened unto him, which we have already reported in the former treaties, intituled, *Admirable Adventures*, &c. as you may read in a letter sent to me from John de Castro; and in that, which the King wrote to his holiness: where it is at large specified, how he was betrayed into the hands of the Castilians, by one of his own servants for reward, and so committed to prison. This treacherous varlet, being convinced and reproved by some of the King's friends, that had understanding of his perfidious service, being already bought and corrupted with a few pence, following the perjured faction like a masterless curr, fell into the art of slandering, and banding against his royal master with hot pursuit, and vehement accusations, as sodomy, cousenage, in prison and abroad. Notwithstanding all this villainy, God, that weighs all men's causes in equal balance, will not suffer his servants ever to quail under the burden of iniquity: the hearing of this cause was committed to Sir Marco Quirini, which was at that time *Sabio* *de*

la terre firme, and at this day is Sabio Grande, one of the four judges, commissioners allotted for this circuit. The said Quirini, reporting to the senate what he had heard concerning his accusations, and what also was testified in his defence, said, "That he not only found this man innocent and guiltless of the crimes laid to his charge, but thought him generally to have lived a harmless life." This sentence was well approved and allowed by the senators: and as soon as it was published, which was in the beginning of the year 1599, they freed the King from the dungeon where he lay before, and placed him in a more favourable prison, a place of some liberty. You shall read hereafter the pains and punishment Don Sebastian, the King my master, endured since his misadventure in Africa, until the day of his manifestation to the world. I beseech you hold me excused, though I satisfy you not so plentifully and so orderly as you expect or desire: It is all I could learn, and it is hard to gather so much in these parts, where the truth hath been so ingeniously laboured to be suppressed and smothered: besides, the great hazard of my person in travelling to obtain this little, assuring you that our hope withers not, but springs daily, to see my Lord Don Sebastian to be as absolute King of Portugal, as it is justly due unto him by the law of God and nations: then shall my ten trample upon the vail of tyranny and oppression, that now so imperiously curbs poor patience and equity.

Seeing God hath hitherto been both his lamp and shield, to lighten and guard him, through so many dark and dangerous ambushments: why should we not be assured that he, that can, hath a purpose to make us rejoice, and wonder as much at his advancement and dignity, as his poor friends and servants are grieved and dismayed with his fall and misery; hoping all Christian, magnificent, and majestical princes will join in intercession to the Almighty, to restore my poor, yet princely master, from his woeful imprisonment, to his crown and liberty.

A Declaration.

NOW it is requisite, that I report unto you somewhat concerning the ring, that hath been so famous throughout the world, and of the rare virtues it was esteemed for; and so proceed to handle other matters, whereof some make for his purpose, and others as much for his hindrance.

You have heard, gentle reader, of one that shewed this King a ring, &c. thus it happened: As soon as he was come to Venice, there was a warning given to the goldsmiths, both by himself and some other of his friends, that he was robbed of certain pieces of gold and jewels at Rome; then he gave them the marks and tokens, desiring them, that if any such came into their hands by chance, they would make stay of them, until he, or some for him, came to challenge them. Not long after, a goldsmith lighted upon a ring of gold, whereon was engraven the arms of Portugal, which ring he presently brought to Monsieur Jeronimo, of whom you have read before, an inhabitant of the

same town, who was jointly apprehended with the King for lodging in his house, and was not delivered until five hours after the King was set at liberty. Jeronimo took the ring, and brought it secretly to the King, lodging privily in his house. As soon as the King beheld the ring, he said, This ring is none of mine, but belongs to Don Antonio, my cousin. This relation I had from Jeronimo himself, at Venice, in the presence of many witnesses, and how the goldsmith happened to get this ring. In Moran, an island some half league from Venice, there is an Abbot called Capelo, a gentleman of Venice, a grave personage, and of great authority, hearing that the King laid wait for certain jewels that he had lost, hoping thereby to recover some of them, having a diamond in his keeping, with the arms of Portugal, came to the town to the conventicles of St. Francis, called Frari, where the King lay concealed, for that he was pursued by some that meant him no good; who no sooner beheld the ring, but he said, verily this is mine; and I either lost the same in Flanders, or else it was stolen from me. And, when the King had put it upon his finger, it appeared otherwise engraven than before. The abbot enquiring of him that brought him the ring, how he came by it? He answered, it is true that the King hath said. There hence arose a strange rumour of a ring, that, by turning the stone, you might discern three great letters engraven, S. R. P. that is as much to say, *Sebastianus Rex Portugallie*. Ignorant people, not conceiving aright of the thing, raised thereupon such rumours, as their own imaginations could gather; and at all times, so often as the abbot shewed the ring to the King, he had many witnesses to testify the same. I sojourned three weeks in the same isle, very near the abbot's house, after this had passed.

To the second point: although the King was lean and weak, by reason of his travel and troubles, as it is like he could not be so strong and puissant as he was when he reigned in Portugal, being there full-fed and corpulent; yet in Padua, in the house of Don Prospero Baracco, he was seen to lift up two men at once with great facility, one of which was called Pasquino Morosini, the other Bernardino Santi; both these together, putting his arm between their legs, he heaved from the ground, without straining or wrenching, in the view of many. He did the like in the isle of Moran to two others, the one called Jeronimo Cakgari, the other Pasquilino Calegari, and there was present the archbishop of Spalato, at the like performance of his puissance, with other men of quality; and this Pasquilino was a man both tall and corpulent. A Venetian gentleman, of the house wherein the King was prisoner, oftentimes took occasion to scoff at the King, saying, it was impossible he should be the person he reported himself to be, with other jeering frumps; whereto the King said earnestly, Sir, I pray you tell me the reason of your incredulity, and whereupon it is grounded; and Moliner answered, because I have heard it often reported, that the King, Don Sebastian, was a lusty strong man, of power to pull a horse-shoe in sunder with his hands, and able to tire six horses in an hour; and you are but a spare, poor, meager shrimp, and a gristle in respect of such a one, and scarcely able to tear four cards asunder, if they be well joined together, nor like to tire one horse in an hour. Well, said

the King, if force will prove me to be Don Sebastian, &c. and the matter rest only upon that, it may be, that one day I may satisfy you in that point. So long this gallant continued in his former jeering and railing, that, one day above the rest, he moved the King's patience, and made him angry, and constrained him to shew him by the force of his hands, that he was Don Sebastian, &c. and made him confess the same; for, being in a rage, he came upon him directly, and took him by the girdle with his right-hand, and, heaving him higher than his head, carried him round about the prison in that manner, to the great admiration of all that beheld it; and this gentleman, never after, durst abuse him any more, but used him with the honour and reverence that was due unto him. In like manner, he took up in the same prison, by the girdle, one Gasparo Turloni, a gentleman of Venice, with his right-hand, and Baptista Marsoto with his left-hand, and lifted them both up from the ground at one time. He also, in the same prison, took up, putting his arm between their legs, two other gentlemen, one very gross and corpulent, namely Messier Lucio de Messine, and Alexander de Alexandria, and lifted them of a good height; the opportunity of this gentleman made him do it in prison; and at Padua, and at Moran, he was disposed to shew his force, to pleasure his friends thereby. That, which was spoken before of the ring, and of his forces, were the two things I thought necessary first to give you notice of.

To add to the two first two others: In Venice there is a rich and an honorable merchant, who, hearing of this King, what marks and tokens he had on his body, and what he had said and done, took occasion to go to him, and made means to deserve his love and amity, by the performance of many kind offices towards him. This merchant was a Piedmontese by nation, by name called Monsieur John Bassanesse, and his mother, being a widow, married after to one Bartholomæo Verneti, a Piedmontese born also, who often used to check and reprove his son-in-law for going so much to the King, saying, he was an impostor and a counterfeit; and his son-in-law boldly defended the King, by all the means and reasons he could devise. During this contention betwixt the father and the son-in-law, the old man said, come hither, hear me: Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, sent an ambassador to Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, his nephew, son to his cousin german, which ambassador brought him a present, and returned back again from the said King with an answer, and another present from the King to the duke; the ambassador's name was Dominico Belli, whose servant I was at that very instant, by means whereof I saw, and was privy to all the parcels, and placed them myself in the casket, and likewise saw advisedly what was returned from the King. Now, sir, if you can persuade that man, that says he is Don Sebastian, &c. to tell me what parcels those were, that were sent to and from, directly, you shall bring me to be of your mind, and to confess, that he is the very same man he nominates himself to be. John Bassanesse hearing these words, bethought himself which way he might come to have conference with the King, to understand the right of this matter; and, as he was studying how to bring his purpose

about, he dreamed of a stratagem, which should effect his design, which was, that he would perpetrate some light crime, in hope therefore to be committed to the prison, where the King was: whereupon he resolved to take a cudgel under his cloke, and go to the Realto, the chiefest place in Venice, and there quarrel with one or other, and bastinado him, until he had drawn blood of him, for which act he doubted not but to be committed: he proceeded according to his secret determination, and, when he was come near the Realto, he met with a friend of his, who perceiving by his countenance, that he was troubled in mind, said unto him, Sir, I see by you there is somewhat amiss. John Bassanesse being well assured, that he was a faithful servant to the King, laid open his intention unto him, who found means to get a note, in writing, under the King's hand, of all the parcels, that passed from the one to the other. This memorandum was put into the hands of one Leonardo Donato, one of the Sabio Grande, that first examined the King, and was thought to owe him little goodwill; but, after he surveyed his cause, and found it so just and true, travelled earnestly to the senate, to pronounce him Don Sebastian, the true King of Portugal. All this I have heard confirmed by many very worthy persons: The original I could not bring with me, for that Donato, at my being there, was employed as general of five and twenty-thousand foot, and five thousand horse, in the county of Bresse, which force, the seigniorie had levied the year before, for their defence, upon some intelligence, &c. But, as soon as John Bassanesse had got the writing, he hied him home to his father-in-law, and they agreed between them, that one should stand at one end of the table, and the other below, and the father wrote the pieces he knew, and the son, by his note, was able to inform the old man of divers parcels that he had forgotten; and the old man said, it was haste made him overslip somewhat; those four white horses, said he, I did not well remember, but I think verily it was true; and the old man wondered not a little, how his son came by this intelligence, and said, he had devised it himself; but, seeing himself vanquished, said to his son, Visit the King, my son, at your pleasure, and do him what good you may, and I beseech God to assist him.

Forasmuch as I know the curious sort of people desire to view the particulars, and to make our proof the more authentical, I have here set them down in order, as they were inventoried.

The Parcels presented by the Duke to the King.

A case full of silks, of divers colours.

Another, full of cloth of silver, of divers sorts and colours.

Another, full of cloth of gold, of divers colours.

A diamond set in a ring.

An ancient garment, of very great value, being a trophy, taken from the French at St. Quintain's, embroidered and garnished about the neck with many jewels; four white horses, which the old man had forgotten, and divers other pieces not named.

Those parcels that were sent from the King to the Duke.

A great chain of gold of very good value, two peutrils, two bits, two pair of stirrups, all garnished with diamonds, rubies, and other stones of great price.

One diamond set in gold, which Bartholomæo Verneti said was as big as the nail of his right-thumb,

Many East-Indian dishes, of sundry colours, with other rich things of good esteem.

For the second of the last proofs, being the fourth and last, you shall understand that there be four merchants at Venice, men endued with wealth, honour, estimation, and charity, that in my hearing have named these four witnesses Barnaba Rizzo, Jean Bassanesse, Constantine Nicoli, who keeps in his hand the original letter of don Raimond Marqueti, by which it is manifest that Don Sebastian is one man, and Marco Tullio Catizzone another: which letter he shewed publicly at St. Mark's, to convince the falshood of the Castilians, and their adherents: For the which and such other like services, the Spaniards could not be appeased without revenge. The nineteenth of October, I had intelligence by letters, that one came into this honest man's shop, his servants being all sent out of the way, and cut him on the head with a cutlass, and in divers other places so dangerously, that he was in great peril of his life. The malefactor escaped unknown. The fourth and last is called Baptista Dolphin, and these four have been good friends to the King, both by entertaining him and travelling in his affairs, to the uttermost of their power, to set him at liberty, without intermission of any minute of opportunity, that might be spent in his profitable service. But the Castilian agents, considering and knowing the seal of these personages, and observing their constancy, that, both with all their might and main, defended the cause of the King my master: seeing that neither fair promises, persuasions, nor threatenings, could make them desist from their vowed fidelity and assistance, entered into this devilish practice. First they began to publish these witnesses to be fools, couseners, and rogues, and persuaded certain bankers and brokers to lay wagers with them, that the prisoner was not Don Sebastian the King: assuring them that they might offer to give a thousand for one, if ever it were proved or published; for that they knew assuredly, that he was a Calabrian, a sodomite, a thief, a cousener, and a counterfeit, and that 'ere long they should see him hanged upon one of the pillars of St. Mark's church. These usurers believing this to be true, and desirous to make gain of any thing, began to enter into the course of laying wagers, as the Castilians had advised them. The witnesses hearing they offered so frankly a thousand to one, if the prisoner were judged to be Don Sebastian, &c. knowing certainly that it was he (believing that the senate, in regard of such especial marks, tokens, and proofs, would not refuse to publish him, what they had found him) were easily drawn to bargain with these bankers, to some of the which, the simple and honest men gave out twenty, some thirty, some fifty, some

ten, some five crowns, in hopes to be paid a thousand for one: So that they had given out some three-hundred crowns or more; and, shortly after they found out the wrong and hinderance they had done to the poor King's cause, by their money, they began to repent themselves exceedingly of their folly: The account was cast, that the repayment would amount to three-hundred thousand crowns. And the bankers seeing themselves engaged for so great a sum of money; and if the senate should chance to publish that which they knew to be true, that they were like to be stripped of the greatest part of their substance, began to conspire and oppose themselves to countercheck the truth, which fell out to be a great prejudice and bar to the King my master's cause; for that many chief men, and the factors of many principal houses, were interested in this hazard of indemnity: As those of the house of Astroci, Caponi, Baglioni, Labia, Jacobo Begia, Antonio Simone, Pietro Tobon, Bastian Garinoni, and many others of their parents and allies, for their sakes; among which were divers that bare offices in the commonwealth, as Jacobo Fescurini a proctor in St. Mark, that was ever an enemy to the King my master. In the end this devilish invention, and Castilian pernicious policy, wrought us much woe, and multiplied our enemies infinitely: For it was so commonly known and spoken, that little children, as they went for mustard, could say, that this was the principal cause why the senators would have had Don Sebastian say, he was not Don Sebastain but a Calabrian, and they promised straight to set him at liberty; and not that favour alone, but they would do what else for him, he could or would require. Whereupon he wrote a letter to the Pope, complaining justly upon the senators of Venice, for requiring at his hands so unlawful a thing, to whom he declared in his letter, that he answered them, that he had rather die a tortured death, than confess so palpable an untruth, to gain an ignominious life and liberty. O that it were possible for me to speak all that is true in this case! But I must let pass infinite injuries, lest the revealing all might rather aggravate than relieve my master's miseries. If I durst, this discourse should have been more ample, and better understood; if it were lawful that I might say what I could say, that the monarchs and princes of Christendom have done the King my lord secretly and openly much good and ill, and are unwilling either of both should be manifested to the world in writing. Notwithstanding I will never bury in silence an answer that a grand Sabio of this commonwealth made to a magnificent prince in Europe, of great understanding, but of no great antiquity. This Sabio, going to visit this prince, was intreated by him to tell him what ground the seigniory of Venice had, to proceed upon the prisoner in that form, which called himself Don Sebastian King of Portugal? for (said he) if they found him to be a Calabrian, why did they set him at liberty without chastisement? And if it were verified unto them by good proofs and evidences that he was Don Sebastian King of Portugal, why did they use him in that manner? The grand Sabio publickly made this answer in the presence of many. Sir, forasmuch as the affairs concerned the estate of Spain, the seigniory would not presume to judge whether it was he or not. This man was committed for disobeying a command-

ment the seigniory laid upon him, and therefore restrained two years of his liberty, to the end he might repent him of his fault, and after the expiration of two years again dismissed him upon the like commandment. And to be plain with your excellency : The man would follow no good advice, but was wilful, turbulent, and of ill government, by which means much ill is come unto him. That word, *ill advised*, might have been well interpreted, for that he would not deny himself to be that which undoubtedly he was. It was not my fortune to be present at this act, being elsewhere employed out of those parts : but at my return it was related to me, by a learned person that was there present; which afterward the same prince himself did ratify unto me, assuring me that the answer of that Sabio Grand did verily induce him to believe, that that prisoner was Don Sebastian, the very true King of Portugal : For if the seigniory had held this man to be a Calabrian, said this prince, to what purpose did the Sabio hold me with such a long discourse publickly, considering he knew the privy of the affairs? If he had been proved a Calabrian, it had been sufficient to have said in a word, Sir, he was a Calabrian, an impostor, and a cousener, without any more ado. But you see how the world fares, and how it sways abruptly, and so ends my pitiful narration; advising, interesting, and conjuring you (gentle reader) to shun the snares and trips of these subtle enemies: For I can assure you, by the testimony of a good conscience, that they be those that St. Chrysostome terms the Pharisees, *Qui portabant mel in ore, & fel in corde*: They will flap you in the mouth with honey, which, when you begin to chew, perhaps you shall taste sweet, but, in the digestion, you shall find it most bitter in operation. Farewell.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE FIRST BOOK.

DECLARING THE

STATE OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN

UNDER THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

London, printed by Valentine Simmes, for John Barnes, dwelling in Fleetstreet, at the sign of the Great Turk, 1602. Quarto, containing one-hundred sixteen Pages.

THE PREFACE.

I HAVE oftentimes wished, that (amongst so many large volumes, and abridgements of our English Chronicles, as are now extant) we

might have one continued history collected out of approved writers, and digested in such a manner, as the reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulous and extravagant discourses, nor left unsatisfied in any material points, or circumstances, worth his knowledge. And, although truth in her nakedness and simplicity ought, for her own sake, to be desired and preferred above all other things, yet, we see, that the nature of man, affecting, for the most part, rather pleasure than profit, doth more willingly embrace such things as delight the sense, than such as confirm the judgment; though, to satisfy both the one and the other, is accounted, in matters of this kind, the mark at which the best writers have aimed, as being the very type of Perfection itself: In which respect, I am persuaded, that such a work would be the better accepted, if the writer thereof should observe that method which hath been used in former times, by the best historiographers amongst the Greeks and Romans, who, to shew their own wits, and to refresh their readers, devised set speeches and orations, to interlace, with their true histories, as things both allowable and commendable, so far forth as they were grounded upon probable conjectures, fitting the speakers, and void of absurdity. Which course hath been held also in our own stories, by some of our countrymen, in writing upon particular subjects, which they have chosen as most agreeable to their own humours, and ministering best matter of discourse. Amongst all which, of this kind that excellent story of Richard the Third, written by Sir Thomas Moore, if my judgment fail me not, may worthily challenge the first place.

To write much in commendation of histories were, I suppose, but to spend time, as the sophister did in praising of Hercules, whom no man, in his right wits, ever dispraised: and the proems of historical books are already filled with discourses of the profitable use that may be made of them, considering, that examples, as the most familiar and pleasing kind of learning, are found, by common experience, to be much more available to the reforming of manners, than bare rules and precepts. If then the knowledge of histories in general be so commodious and commendable a thing, as learned men, in all ages, have esteemed it, I make no doubt, but it will be easily confessed, that there is no history so fit for Englishmen, as the very history of England; in which, if the affection I bear to my native country deceive me not, there are many things, besides the necessary use thereof, very well worthy to be remembered and observed: Howsoever, our chronicles have been a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the histories of many other nations are adorned: and, indeed, I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our gentlemen of England might take no less pleasure in reading the same, than they do now in reading the English translations of the Roman, French, and Italian histories, which, though they may be delightful, and, in some kinds, profitable, yet, is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to us, as of the other, except we would desire to seem citizens of another country, and strangers in our own.

And although to some, perhaps, it may seem a labour unnecessary, to begin with such ancient things as were done here by the Romans,

especially, considering the difference of time itself, which, in every age, bringeth forth divers effects, and the dispositions of men, that, for the most part, take less pleasure therein, than in the relation of the occurrences of their own, or later times; yet I think it fit, for order's sake, there to begin, whence we have the first certain direction to proceed: And I doubt not, but some good use also may be made, even of those ancient things, howsoever they may be accounted impertinent to us, either by imitation, or by way of comparison.

As for the story of Brute, from his first arrival here, until the coming of the Romans, divers writers hold it suspected, reputing it, for good causes, rather a poetical fiction, than a true history, as, namely, Joannes de Whethamsted, Abbot of St. Albans, a man of great judgment, who lived about the year of Christ 1449; and Gulielmus Nubrigensis, with others, as well modern as ancient, who have, in like manner, delivered their censures thereof. Besides, Venerable Bede makes no mention of it at all, but begins his history with the Romans entrance into the island. Howbeit, seeing it hath been for so long time generally received, I will not presume, knowing the power of prescription in matters of less continuance, absolutely to contradict it; though, for my own opinion, I suppose it to be a matter of more antiquity, than verity. I write not this to detract from those, that have heretofore written thereof, in their books of our English Chronicles, continued to these times, as, namely, Stowe, Hollinshead, Grafton, and others, that have employed themselves, and their travel, in searching out antiquities, and memorable things, touching the affairs of this realm. That which they have done already deserveth thanks and good acceptance, in that, of a good meaning, they have done their endeavours. But, as in the building of an house, divers workmen are to be used for divers purposes, namely, some to provide timber and rough-hew it, others to carve and polish it; so I think it meet, that some man of knowledge and judgment, requisite for the accomplishing of such a work, should advisedly peruse our English chronicles, the substance and matter, though laid up in divers publick and private storehouses, being already provided, and thereof to frame an history, in such a manner, as the reader might reap both pleasure and profit thereby. Howbeit, I see small likelihood that any thing will be done herein, while such, as are best able to perform it, are content to look on, straining courtesy who should begin; some refusing the labour, in respect either of the labour itself, or of the small recompence that followeth it; considering, withal, the carelessness and thanklessness of this age, wherein the best works, contrived with many years travel, are, for the most part, either scarcely vouchsafed the reading, or else read with a full stomach and a kind of loathing.

Others there are, that prefer silence as the safest way, in that it is free from censure and danger, which a man may easily incur by writing; whereas, for doing nothing, no man is either blamed, or constrained to render an account. For there are many that think they cannot shew their wits so well in any thing, as in finding faults with other men's doings, themselves, in the mean time, doing nothing. And, though sometimes there may be just causes of reproof, yet, many times, we

see that exceptions are taken, either upon dislike of the writer, or envy of the thing itself deserving commendation; or, as it falleth out many times, upon ignorance, the professed enemy of art and industry, which causeth some to condemn what they understand not: For the learned and industrious sort of men, as they are best able to judge what is done well or ill, so they are most sparing in reproving other men's labours, or making bad constructions of good meanings. To the censure of these men, as of indifferent judges, I do freely submit myself, not doubting, but such as have travelled heretofore in matters of this kind, being also experienced in others, will confess it a work of no less trouble, to alter and repair an old decayed house with the same timber, than to erect a new one at the builder's pleasure.

Again there are some that will not stick to call in question the truth of all histories, affirming them to be vain and fabulous; both, for that they are, for the most part, grounded upon conjectures, and other men's reports, which are more likely to be false than true, and also, for that the writers themselves, as well as the reporters, might be partially affected: whereto I answer, that many things are left to the writer's discretion, and that it is impossible for any man, though never so great a lover of truth, to relate truly all particular matters of circumstance, but that he may fail in many things, and yet carefully observe the principal points; which we are so far forth to allow, as we find them not unlikely nor improbable: otherwise, in detracting from the credit of ancient histories, either upon uncertain surmises, or by rejecting probable conjectures, we should deprive the world of a very great portion of human learning.

For my own part, although I might be discouraged in respect both of these inconveniences, which haply wiser men foresee and avoid, and also in regard of myself (being, amongst many others, the most insufficient to perform the task, as a man wanting both judgment and health of body, to go thorough with so weighty and laborious a work) yet have I undertaken to make a proof, as you see, in setting down the state of this isle, under the Romans government, according to the report of Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio, Cassius, and other approved writers of our own, out of whom I have collected so much, as I thought necessary to be remembered touching this subject, and digested the same into the form of an history; and namely, out of the English translation of Tacitus, upon the life of Julius Agricola, I have taken, and appropriated to the context of this treatise, not only the substance, but the orations themselves of Galgacus and Agricola, with other things there mentioned, as a choice piece of marble already polished by an exquisite workman, and fit for a much fairer building than I was likely to rear upon this old and imperfect foundation. The phrase thereof only in some few places I have, I hope, without offence, altered, fashioning it to our own tongue, as taking myself not necessarily tied to so precise an observation in the exposition of words, as is required in a translator. And I thought it better to set these things down in this manner, and to acknowledge whence I had them, than, by marring them, to make them seem my own: For I have ever esteemed it a sign of an illiberal nature, either to detract, in any sort, from another man's labour, or

to affect the praise of another man's merit. Touching the affairs of the empire, although I have interposed them, here and there, throughout this book, yet have I touched them sparingly, taking only so much, and no more, than might well serve to explain the matter in hand.

It may be, some fault will be found, that, in the stile, I have not kept one and the same course from the beginning to the end, but that I have staid too long on some points, and passed over others too briefly; that many things are handled confusedly and abruptly, without due observation of circumstances required in a well composed history. Indeed, I must confess, that, herein, the success hath not answered my expectation in the beginning. Howbeit, if I may be my own judge, I ought to be excused by such as shall consider, first, the subject itself, which is, for the most part, more proper for annals, than for a continued history: Next, the variety of authors, like so many divers soils, out of which these fruits are collected; then, the imperfect relations of former times, wherein the affairs of this isle, for many years together, were either passed over in silence by writers, or else but darkly and imperfectly reported; and, lastly, the often change of emperors and governors here, during the space of above four-hundred years. By reason of which inconveniences, I was forced, in divers places of this book, especially towards the latter end, to set down a bare collection of the actions themselves, without circumstances; wherein, if the method seem differing from the former, let the cause thereof be imputed, partly to my love of truth, in delivering things, as I received them from others, and partly to my desire to contain the work within some reasonable proportion; which, otherwise, in dilating the acts of every particular governor, would have grown to a far greater volume, and myself, thereby, should have run into that error, which I dislike, and wish to be reformed.

Others, perhaps, will alledge, that I have done some wrong to antiquity in disguising it with modern terms and phrases, affirming those of ancient time to be more proper for our story, as being more free from the mixture of other languages, than the dialect now current among us. But herein, as I dislike affection of foreign and new coined words, when we have good and sufficient store of our own, so, considering that our language, of itself, is none of the fruitfulest, I see no reason, that it should be debarred from communicating with the Latin and French words, which are now in a manner become denizens among us, to the enriching and polishing of our English tongue: And, altho' I esteem antiquity (as the preserver of things worthy to be remembered, for the benefit of posterity) yet I must confess, that I am not so stiffly bent to maintain it, as some kind of men, that had rather dwell in old smoky houses, for that their ancestors built them, than to alter the fashion of them, for conveniency and decency. Touching the ancient names of the inhabitants of this isle, I have set them down, as congruent to those times, whereof I write, according to the ancient Roman historiographers. In other matters of antiquity, I have, for the most part, followed Master Camden, whose learning and judgment therein I do especially reverence. What pains he hath already taken, and with what good success, in the chorographical part,

the present time (to his deserved praise, both at home and abroad) can openly testify, and succeeding ages, to the honour of our nation, shall for ever hereafter remember: For, by his means, this flourishing island, which heretofore was scarce known to her own inhabitants, is now both known and had in estimation among strangers, who take pleasure to read and understand what he hath written thereof. And, were the historical part as exactly set forth in English, as his description in Latin, I suppose, that few nations might then match us for an history; whereas now, in that one point, we come short of all others, that are not merely barbarous: For, like unnatural children, altogether careless of those duties we owe to that place where we first received our being, we spend our time either in catching flies with Domitian, or else in decking foreign stories with our best English furniture; suffering our own, in the mean time, to sit in rags, to the blemish of our country, which (having been heretofore famous for arms, and honoured with the presence and residence of many worthy emperors, kings, and captains; and at this day renowned for arms and arts, under the happy government of a virgin queen admired in all parts of the world) can yet hardly find any man, in so long a time of civility and peace, to take pity on her, and to attire her like herself.

If this my attempt may give occasion to the gentleman before-named, or some others, that are best able to effect it, either to reform that which I have already written as an introduction to our English History, or else to begin a-new, and proceed with the continuation of it to these times, I shall then have my desire, and think my pains taken in this work, howsoever it may be censured, not bestowed in vain.

The Lieutenants and Deputies in Britain, under the Roman Emperors.

Roman Emperors.	Lieutenants in Britain.
Julius Cæsar.	{ After Julius Cæsar's arrival here, till the time of Claudius, the Romans had no Lieutenants in Britain.
Octavianus Cæsar Augustus.	
Tiberius.	
Caius Caligula.	
Claudius Britannicus.	{ Aulus Plautius (under whom Vespasian served, with Titus his son) Ostorius Scapula. A. Didius Gallus Avitus.
Nero.	{ Veranius. Sutionius Paulinus. Petronius Turpilianus. Trebellius Maximus.
Galba.	{ Trebellius Maximus.
Otho.	
Vitellius.	{ Vectius Bolanus. Petilius Cerealis.
Vespasianus.	{ Julius Frontinus. Julius Agricola.

Titus.	Julius Agricola.
Domitianus.	{ Julius Agricola.
	{ Salustius Lucullus.*
Nera.	_____
Trajanus.	_____
Adrianus Britannicus.	{ Julius Severus.
	{ Priscus Licinius.
Ahfoninus Pius.	Lollius Urbicus Britannicus.
Antoninus Philosophus.	Calphurnius Agricola.
	{ Ulpus Marcellus.
Commodus.	{ Helvius Pertinax.*
	{ Clodius Albinus.
	{ Junius Severus.
Helvius Pertinax.	Clodius Albinus.
Didius Julianus.	Clodius Albinus.*
Septimius Severus Britannicus	{ Heraclianus.
	{ Virius Lupus.

Ant. Bassianus Caracalla.

Popilius Macrinus.

Varus Heliogabalus.

Alexander Severus.

Maximinus.

Gordianus I, II, III.

Philippus Arabs.

Decius.

Valerianus.

Gallienus.

Flavius Claudius.

Valerius Aurelianus.

Tacitus.

Valerius Probus.

Carus Narbonensis.

Dioclesianus.

Maximianus Herculius Cæsar.

Galerius Maximianus Cæsar.

Fl. Constantinus Chlorus Cæs.

Constantius Magnus.

Constantinus.

Constans.

Constantius.	{ Martinus.
	{ Alipius.

Julianus Apostata.

Jovinianus.

Valentinianus Primus.

Gratianus.

Valentinianus Secundus.

Honorius.	{ Chrysanthus.
	{ Victorinus.

Theodosius Junior.

VOL. II.

D d

From the time of Caracalla, to Constantine the Great, viz. for the Space of one hundred years, or thereabouts, the names of Lieutenants are not extant; neither is there any mention at all made, in histories, of the affairs in Britain, until the time of Gallienus, who held the Empire about fifty years after Caracalla.



I have, both in this table, and the book following, used the word Lieutenant instead of Legatus, or Proprætor, as he is commonly called in the Roman stories.

In the time of Constantine the Great, the chief officer was called Vicarius, as being Deputy under the Præfectus Prætorius of Gallia; and, in the declining of the empire, divers officers, both for civil and military causes, were instituted by divers names, and employed in this isle; though, because their authority cannot be precisely set down by any records of approved histories, I forbear to place them here among Lieutenants and Deputies.

I have drawn lines only against the names of divers Emperors, instead of blanks, to supply the defect of Lieutenants and Deputies, whose names are not known.

IT is recorded by the most true and ancient of all histories, that the Isles of the Gentiles, after the universal flood, were first divided and inhabited by the posterity of Japhet; from whose eldest son, called Gomer, the Cimbrians (as writers report) derived their name and descent, imparting the same to the Gauls and Germans, and consequently to the inhabitants of this Isle, as being originally descended from the Gauls, that came over hither at the first, either upon a natural desire (which men commonly have to discover places unknown) or to avoid the assaults of other nations inroaching upon them; or perhaps to disburden their native soil, by seeking new habitations abroad. And this opinion of the Britons first coming out of Gallia seemeth the more probable, in regard both of the situation of this Island, in nearness to that Continent, and also of the uniformity in language, religion, and policy between the most ancient Gauls and Britons.

Touching the name of Britain, with the governors and state thereof before the Romans arrival, as they are things not to have been neglected, if any certain knowledge of them had been left us, by approved testimonies of former ages: So I think it not now requisite therein, either to recite the different conjectures of other men, or, of myself, constantly to affirm any thing, as well for that those matters have been already handled at large, by our modern writers, as also for that, I suppose, in aiming at such antique originals (there being but one truth amidst many errors) a man may much more easily shoot wide, than hit the mark. I purpose therefore (omitting etymologies of words, and variety of opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings) to take the names and affairs of this Isle, in such sort, as they were first known to the Romans, in the time of Julius Cæsar, when the Roman state, which had tried all kinds of government, as, namely, that of kings, then consuls, decemvirs, and tribunes, began to be usurped by a few, and soon after submitted itself to one. For, about the fifty-fourth year before the birth of our Saviour Christ, Cæsar, being then Governor of Gallia for the senate and people of Rome, and having brought some part of that country under obedience, intended a voyage with an army into Britain, partly upon pretence of revenge (for that the Britons had divers times aided the Gauls in their wars against the Romans) and partly to satisfy himself with the sight of the Island, and the knowledge

of the inhabitants and their customs; whereto he might, perhaps, be the more readily induced, by reason of his own natural inclination to undertake great and difficult attempts, and, with the increase of his own glory, to enlarge the limits of the Roman empire, unto which, at that time, the sovereignty of the whole world was by divine providence allotted. And to this end he thought good to be first informed of the nature of the people, and of such havens in the isle, as were most commodious to receive any shipping that should come thither; which things were in a manner unknown to the Gauls, by reason the Islanders suffered none to have access to them, but merchants only, neither knew, even they, any other places than the sea-coasts, and those parts of the Isle that confronted the Continent of Gallia. Whereupon Cæsar, supposing it necessary to make some discovery, before he ventured himself in the action, sent Caius Volusenus in a long-boat, 'With instructions, to enquire of the quantity of the Island, of the condition of the inhabitants, of their manner of making war, of their government in peace, and what places were fittest for landing.' After which dispatch made, himself, with all his forces (which were newly returned from making war beyond the Rhine) marched into the country of the Morini, from whence was the shortest cut into Britain, for there he had appointed his shipping to meet him.

In the mean time, his purpose being known to the Britons, by report of the merchants that traded with them, divers states of the Isle, either fearing the greatness of the Roman power, or affecting innovation for some private respects, sent over ambassadors, who promised, in their names, to deliver hostages for assurance of their obedience to the people of Rome; but Cæsar, though he was fully resolved to enter the Island, yet he courteously entertained their offer, exhorting them to continue in that good mind, as a means to draw on the rest, in following the example of their submission. For the better effecting whereof he appointed Comius, the chief governor of the Atrebatæ (as a man whose wisdom and faith he had tried, and whom he knew to be respected of the Britons) to accompany the ambassadors in their return, giving him in charge to go to as many cities as would permit him access; and to persuade the rulers to submit themselves, as some of their nation had already done; and further, to let them know, that himself, with all convenient speed, would come thither. The Princes of the Isle, being as yet unacquainted with any civil kinds of government, maintained quarrels and factions among themselves, whereby, while one sought to offend another, and to enlarge his own part, by incroaching upon his neighbours, not observing, that what they gained in particular one of another, they lost all together in the general reckoning, they made an open passage, in the end, for the Romans to conquer the whole; a thing common to them with other nations, who have found the like effects to proceed from the like causes. For the most part of the Britons, in those days, delighted in war, neglecting husbandry, or perhaps not then knowing the use of it. Their manner of living and customs were much like to those of the inhabitants of Gallia. Their diet was such as nature yielded of herself, without the industry of man; for, though they had great store of cattle, yet they lived,

especially in their inland countries, on milk. It was held among them as a thing unlawful, to eat of a hare, a hen, or a goose, and yet they nourished them all for recreation's sake. Their apparel was made of the skins of beasts, though their bodies were, for the most part, naked and stained with woad, which gave them a bluish colour, and, as they supposed, made their aspect terrible to their enemies in battle. Their houses were made of stakes, reeds, and boughs of trees, fastened together in a round circle. They had ten or twelve wives a-piece common among them, though the issue were always accounted his that first married the mother, being a maiden. They were, in stature, taller than the Gauls; in wit, more simple, as being less civil.

By this time Volusenus, who durst not set foot on land to hazard himself among the barbarous islanders, returned to Cæsar, namely, the fifth day after his setting forth, and made relation of such things as he had seen and heard, by report, in roving up and down the coast, in view of the island. Cæsar, having composed some tumults in the hither part of Gallia, that he might leave no enemy behind his back to annoy him in his absence, pursued the enterprise of Britain, having, to that end, prepared a navy, which consisted of about eighty ships of burden, a number sufficient, as he thought, for the transportation of two legions, besides his long-boats, wherein the quæstor, the lieutenants, and other officers of the camp were to be embarked. There were also eighteen ships of burden, that lay wind-bound, about eight miles from the port, appointed to waft over the horsemen. P. Sulpitius Rufus, a lieutenant of a legion, was commanded to keep the haven itself, with such power as was thought sufficient. These things being thus ordered, and a good part of the summer spent, Cæsar put now out to sea, about the third watch of the night, having given direction, that the horsemen should embark in the upper haven, and follow him; wherein, while they were somewhat slack, Cæsar, with his shipping, about the fourth hour of the day, arrived upon the coast of Britain, where he beheld the cliffs possessed with a multitude of barbarous people, rudely armed, and ready to make resistance.

The nature of the place was such, as, by reason of the steep hills inclosing the sea on each side in a narrow strait, it gave great advantage to the Britons, in casting down their darts upon their enemies underneath them. Cæsar, finding this place unfit for landing his forces, put off from the shore, and cast anchor, expecting the rest of his fleet; and, in the mean time, calling a council of the lieutenants, and tribunes of the soldiers, he declared unto them what he had understood by Volusenus, and directed what he would have done, warning them, that, as the state of the war, and especially the sea-service required, they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remove to and fro, upon occasions, at a beck, and in an instant.

This done, having advantage both of wind and tide, he set forward with his navy, about four leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor, in view of the open and plain shore. But the Islanders, upon the intelligence of the Romans purpose, had sent thither, before Cæsar's coming, a company of horsemen and chariots called Esseda (which they then used in their wars) and, following after with the rest of their forces,

impeded their enemies from landing, whose ships, by reason of their huge bulks, drawing much water, could not come near to the shore; so that the Roman soldiers were thereby forced in places unknown, their bodies being charged with their armour, to leap into the water, and encounter the Britons, who assailed them nimbly with their darts, and drove their horses and chariots, with main force, upon them. The Romans being therewith terrified, as men unacquainted with that kind of fight, failed much of the wonted courage which they had shewed in their former land-services; and Cæsar, perceiving it, caused the long-boats, which seemed more strange to the barbarous people, and were more serviceable by reason of their swiftness in motion, to put off, by little and little, from the greater ships, and to row towards the shore, from whence they might more easily charge the Britons with their arrows, slings, and other warlike engines; which, being then unknown to the islanders, as also the fashion of the ships, and motion of the oars in the long-boats, having struck them with fear and amazement, caused them to make a stand, and afterwards to draw back a little.

But the Roman soldiers making no haste to pursue them, by reason of the water, which they suspected in some places to be deep and dangerous; the standard-bearer of the eagle for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might prove successful to the legion, cried out with a loud voice, in this manner:

"Fellow soldiers, leap out of your boats, and follow me, except you mean to betray your standard to the enemy: for my own part, I mean to discharge the duty I owe to the commonwealth, and to my general." This said, he cast himself into the water, and carried the standard boldly against the Britons. Whereupon the soldiers, exhorting one another to follow the ensign, what fortune soever might befall, with common consent leaped out of their long-boats, one seconding another, and so, wading through the water, at length got to shore, where began a sharp and bloody fight on both sides. The Romans were much incumbered, by reason that they could neither keep their ranks, nor fight upon firm ground, nor follow their own standards; for every one, as he came on land, ran confusedly to that which was next him.

Some of the Britons (who knew the flats, and shallow places, espying the Romans, as they came single out of their ships) pricked forward their horses, and set upon them, overlaying them with numbers, and finding them unweildy and unready to make any great resistance, by reason of the depth of the water, and weight of their armour, while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darts assailed them fiercely upon the shore; which Cæsar perceiving, commanded the cock-boats and scouts to be manned with soldiers, whom he sent in all haste to rescue their fellows. There was a soldier of Cæsar's company, called Cassius Scæva, who, with some others of the same band, was carried, in a small boat, unto a rock, which the ebbing sea, in that place, had made accessible: the Britons, espying them, made thitherward; the rest of the Romans escaping, Scæva alone was left upon the rock, to withstand the fury of the enraged multitude, that assailed him with their darts, which he received upon his shield, and thrust at them with his spear, till it was broken, and his helmet and shield lost; then, be-

ing tired with extreme toil, and dangerously wounded, he betook himself to flight, and, carrying two light harnesses on his back, with much difficulty recovered Cæsar's tent, where he craved pardon, for making so bold an attempt without commandment of his general. Cæsar did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by bestowing upon him the office of a centurion. This was that Scæva who afterwards gave good cause to have his name remembered in the Roman story, for the memorable service he did to Cæsar, in the time of the civil wars between him and Pompey, at the battle near Dyrrachium. The Romans, having at length got footing on dry land, gave a fresh charge upon the Britons, and, in the end, forced them to turn their backs, and leave the shore, though they could not pursue them far into the land, for want of horsemen, Cæsar's accustomed fortune failing him in this one accident. The Britons, after this overthrow, assembling themselves together, upon consultation had amongst themselves, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to deliver in pledges, or to do whatsoever else he would command them. With these ambassadors came Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before out of Gallia into Britain, where, having delivered the message he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to prison, and now, after the battle, released. The chief states of the Britons, seeking to excuse their attempts, laid the blame upon the multitude, who, being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take arms, could neither by persuasion, nor authority, be restrained: and they pretended their own ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the customs of other nations. Cæsar, although he reproved them for making war in that manner, considering that of their own accord they had sent ambassadors to him, before his arrival in Britain, to desire peace; yet was content to pardon them, upon delivery of pledges, whereof some he received presently, and the rest, being to come from remote places, he appointed to be sent in by a certain day: so the Britons were dismissed, to return into their countries; and in the mean-time there came divers princes from other parts of the island to submit themselves and their cities to Cæsar. The fourth day after the Romans landing, the ships before-mentioned, appointed for transportation of Cæsar's horsemen, having a favourable gale of wind, put out to sea from the upper haven, and, approaching near the island, in view of the Roman camp, a sudden storm arose, and scattered them, driving some of them back again to the port from whence they came, and some others upon the lower part of the island westward, where, after they had cast anchor (their keels being almost overwhelmed with the waves) they were carried by violence of the storm in the night into the main, and, with very great peril, recovered a harbour in the continent. The same night the moon was at the full, at which time commonly the sea in those parts is much troubled, and overfloweth the banks, by reason of the high tides (a matter unknown to the Romans) insomuch as the long-boats, which transported the army, then lying upon the shore, were filled with the flood, and the ships of burden, that lay at anchor, were beaten with the storm, and split in pieces, the greater number of them perishing in the water, and the rest being made altogether unserviceable, their anchors lost, and

tacklings broken; wherewith the Romans were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other ships to transport them back again, nor any means to repair what the tempest had ruined: and Cæsar had formerly resolved to winter in Gallia, by reason he was unfurnished of victuals to maintain the army during the winter season; which being known to the chief states of the Britons (who had met together about the accomplishment of such things, as Cæsar had commanded them) they supposed a fit opportunity was offered them to revolt, while the Romans wanted horsemen, shipping, and all manner of provisions; the number of their forces seeming also the less, in respect of the small circuit of their camp, Cæsar having transported his legions without any carriages, or such like warlike necessaries. Whereupon they concluded to keep them from victuals, and to prolong the war till winter; assuring themselves, that, if they could either vanquish the Romans, or bar them from returning thence, there would no foreign nation after them adventure to set foot again in Britain. Hereupon they entered into a second conspiracy, conveying themselves by stealth out of the Roman camp, and gathering company to them privily from divers parts, to make head against their enemies. Cæsar, albeit he was ignorant of the Britons purpose, yet supposing that the state of his army and the loss of his ships were known to them, and considering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract, he suspected that, which afterwards proved true. And therefore, to provide remedies against all chances, he caused corn to be brought daily out of the fields into his camp, and such ships, as could not be made fit for service, were used to repair the rest, and such other things, as were wanting thereto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which means, and the diligence of his soldiers, with the loss of twelve ships, the rest of his navy was made able to bear sail, and brook the seas again. While these things were in doing, the seventh legion, according to custom, was sent forth a foraging, till which time, the Britons revolt was not certainly known, for that some of them remained abroad in the fields, and others came ordinarily into the Roman camp. The warders, in the station before the camp, gave notice to Cæsar, that, the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust, than was wont to be seen. Cæsar mistrusting some new practice of the Britons, commanded the cohorts, that kept ward, to march thither, appointing two others to supply their rooms, and the rest of his forces to arm themselves with speed and follow him. When he approached near the place descried, he perceived his soldiers to be overcharged with the Britons, who assailed them on all sides with their darts. For, the Britons having conveyed their corn from all other parts, this only excepted, and suspecting that the Romans would come thither, they did lie in the woods all night, to intercept them; and, finding them dispersed, and unready, they suddenly set upon them, as they were reaping, killing a few of them, and disordering the rest with their horses and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus: first they used to ride round about their enemies forces, casting their darts, where they saw advantage, and oftentimes with the fierceness of their horses, and whirling of the chariot wheels, they broke

their enemies ranks, and, being gotten in among the troops of horsemen, they would leap out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-drivers, in the mean time, withdrew themselves, by little and little, out of the battle, and placed themselves in such sort, as their masters, being overmatched by their enemies, might readily recover their chariots, so that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horsemen in swiftness of motion, and also of footmen in keeping their ground; and, by daily use and exercise, they were grown so expert in managing their horses, as, driving them forcibly down a steep hill, they were able to stay or turn them in the mid-way, yea to run along the beam to stand firm upon the yoke, and to return thence speedily into their chariots again.

The Romans being much troubled with this new kind of fight, Cæsar came in good time to the rescue. For, upon his approach, the Britons gave over the skirmish, yet keeping still their ground as masters of the field, and the Romans, for fear, retired themselves to their general, who thought it no point of wisdom to hazard his forces in a place unknown; but, having staid there a while, conducted the legions back again to his camp, and, in the mean time, the Britons, that were in the field, dispersed themselves, and shrunk away. After this, there were, for many days together, continual tempests, which kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from making any open attempt, though they sent messengers secretly into divers parts of the island, publishing abroad what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparent likelihood of recovering their liberty, if they could drive the Romans from their camp. Hereupon in a short time they assembled a great number of horse and footmen, to put this their purpose in execution; Cæsar, understanding thereof, made preparation for defence, having gotten also about thirty horsemen (which Comius of Arras brought over with him) whose service he supposed very necessary, if the Britons, according to their wonted manner, should seek to save themselves by flight. The legions were placed in battle array before his camp. Then the Britons began the fight, which had not long continued when they gave back, and fled, the Romans pursuing them as far as they durst, killing many whom they overtook, and burning houses and towns, as they returned to their camp. The same day, the Britons sent ambassadors to Cæsar, desiring peace, which, after a long suite, was granted, upon condition, that the number of the pledges, which was before imposed, should be now doubled, and speedily sent over into Gallia: for, the æquinoctial drawing near, Cæsar made haste thither, doubting his crased ships would not be well able to brook the seas in winter. Whereupon, taking advantage of the next fair wind, he embarked his forces about midnight, and, with the greatest part of his fleet, arrived in the continent. The Roman senate, upon relation of these his services, decreed a supplication for him, for the space of twenty days.

In the spring of the year following, Cæsar, having pacified some tumults in Gallia, prosecuted the enterprise of Britain; and to that end he had prepared a fleet of new ships, well appointed, and com-

modiously built for landing his forces (the want whereof he had found before, to his great loss) and a sufficient army consisting of five legions, and a proportional number of horse, which he embarked at Portus Iccius about the sun-setting, having a fair southern wind to set them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diverted their course, so that in the morning he discovered the island on his left hand, and then, following the turning of the tide, he commanded his soldiers to use their oars, that they might reach that part of the island, where they had found best landing the summer before; wherein they took such pains, that their ships of burden kept way with their long boats and lighter vessels. About noon they landed on the shore, where there appeared no man to make resistance: the cause whereof was (as Cæsar afterwards learned by such prisoners as he took) for that the Britons, having assembled themselves together in arms at the sea-side, were so terrified with the sight of the ships, which of all sorts were esteemed above eight hundred sail, that they left the shore, and ran to hide themselves in the upland country. Cæsar, upon intelligence by fugitives, where the British forces lay, leaving, at the sea-side, ten cohorts and three hundred horse to guard the ships then lying at anchor, whereof Quintus Atrius had the charge, marched forward, with the rest of his army in the night, about twelve miles into the land, where he espied a multitude of Britons flocked together near a river, having gotten the upper ground, from whence they begun to charge the Romans with their horse and chariots; but, being repulsed by Cæsar's horsemen, they fled and hid themselves in the woods, in a place, which, being notably strengthened both by nature and art, they had used as a fortress in their civil wars among themselves. For, by reason there were many great trees cut down, and laid overthwart the passages round about, there could hardly any entrance be found into the wood; howbeit the Britons themselves would oftentimes sally forth upon advantage, and impede the Romans, where they attempted to enter. Hereupon Cæsar commanded the soldiers of the seventh legion to make a *testudo*, and to raise a mound against the place; by which means, after loss of men on both sides, the Romans, in the end, got the fort, and chased the Britons out of the wood; but Cæsar would not suffer his soldiers to pursue far, in regard the place was unknown, and, a great part of the day being then spent, he thought it fit to bestow the rest in fortifying his camp. The next day in the morning, he sent out horsemen and footmen three several ways to pursue them that fled; but, before they had gotten sight of the Britons, certain horsemen sent from Quintus Atrius, who had charge of the shipping, brought news that a great tempest the night before had distressed his ships, and beaten them upon the shore, their anchors and cables being not able to hold them, nor the mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the storm. Whereupon Cæsar caused the legions and horsemen to be sent for back again, and marched with speed towards the sea-side, where he found his navy in an ill plight; forty of his ships being clean cast away, and the rest with great difficulty seeming likely to be recovered. For effecting whereof he took some shipwrights out of the legions, and sent for others out of the continent; writing to Labienus (who had the charge

of certain legions there, and the guard of Portus Iccius) that he should prepare as many ships as he could, to be sent over unto him with expedition. And, though it was a work of great toil, yet he thought it necessary to have all the ships haled ashore, and to be brought into the camp, where his land-forces lay, that one place might be a safeguard to them both. In the accomplishment hereof he spent ten days, the soldiers scarce intermitting their labour in the night-time, till all was finished. And then having fortified his camp, and left there the same forces (which were before appointed to keep the harbour) he returned to the place, whence he dislodged upon Atrius's advertisement; where he found the number of the Britons much increased by confluence of people from sundry parts within the island. The chief commandment and direction for the war was by publick consent of the states of the island assigned to Cassibulin, the bounds of whose territory were divided from the maritime cities by the river Thames, and were distant from the sea about fourscore miles. There had been of a long time continual war between him and some other princes of the countries near adjoining: but now both parts (fearing to be over-run by a foreign enemy) neglected private respects, and joined their forces together, appointing him to be their leader, as a man, of whose valour, and sufficiency in military affairs, they had got experience. The Roman army being come in view of their enemies camp, the Britons pressed forward to begin the fight with their horsemen and chariots, and Caesar sent out his horsemen to encounter them; so that the battle was maintained with great resolution on both parts, and the event thereof seemed doubtful, till, in the end, the Britons gave ground, and fled through the woods to the hills, many of them being slain in the chace, and some of the Romans also, who adventurously pursued them too far. Not long after, while the Romans (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortifying their camp, the Britons sallied suddenly out of the woods, and made an assault upon the warders, that kept station before the camp; to whose aid Caesar sent out two cohorts, the chief of two legions) which, making a lane through the midst of the British forces, joined themselves with their distressed fellows, and rescued them from the peril, though Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune of the soldiers, was slain in that enterprise. But, new cohorts coming to supply the former, the Britons were repulsed, and sought to save themselves by flight. By the manner of this battle (which was fought in view of the Roman camp) the Romans perceived the advantage which the Britons had of them, and how ill themselves were appointed for such a kind of fight, when, by reason of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue such as fled, nor durst leave their ensigns, nor were able, without great disadvantage, to encounter the British horsemen, which oftentimes gave ground on purpose, and, having withdrawn themselves by little and little from the legions, would leap out of their chariots and fight on foot; the manner of their fighting with horses and chariots being alike dangerous to those that retired and those that pursued. Besides, they divided their forces into companies, when they fought, and had several stations, with great distances between them, one troop seconding another, and the sound and fresh men yielding supplies to the wounded and weary. The day

following the Britons were descried upon the hills afar off, scattered here and there in great numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new fight, till, Cæsar having sent out three legions, and all his horsemen under the conduct of C. Trebonius the lieutenant, to go a foraging, they flocked suddenly together from all parts, and set upon the foragers, not sparing to assail the ensigns and legions themselves, who strongly resisted them, and made them turn their backs; when the Roman horsemen also eagerly pursued them, never giving over the chase (as being confident in the aid of the legions that followed them) until they had driven them headlong before them, killing all those they overtook, and giving the rest no time, either to gather themselves together, or to make a stand, or once to forsake their chariots. After this overthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had come from divers parts to aid their countrymen) shrunk away; and Cæsar, understanding what course the rest of the Britons meant to hold in prosecuting the war, led his army to the bounds of Cassibelin's country upon the river Thames, which was passable on foot in one place only, and that with some difficulty. When he came thither, he perceived that the Britons had great forces in readiness on the further side of the river, the banks whereof were fortified with sharp-pointed stakes or piles (about the bigness of a man's thigh, and bound about with lead) pitched near the shore, to impede their passage; and some others of the same kind, the remnants whereof are to be seen at this day, were planted covertly under water in the main river. Whereof Cæsar having intelligence (by some fugitives and prisoners that he had taken) commanded the horsemen, first, to enter the river, and the legions to follow, so that, the dangerous places being discovered, the Romans waded through, their heads only appearing above water, and charged the Britons with such violence, that they forced them to forsake the shore, and betake themselves to flight.

Cassibelin, seeing no likelihood to maintain the war any longer by force, dismissed the greater part of his power, and, keeping with him about four thousand chariots only, retired into the woods, and places of most safety, driving men and cattle before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the Romans should pass with their army, whose horsemen (as they roved up and down to take booties) he surprised with his chariots, and distressed them in such sort, that they durst not march forward, but, keeping themselves in their strength, gave over their former purpose, and from thenceforth sought only to annoy the Britons, by spoiling and burning their houses and towns.

In the mean time, the Trinobantes, one of the chief states in those parts, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising to submit themselves, and to be at his commandment. There was also one Mandubratius, who had fled over to Cæsar, when he was in Gallia, and was now become a follower of his fortune, while, preferring the satisfaction of his own discontented humour, before the advancement of the common cause, he served as an instrument to betray his native country, abusing the credit he had with his countrymen, by working their submission, to his own dishonour, and the advantage of a foreign enemy. His father Imanentius (having been some time chief ruler of the city of the Trino-

bantes, and well esteemed among them) was slain by Cassibelin, the present governor, against whom the citizens desired Cæsar to protect Mandubratius, and to commit upon him the government of their city; which Cæsar granted upon delivery of a certain number of pledges, and a sufficient proportion of victuals for provision of his army. Hereupon the Ceni magni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, petty states thereabouts, sent ambassadors, and yielded themselves to Cæsar, who understood by them, that Cassibelin's town, being well stored with men and cattle, was not far from thence. This town (as all others so called of the Britons in those days) was only a circuit of ground inclosed with woods, and marshes, or else intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. Cæsar, coming with his legion to this place, which he found very strong, as being fortified, both naturally, and also by the industry of man, begun to assail it on both sides. The Britons, having expected awhile the event of the enterprise, and perceiving themselves unable to withstand the assault, issued out at a back way, where many of them being slain, and some taken, as they fled, the town itself, and all the provisions within it, were left as a spoil to the Romans.

While these things were in doing among the Trinobantes, Cassibelin dispatched messengers into the country of Cantium, that lies upon the sea. The inhabitants of those parts were then more civil, and better furnished to make war than any others of the island. The country, at that time, was governed by four kings, as Cæsar himself calleth them; either, for that they had among them a kind of absolute government in several, or else, for that, being the register of his own acts, he supposed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conqueror of kings. Their names were Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, whom Cassibelin then required to raise all the power they could make, and on the sudden to assail the Roman forces that guarded their ships at the sea-side. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill success; for that the Romans, having timely advertisement of their purpose, prevented the execution thereof, by setting upon them as they drew near the Roman army; and so, after a great slaughter made of the Britons (Cingetorix, a noble captain, and one of their princes, being taken prisoner) the Romans returned in safety to their camp.

Cassibelin, hearing of the unhappy issue of this enterprise, after so many losses sustained on his part (his country being wasted with war, and himself in a manner forsaken by the revolt of the cities round about, which most of all discouraged him) sent ambassadors to Cæsar by Comius of Arras, offering to submit himself upon reasonable conditions. Cæsar, determining to winter in Gallia (the state of his affairs there requiring it) and the summer being almost spent, commanded that he should deliver certain pledges for assurance of his obedience; and that he should offer no wrong, nor give cause of offence to Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes, whom he had taken into special protection. And then, having imposed a tribute, to be paid yearly by the Britons to the people of Rome, he marched towards the sea-side, where he embarked his forces, and arrived with them safely in the continent. Thus Cæsar, having rather shewed some part of Britain to the Romans, than made a conquest of the whole, supposed he had done sufficiently for his

own glory, in undertaking a matter so rare and difficult in those times. At his coming to Rome, he presented there certain captives, which he had taken in the British wars, whose strangeness of shape and behaviour filled the people's eyes both with wonder and delight. He offered also, in the temple of Venus Genitrix, a surcoat embroidered with British pearl, as a trophy, and spoil of the ocean, leaving to posterity a perpetual remembrance of his enterprise in this island, to the honour, both of his own name, and of the Roman nation.

After the death of Julius Cæsar, by reason of the civil wars amongst the Romans, the island of Britain was for that time neglected, and Augustus Cæsar being settled in the empire, which was then grown to such greatness, as it seemed even cumbered therewith, accounted it good policy to contain the same within its known bounds. Besides, the attempt was like to prove dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to send an army so far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for desire of glory only, no special cause besides moving thereto. Howbeit, as some writers report, about twenty years after Julius Cæsar's first entrance, Augustus intended a voyage hither in person, alledging, for pretence of the war, the wrong offered to the Roman state by such princes of the island, as had, for certain years, withheld the tribute which Cæsar, his predecessor, had imposed. Upon intelligence whereof, the Britons sent over ambassadors, who, meeting the Emperor in Gallia Celtica, declared their submission, and desired pardon; and, the better to win favour, they had carried over certain gifts of good value, to be presented as offerings in the Roman capitol; having already learned the art to flatter for advantage, and to appease princes by rewards. Hereupon a conditional peace was granted them, and the Emperor, having pacified some troubles in Gallia, returned to Rome. Then began the islanders to pay tribute and custom for all kinds of wares which they exchanged with the Gauls, as, namely, ivory boxes, iron chains, and other trinkets of amber and glass, which were transported to and fro both out of Gallia and Britain.

The year following, the Britons having failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expedition; but, being set forward on his voyage, the revolt of the Cantabrians and Austrians prevented him from proceeding any further therein. After which time the Britons were left to themselves, to enjoy their liberty, and use their own laws, without interruption by foreign invaders; for that the Romans, having found the sweetness of peace, after long civil wars, sought rather to keep in obedience such provinces as had been before-time brought under subjection, than, by attempting new conquests, to hazard the loss of that they had already gotten.

In those days, the country of the Trinobantes, in Britain, was governed by Cuno-belin, who kept his residence at Camalodunum. He begun first to reclaim the Britons from their rude behaviour; and, to make his estate more respected, he afterwards caused his own image to be stamped on his coin, after the manner of the Romans, a custom never used among the Britons before his days, and but then newly received by the Romans themselves; for, before that time, the Britons used rings of iron, and little plates of brass, of a certain weight,

instead of coin. During the time of his government, the divine mystery of human redemption was accomplished by the Birth of our Saviour Christ, Augustus Cæsar then possessing the Roman empire, which he afterwards left to Tiberius his adopted son, a wary and politick prince, who, following the advice and example of Augustus, did neither attempt any thing in Britain, nor maintain any garrison there.

But Caius Caligula, his successor, had a design to have invaded the island, had not his rash entrance into the action, and his ill success in the German war, overthrown the enterprise; by reason whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, answerable to the vanity of his humour, bringing an army into the hither parts of Belgia; and there, having received into protection Admimus, whom Cuno-belin, his father, had banished, and certain other British fugitives, that came with him, he wrote vaunting letters to the senate, as though the whole island had yielded itself, having given special charge to the messenger, that his letters should be carried in a chariot to the forum, and not delivered to the consuls, but in a full senate, and in the temple of Mars. Afterwards drawing his forces down to the sea-coasts of Belgia, whence, with wonder, he beheld the high cliffs of the island, possessed with barbarous people, he placed his soldiers in battle array, upon the shore, and, himself, entering into a long-boat, was rowed a little way upon the sea. But, not daring to adventure further, he returned speedily to land, and then commanding a charge to be sounded, as though he would have begun a fight, he appointed his soldiers to gather cockles and muscles, in their helmets, terming them spoils of the ocean, and meet to be preserved, as offerings due to the capitol. For this exploit, he afterwards, at his coming to Rome, required a triumph, and divine honours to be assigned him; but, finding the senators, for the most part, unwilling to give their assent, he burst out into threats, and had slain some of them in the place, if they had not speedily avoided his fury. After this, himself, in open assembly, made a declaration of his journey, and what adventures he had passed in the conquest of the ocean, as himself vainly termed it, whereat the common people, either for fear or flattery, gave a general applause; which he, taking it as a testimony of their desire, to have him placed among their Gods, rewarded in this manner: He caused a great quantity of gold and silver to be scattered on the ground, and certain poisoned caltrops of iron to be cast among them, whereby many were killed, partly with those invenomed engines, and partly with the press one of another, each man being earnest in gathering, and supposing another man's gain his own loss. So naturally was he inclined to all kinds of mischief, that he spared not the lives even of those whom he thought to deserve best at his hands.

But Claudius the Emperor, with better advice and success, undertook the matter of Britain: and first by persuasion of Bericus, a British fugitive, and others, whom the Romans had received into their protection, a matter that much discontented the Britons, and stirred them up to revolt, he sent Aulus Plautius, a Roman senator, a man well experienced in military affairs, to take charge of the army then

remaining in Gallia, and to transport it into the island; whereat the soldiers grudged, complaining that they should now make war out of the world, and, by protracting time with unnecessary delays, they discovered openly their unwillingness to enter into the action, till Narcissus, a favourite of Claudius, being sent to appease them, went up into Plautius's tribunal seat, and there, in an oration, declared to the soldiers the causes of his coming, and exhorted them not to shrink for fear of uncertain dangers; that the enterprise itself, the more perilous it seemed, the more honourable it would be to atchieve it; that themselves were the men whom the heavens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the Roman empire, and to make their own names famous in the utmost parts of the earth. But the soldiers, at first, being moved with disdain, cried out, in a seditious manner, *Io Saturnalia*, as though they had been ready to solemnise a feast, at which the custom was, that servants should wear their masters apparel, and represent their persons. Howbeit, Narcissus, giving way to their fury for the present, did afterwards prevail so far with them, as partly for shame, and partly for hope of reward, they seemed content to follow Plautius, whithersoever he would conduct them. Then were the legionary and auxiliary soldiers divided into three parts, so to be embarked, to the end, that, if they should be impeded in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their ships were shaken, and beaten back with a contrary wind; albeit their courage failed not, but rather increased, by reason of a fiery leam, shooting from the east, towards the west, the self-same way that they directed their course, which they interpreted as a token of good success. And, thereupon hoisting sail, they set forward again, and with some difficulty, through the contrariety of the wind and tide, arrived in the island, without any resistance, by reason that the Britons expected not their coming; but then, finding themselves surprised on a sudden, they ran dispersedly to hide themselves in woods and marshes, holding it their best course, rather to prolong the war, and weary their enemies by delays, than to encounter them in the open field. But Plautius, with much labour and hazard, found out, at length, their chief place of retreat, where he killed many of them, and took prisoner Cataratacus, their captain, one of the sons of Cuno-belin, not long before deceased. For this exploit, the Roman senate did afterwards grant him a triumph, which the emperor Claudius honoured with his own person, accompanying him as he went up into the capitol.

The Boduni, then living under the government of the Cattienchlani, betook themselves to the protection of Plautius, who, leaving garisons in those parts, marched towards a river, over which the Britons supposed that the Romans could not pass without a bridge, and therefore imagined themselves safe, having pitched their camp on the other side of the water. But Plautius sent over certain Germans, who, being accustomed to swim over rivers with swift currents, even in their armour, found an easy passage to the further bank, and there set upon the Britons, wounding the horses which drew their chariots, and by that means overthrowing their riders, and disordering their whole power. Then was Flavius Vespasian, who had the leading of the second legion,

and Sabinus his brother, appointed to pass over, and to charge them on a sudden, as they were dispersed. Some of the Britons being slain, and some taken prisoners, the night made an end of the skirmish. The next morning, the rest of the dispersed rout shewed themselves upon the shore, and gave occasion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equal advantage, till C. Sydius Geta, being in danger to have been taken, recovered himself, and at last forced the Britons to retire; for which service he had afterwards triumphal honours assigned him, although he were no consul. In this conflict Vespasian, being beset round about by the barbarous people, was in great danger, either to have been slain or taken, if he had not been timely rescued by Titus, his son, who then exercised the office of a tribune of the soldiers, and began, in his tender years, to give some proof of his valour. After this battle the Britons withdrew themselves to the mouth of the river Thames, near the place where it falls into the sea: and, being skilful in the shallows and firm grounds, passed over in safety, whilst the Romans, that pursued them, not knowing the dangerous places, were oftentimes in great hazard. Some of the Germans, that were most forward to adventure, by reason of their skill in swimming, as soon as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about, and killed by the barbarous people, and the rest of the Roman army, that followed, was much distressed in the passage, and sharply assailed at their coming on land; where began a bloody fight, in which Togodumnus, a British prince, one of Cunobelin's sons, was slain; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the Britons, but rather inflamed them with desire of revenge; for the effecting whereof, they gathered together new forces from divers parts of the island. Plautius, fearing the greatness of their power, and being straitened in a place of disadvantage and danger, proceeded no farther at that time, but, fortifying only such towns as he had already taken, advertised Claudius of the doubtful state of his affairs.

In the mean time Vespasian was employed in other places of the island, where fortune seemed to lay the foundation of that greatness unto which he afterwards attained; for in a short space he fought thirty times with the Britons, overcoming two warlike nations, and taming the fierce Belgæ, whose ancestors coming hither at the first out of Gallia Belgica, either to take booties, or to make war, gave the name of their own country to such places as they had subdued; a custom commonly used among the Gauls, when they had seated themselves in any parts of this island. With like fortunate success Vespasian proceeded in attempting and conquering the isle Vectis, that lieth on the south-side of Britain, when Claudius the emperor, being now furnished with all things necessary for the British expedition, set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horsemen, footmen, and elephants. He marched first to Ostia, from thence to Massilia; the rest of the voyage he made by land to Gessoriacum in Gallia, where he embarked. His forces, being safely transported into the island, were led towards the river Thames, where Plautius and Vespasian, with their power, attended his coming, and so the two armies, being joined together, crossed the river again. The Britons, that were

assembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was sharply maintained on both sides, till, in the end, a great number of the islanders being slain, the rest fled into the woods, through which the Romans pursued them, even to the town of Camalodunum, which had been the royal seat of Cunobelin, and was then one of the most defensible places in the dominions of the Trinobantes. This town they surprised, and afterwards fortified, planting therein a colony of old soldiers, to strengthen those parts, and to keep the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the Britons disarmed, howbeit Claudius remitted the confiscation of their goods; for which favour the barbarous people erected a temple and an altar unto him, honouring him as a God. Now the states of the country round about, being so weakened by the loss of their neighbours, and their own civil dissensions, that they were unable to resist the Roman power any longer, began to offer their submission, promising to obey, and live peaceably under the Roman government; and so, by little and little, the hither part of the isle was reduced into the form of a province. In honour of this victory, Claudius was divers times saluted by the name of Imperator, contrary to the Roman custom, which permitted it, but once, for an expedition. The senate of Rome also, upon advertisement of his success, decreed, that he should be called Britannicus, and that his son should have the same title, as a surname proper, and hereditary to the Claudian family. Messalina, his wife, had the first place in council assigned her, as Livia, the wife of Augustus, some time had, and was also licensed to ride in a chariot. At his return to Rome, which was the sixth month after his departure thence, having continued but six days only in the island, he entered the city in a triumph, performed with more than usual ceremonies of state, whereat certain presidents of provinces, and banished men, were permitted to be present. On the top of his palace was placed a crown set with stems, and fore-parts of ships, which the Romans called *Corona navalis*, as a sign of the conquest of the ocean. Divers captains that had served under him in Britain, were honoured with triumphal ornaments. Yearly plays were appointed for him, and two arches of triumph, adorned with trophies, were erected, the one at Rome, the other at Gessoriacum, where he embarked for Britain, to remain to succeeding ages, as perpetual records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a work of such merit, to have subdued so small a part of the island.

In these terms stood the state of Britain, when the prosecution of the war was committed to P. Ostorius Scapula, who, at his landing, found all in an uproar, the Britons, that were yet unconquered, ranging the confederates country, and using the greater violence, for that they supposed the new captain, as unacquainted with his army, the winter also being then begun, would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that, in such cases, the first success breedeth either fear or confidence, drew together, with speed, his readiest cohorts, and made towards them, slaying such as resisted, and pursuing the residue, whom he found straggled abroad, lest they should make head again. And, that a faithless and cloaked peace might not give, either the captain or soldiers, any time of idle repose, he disarm-

ed all those whom he suspected, and hemmed them in with garisons between Antona and Sabrina.

The first that began to stir were the Icenians, a strong people, and unshaken with wars, as having, of their own accord in former times, sought the Romans alliance and amity. The countries also adjoining near unto them, following their example, prepared themselves to fight, choosing a place, that was compassed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance, to impede the coming in of horsemen. That fence, the Roman captain, although he wanted the strength of the legions, went about to force, with the aid of the confederates alone, and, having placed his cohorts in ranks, he set his troop of horsemen also in like readiness. Then, giving the sign of battle, he assailed the rampire, and broke it, disordering the Britons, who, being struck with a kind of remorse for their rebellious attempts, and seeing the passages stopped up on all sides, shewed very great courage and valour in defending themselves, as it falleth out oftentimes, where extremity of danger itself takes away all fear of danger. In this fight, M. Ostorius, the lieutenant's son, was crowned with an oaken garland, as an honourable reward for saving a Roman citizen.

Now, by the slaughter of the Icenians, the residue of the Britons (who stood upon doubtful terms, as wavering between war and peace) were well quieted, and Ostorius led his army against the Cangi, whose country he spoiled and wasted, while the inhabitants durst not come into the field, but privately surprised such as they found straggling behind the Roman army, which was now come near the sea coast, that looks towards Ireland, when certain tumults, stirred amongst the Brigantes, brought back the general, who thought it best not to enter into any new action, before he had made all sure in those parts; yet, upon his coming thither, some few of the Brigantes, that first began to take arms, being put to death, the residue were pardoned, and the country quieted; For the general wisely considering, that, in such cases, lenity sometimes prevaieth, where force and rigour cannot, did seek to win favour of the Britons, by courteous usage of such, as either fled unto him for protection, or else, by the fortune of war, fell into his hands, sometimes pardoning them, sometimes rewarding them, and sometimes using them in service against their own nation, as he did Cogidunus, a British prince, upon whom he had bestowed certain cities in free gift, according to an ancient custom among the Romans, who used kings themselves for instruments of bondage. But the Silures could neither by cruelty, nor fair means, be held in; so that the general saw there was no way to keep them under, but with a garison of legionary soldiers; and, to that end, the colony at Camalodunum, consisting of a strong company of old soldiers, was brought into the subdued country, to defend it against such as should rebel, and to make the confederates more willing to live in obedience.

Then the army marched against the Silures, who, besides their natural boldness, relied much upon the strength of Caractacus, their leader, a man that had waded through many dangers, and had been fortunate in many adventures, having gotten thereby such reputation, that he was preferred before all the British captains. But as, in policy and

knowledge of the country, he had an advantage of the Romans; so, perceiving himself to be unequally matched in strength, he removed the war to the Ordivices, who, entering into the action with him, as fearing alike the Roman power, resolved, jointly, to hazard the chance of war. And, hereupon, they prepared for battle, having chosen a place very commodious for themselves, and disadvantageous for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, and, where they found any easy passage up, they stopped the way with heaps of stones, in manner of a rampire. Not far off, ran a river with an uncertain ford, where, upon the bank, a company of the best soldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore ward. The leaders went about, exhorting and encouraging the common soldiers, using such persuasions as might best fit their humours, and the present occasion; and Caractacus himself, coursing up and down, protested, that that day, and that battle, should be either the beginning of recovery of liberty, or of perpetual servitude. Then he called upon the names of his ancestors, that had chased Caesar the dictator out of the island, and had delivered them from hatchets, and tributes, and protected their wives and children from shame and violence. While he uttered these, or the like speeches, the people, round about him, made a noise, and every man swore, according to the religion of his country, that neither their enemies weapons, nor their own wounds, should make them to give over: That chearful cry terrified and astonished the Roman general, and the rather, when he considered how he was coup'd in, having the river beneath him, the fort before him, the high hills hanging over it, and all things, on every side, threatening danger and destruction to the assailers. Howbeit, his soldiers demanded the battle, crying, that, There was nothing which valour could not overcome. The prefects and tribunes, using the like speeches, added courage to the rest. Then Ostorius, having viewed the places of difficult access, led his soldiers, being hot and eager for the fight, unto the further side of the river, and from thence to the rampire, where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worst, but having broken down the rude compacted heap of stones with a Testudo, and both armies coming to handy strokes upon equal advantage, the Britons turned their backs, and ran to the hill-top, the Romans pursuing them both with their light and heavy armed soldiers; the one assailing with darts, and the other, as they marched thick together, breaking the ranks, and beating down the barbarous people, who had neither head-piece nor armour to defend themselves; so that, being hedged in between the legionary soldiers, and the auxiliaries, the greatest part of them were slain in the place.

At this assault, Caractacus's wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and his brethren yielded to the enemies; but himself, driven to extremity, escaped by flight into the country of the Brigantes, hoping to receive some aid of Cartismandua, the Queen there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in adversity to be forsaken and left succourless, so, instead of finding the relief which he expected, he fell into the danger which he little expected. For Cartismandua, either fearing her own estate, or thinking to win favour of the conqueror (as princes oftentimes make use of one another's misfortunes to serve

their own turns) detained him in prison a while, and afterwards delivered him to Ostorius, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to Rome as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruits of nine years service in the wars. The report of him was spread throughout the islands and provinces adjoining, and his name was renowned in most parts of Italy, each man desiring to see him, who had, so long time, withstood and contemned that power, which held all the world in awe and obedience. The city of Rome, for many days together, was filled only with talk of him, and expectation of his coming; and the Emperor himself, as a conqueror, by extolling his own worthiness, covertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were, to see some notable and rare spectacle. The Emperor's guard in arms were orderly placed in the field before the camp. After this preparation made, the prisoners and trophies were presented in this manner: First, the vassals of Caractacus, going foremost, bowed their bodies to the people as they passed, and seemed, by their rueful countenances, to discover their fear: The caparisons, chains, and other spoils, taken in the war, were carried after them. Then Caractacus's brethren, his wife, and daughters followed; and, last of all, came Caractacus himself. His body was naked, for the most part, and painted with the figures of divers beasts: He wore a chain of iron about his neck, and another about his middle: The hair of his head hanging down in long locks, curled by nature, covered his back and shoulders, and the hair of his upper lip, being parted on both sides, lay upon his breast: The rest of his body was shaven all over. Neither was his behaviour less noted, than the strangeness of his habit; for he neither hung down his head, nor craved mercy, as the rest did, but went on boldly, with a settled and stern countenance, till he came before the Emperor's tribunal-seat, and, there standing still a while, he after spoke these, or the like words:

‘ If either my virtues in prosperity had been answerable to the greatness of my state, or the success of my late attempts to the resolution of my mind, I might have come to this city, to have been entertained rather as a friend, than as a captive to be gazed upon; for it should have been no disgrace for the Romans to have admitted into society with them a man royally descended, and a commander of many warlike nations. But, what cloud soever fortune hath cast over my state, she is not able to take from me those things which the heavens, and nature, have given me; that is, the dignity of my birth, and the courage of my mind, which never failed me. I know it is a custom amongst you, to make your triumphs the spectacles of other men's miseries, and, in this calamity, as in a mirror, you do now behold your own glory: Yet know, that I was sometimes a Prince, furnished with strength of men, and habiliments of war; and what marvel is it, that I have now lost them, since your own experience hath taught you, that the events of war are variable and uncertain? I thought that the deep waters, which, like a wall, inclose us (whom the heavens seem to have placed far off in another world by itself) might have been a sufficient defence for us against foreign invasion: But I see now, that

your desire of sovereignty admits no limitation, since neither the danger of an unknown sea, nor the distance of place, can any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you will needs command the whole world, then must all men become your vassals, and live under a forced obedience. For my own part, as long as I was able, I made resistance, being unwilling to submit my neck to a foreign yoke. The law of natural reason alloweth every man to defend himself, being assailed, and to withstand force by force. Had I yielded at the first, thy glory, and my mishap, had not been so renowned, but both of them would soon have been forgotten. Fortune hath done her worst, and we have now nothing left us but our lives, which, if thou spare, having power to spill, thou shalt do that which best becometh a great mind, and a noble nature.'

The Emperor, hearing this speech, and wondering to see such boldness and constancy of mind in a dejected estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his company, commanding them to be unbound, and so dismissed them. For many days together, Caractacus's fortune ministered matter of discourse to the lords of the senate, who affirmed the spectacle of his captivity to be no less honourable than that of Syphax, the Numidian King, over whom P. Scipio triumphed, or that of Perses, whom Paulus Æmilius vanquished, or of any other kings, that had in former times been taken in war, and shewed to the people. Then public honours of triumph were decreed for Ostorius, whose fortunes, being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline, by reason that either, Caractacus, the object of his valour, being removed, he supposed he had made a full conquest, and therefore followed the service more carelessly: Or else for that the residue of the Britons, having compassion of the misfortune of so mighty a prince, and being eager for revenge, renewed the war; for they assailed the legionary cohorts, which were left behind to build fortresses in the Silures country, killed the camp-master, and eight centurions, besides some of the forwardest soldiers, and they had put all the rest to the sword, if speedy rescue had not come from the villages and forts adjoining. Divers other sallies they made, as time and place gave them advantage, prevailing sometimes by strength, sometimes by policy, and sometimes by chance. The principal motive that induced the rest to take arms, was the example of the Silures, who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated, by reason of a speech that the Roman Emperor had used, which was: That he would root out the name of the Silures, as the Sicambrians had been in former time. This made them bold and desperate to adventure, as men knowing their destiny before hand. Many skirmishes they had, in surprising the scattered troops of the Roman soldiers, and oftentimes with good success, in taking rich booties, and prisoners, and distributing the spoils among their neighbours, by which means they drew them all to revolt.

In the mean time, Ostorius, wearied with care and travel, ended his life. Whereof Claudius the Emperor being advertised, sent Aulus Didius to take charge of the army in Britain, where, notwithstanding all the haste he made, he found all out of frame: Manlius Valens with

his legion having encountered the Britons with ill success, which, by report of the Islanders, was made greater than indeed it was, to terrify the new governor, who also made use of the same policy to serve his own turn; for by encreasing the fame of that which he heard reported, he supposed, either to win greater praise, if he prevailed, or to purchase a more favourable censure of his actions, if he miscarried. The Silures had made many roads into the subdued country, wasting and spoiling round about, when Didius the lieutenant, upon his first arrival, entering into the field, restrained their outrage, and for a while kept them in some awe. After Caractacus was taken, Venutius, a Prince, faithful to the Romans, and protected by them, (so long as Cartismandua, his wife, and he agreed together) upon private discontentment began a new rebellion. For Cartismandua (whom the Romans specially favoured for the delivery of Caractacus) abounding now in peace, wealth, and plenty, which are the nurses of licentious living, fell in love with Velocatus, one of her husband's servants, and, forgetting, in the end, her own honour, preferred him before Venutius, who, being deeply touched with such an open injury and disgrace, raised a power, to expel her and her paramour, out of the kingdom. The war seemed, at the first, to have been maintained between themselves and their private followers only, till Cartismandua, by policy, had taken Venutius's brother, and certain of his kinsmen: And then the inhabitants round about, fearing the event, and disdaining to be brought under the servile yoke of a woman, declared themselves for Venutius, and, with a choice number of youthful and well experienced soldiers, invaded the country: whereof Didius, having timely intelligence, sent certain cohorts to encounter them. Hereupon ensued a sharp conflict, the success whereof was much doubted in the beginning, but in the end the Romans prevailed. The like fortune also had Casius Nasica with his legion; for Didius himself, as a man stricken in years, and fitter to direct, than execute, used, for the most part, the ministry of other men, keeping that which his predecessors had gotten, and building only some few castles and places of defence within the land, to win, thereby, a fame of augmenting the office.

This was the state of the affairs in Britain, when Claudius the Emperor died, leaving the Roman monarchy to Nero, his adopted son, who, after his first five years spent, being given over to all kinds of vice, neglected the government both at home and abroad, not daring to enter into any military actions; and it was thought that he would have revoked the army out of Britain, if very shame, in detracting from his father's glory, and losing that which he had won, had not withheld him. About that time Veranius was governor in Britain, where the shortness of his continuance suffered him not to effect any great matter; for he died in the first year of his government; and then was the province assigned to Suetonius Paulinus, one of the most famous men of that age for military matters. His good success, at his first entrance, in subduing nations, and establishing garisons, where need required, made him bold to assail the Isle of Mona, lying in the west part of Britain, as having been a common receptacle of fugitives during the war. In his passage thither he left the country behind him, as he marched,

unfurnished in divers places, laying it thereby open to all opportunities of annoyance. At his arrival, the barbarous people rudely armed; standing upon the shore, made shew, of their purpose to resist: The women in mourning attire, their hair about their ears, shaking burning firebrands like furies of hell, ran up and down, and the Druyds, lifting up their hands towards heaven, filled the air with cries and curses; these Druyds were certain priests had in great reverence among the Britons. They kept their residence, for the most part, in shady and dark groves, as fittest places for devotion. Among all trees, they most esteemed the oak, as hallowed, and without the which they could not perform their superstitious rites. Their sacrifices were both private and publick. They instructed the youth of Britain, and decided controversies, civil and criminal. If any man refused to stand to their award, he was forbidden to be present at their sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that might be; for thereby he was reputed a notorious offender, exempt from the ordinary protection of the laws, incapable of any preferment, and all men would fly his company. Amongst these priests there was always one that had the chief authority, and, he being dead, the worthiest of them that survived succeeded in his place. If there seemed to be an equality of worthiness among more than one, then the choice was made by plurality of voices. At one certain time in the year, they used to hold a session in Gallia, in some consecrated place, where they heard and determined causes; for the superstition was first brought thither out of Britain. They had immunity from all manner of tributes, and from service in the wars; by reason of which privileges, they drew to them many followers, whom they taught a great number of verses by heart, supposing it unlawful to commit those sacred things to writing; whereas in other matters, as well publick, as private, they used the Greek letters. And this it is likely they did, either for that they would not have the knowledge of their superstitious rites laid open to the common people (in whom ignorance seemeth to ingender a kind of devotion) or else for that they would have their scholars to trust the more to their memory, while they wanted the help of writing. They preached, that the soul was immortal, and that after the death of one man it went to another. By this persuasion they stirred up men to virtue, and took away the fear of death, the main obstacle of glorious adventures. Other things they taught also concerning the motion of the stars, the situation of the earth, and the power of their prophane gods. The strange behaviour of these religious priests, and the outcries of the people of Mona, so amazed the Roman soldiers, that, like men enchanted, they stood still without motion, till the captain spoke unto them, and encouraged them to adventure, not fearing a flock of silly women, or frantick people; and then, boldly giving the charge, he soon disordered and dispersed them, making himself master of the field: Which done, the Roman soldiers entered the towns, and placed garisons there, felling the woods which the inhabitants superstitiously reputed holy, by reason of the altars whereupon they sacrificed the blood of captives, and prophesied of the success of their own affairs, by viewing the intrails of men, whom they had killed.

In the mean time, Prasutagus, King of the Icenians, a man renowned for his riches, did by his last will make the Roman Emperor his heir, (jointly with two of his daughters,) supposing, that thereby his kingdom and family should have been maintained in good estate, and protected from violence after his death: All which fell out contrary to his hopes; for his kingdom was made a prey to the soldiers, Voadica, his wife, whipped, his daughters deflowred, such as were of his family made slaves, and the wealthiest men of his kingdom, either by open force, or surmised pretences, deprived of their goods, and dispossessed of their inheritance. Besides that, Seneca, one of Nero's counsellors, having forced divers of the better sort of the Britons to take great sums of money of him upon usury, did then, for his private gain, exact the payment of the principal, upon a sudden, to the utter undoing of his debtors: And Decianus Catus, the procurator in Britain, renewed the confiscation of their goods, which Claudius the Emperor had pardoned. The soldiers, placed in the colony at Camalodunum, had thrust the owners and ancient inhabitants out of their houses, terming them slaves, and drudges, and abusing them in all reproachful manners. The temple erected in the honour of Claudius was an eye-sore, and continual burden unto them, while the priests Augustales, that attended there, wasted the wealth of the inhabitants under the pretext of religion. To these common grievances of the afflicted people, the present occasion seemed to offer means of redress, while the Roman general was making war in Mona. Whereupon they resolved to take arms, inciting the Trinobantes and other nations, that were not wholly brought under subjection, to do the like. Then they began to discourse of the miseries of bondage, to lay their injuries together, aggravating them by their own constructions, and complaining, that their patience had profited them nothing, but to draw heavier burdens upon them, 'as men that would gently bear: That, whereas in former times they had only one commander, now there were two thrust upon them; the lieutenant to suck their blood, and the procurator their substance; whose disagreement was the vexation of the subject, and agreement, their utter undoing, while the one burthened them with soldiers and captains, the other with wrongs and indignities: That the lust and covetousness of these their enemies laid hold upon all persons without exception: That, though in the field he that spoileth be commonly the stronger, yet themselves were by cowards, and weaklings, for the most part, dispossessed of their houses, bereaved of their children, enjoined to yield soldiers for other men's service, as though they were such a kind of people, as knew how to do any thing else, save only to die for their own country; for otherwise there was but a handful of soldiers come over, if they did but reckon their own number, considering, withal, that Germany had already shaken off the yoke, having no ocean sea, but a river to defend it: That the causes, then moving them to take arms, were just and honourable; namely, to recover their liberty, and to defend their parents, wives, children, and country; whereas the Romans had nothing to provoke them to war, but their own covetousness, and wanton lust, and were likely enough to depart, as Julius Cæsar had done, if themselves would imitate the virtues of their proge-

nitors, and not be dismayed with the doubtful event of one skirmish, or two, seeing that men in misery have commonly more courage than at other times, and more constancy to continue: And now the heavens themselves seemed to pity their poor estate, by sending the Roman governor out of the way, and confining the army, as it were, into another island; by which means, opportunity of revenge, and hope of liberty, was offered: And finally, that, being assembled to devise and deliberate together, they had obtained the hardest point, in an action of that nature, wherein it were more danger to be taken consulting, than doing. With these, and the like speeches they stirred up one another, each man laying open his own particular grievances, and adding them to the common cause.

About this time, divers prodigious signs were noted, to portend the subversion of the Roman colony, as namely, an image of victory falling down reversed at Camalodunum; strange noises sounding in the air: strange apparitions seen in the sea: The ocean bloody in shew: And the print of men's bodies upon the sands: Divers constructions were made of these things as ominous, whether that they proceed from some natural causes, though not always observed, or else that they do necessarily forego the ruin and change of great states. Howbeit commonly, in such cases, men's minds do misgive them, while they frame the future event of things answerable to their own fearful imaginations; and, great alterations falling out sometimes after like accidents, they superstitiously suppose them to be always the certain forerunners of destruction. The apprehension of these things, at the first, struck the Romans with greater fear, by reason of the absence of their general; and thereupon they required the aid of Catus Decianus the procurator, who sent a small company badly armed, to reinforce the garison. The old soldiers that had been left within the town, although few in number, yet trusting to the privileges of the temple, and not doubting the secret conspiracy of their confederates, were in a manner careless, as in times of peace, following their pleasures, and making no provision for defence. The Britons having, in the mean time, taken arms under the conduct of Voadica, a lady of the blood of their kings (for in matter of government they made no difference of sex), and being informed of the state of the colony, determined first to assail the towns and forts in the passage thither. The good success they had in those attempts made them desirous to invade the colony itself, and Voadica as their leader, being a woman of great spirit, and comely personage (apparelled in a loose gown of divers colours, with a golden chain about her neck, and a light spear in her hand) standing upon a heap of turves, the better to be seen, her daughters on each side of her, with a shrill voice uttered these, or the like words:

'It is no new custom for the Britons to make war under the leading of women, ennobled by their birth and descent; the examples of former times can well witness the experience thereof: Howbeit, at this present, I will disclaim all titles of dignity, and prerogatives of blood; and, what difference soever there is in our estates, yet shall our fortune; in this action, be indifferent and common to us both. I shall not need to

repeat that, which you all know but too well, namely, what miseries we have endured under the tyranny of this proud nation. You have had the trial both of liberty and bondage, and I doubt not but you find now, how much the one is to be preferred before the other; and howsoever some of you heretofore have, for private respects, inclined to the Roman governors, as favourers of their usurped sovereignty; yet, I suppose, you will now confess with me, that freedom, in a poor estate, is better than golden fetters. For, what abuse can there be named so vile, or indignity so disgraceful, that hath not been offered us, without respect of degree, age, or sex? We till our grounds, and sweat for other men, that reap the sweet of our travels; the wealth that we gather to maintain ourselves and our families, is by other men wastefully and riotously mispent; we have nothing of our own, but what they leave us, and nothing left us, but labour and vexation; our bodies and estates being consumed, to satisfy their ambition and covetousness, we have not so much as our heads toll-free; so narrowly are we sifted, from the highest to the lowest. Other subdued nations are yet, by death, freed from bondage; but we, even after death, seem to live still in thralldom, while we are forced to pay tribute, as well for the dead as the living. What, are we a nation so contemptible, that we can serve to no other use, than to be slaves? Or so unhappy, that death itself cannot acquit us from being miserable? How long shall we give way to our own wrongs? Shall we hope for reformation of these abuses? Nay, we have hoped too long, and, by patient bearing of one injury, we have drawn on another. Why should we not rather seek to redress them? For, if we enter into due consideration of ourselves, What are the Romans more than we? Our bodies are as strong as theirs; our numbers greater. We have agility of body, our women no less than our men, to run, to leap, to swim, and to perform all warlike exercises; for which, indeed, we are naturally more fit, than for the spade, plough, or handicrafts: And howsoever the Romans may seem fortunate by the folly, or weakness, of other nations; yet are they not comparable unto us, whom nature hath framed to endure hunger, cold, and labour, and to be content with things necessary only: For, to us, every herb and root is meat, each river and spring yield us drink, while we seek no further than to appease hunger, and quench thirst; each tree serves for shelter against storms in winter, and for shadow against the parching heat of summer; we need no other beds than the earth, nor covering than the heavens; whereas they must have their joints suppled with hot baths, sweet ointments, and soft couches, and their bodies pampered with wine, dainty fare, and all kinds of effeminate niceness and delicacy. These are the properties wherein they imitate their master Nero, who hath only the shape of a man, being indeed a woman, or rather, neither man nor woman, but a monster of nature, a singer, a fidler, a stage-player, a murthurer; and one that excelleth other men as far in vice, as he doth in preheminance of degree. Besides all this, the cause of our war is just, and the divine powers, that favour justice, have made our first attempts prosperous; and, methinketh, that the necessity of our case were able to make even cowards valiant. Your ancestors could make head against Julius

Cæsar, and the Emperors Caligula and Claudius; the Germans have lately freed themselves by that memorable overthrow of the Roman legions, under the conduct of Quintilius Varus; and shall not we, who scorn to be reputed inferior to the Germans in valour, be confident in our own strength, and boldly adventure? Considering, that, if we prevail, we recover our lost liberty; if we be forced to retire, we have woods, hills, and marshes, for our refuge; and, if we die, we do but sell our lives with honour, which we cannot possess with safety. For my own part, you shall find me no less ready to execute, when time serves, than I am now to advise and exhort you; myself having determined, either to vanquish, or die; if any of you be otherwise minded, then live, and be slaves still.

With these, and the like speeches, she inflamed the hearts that were already kindled, and, persuading the Britons to pursue their enemies, as dogs and wolves do fearful hares and foxes, she let slip out of her lap a quick hare, at whose running through the camp, the Britons shouted, apprehending it as a matter ominous, and fore-signifying the Romans flight: and thereupon they cried that they might be speedily led to the colony itself, as the seat of their slavery; which, at their first coming, they surprised, killing, spoiling, and consuming all with fire and sword, except the temple only, into which the soldiers fled as a sanctuary, though it could not long protect them from the violence of the furious multitude. Petilius Cerealis, the lieutenant of the ninth legion, coming to succour the garison, had all his footmen slain, and himself, with a few horse, hardly escaped. Catus, the Procurator, knowing himself to be odious to the Britons, by reason of the extortions he had committed in his office, fled secretly into Gallia. But Suetonius, upon intelligence of the revolt, returned out of Mona, and led his army, with some difficulty, towards London, a place not known at that time by the name of a colony, but famous only for concourse of merchants and traffick. There he staid a while, as doubting what course to take; the small number of his forces, and the ill success of Cerealis, making him more wary; and he supposed it would be a work well worth his labour, if, with the loss of one town, he could preserve the rest, that were likely to revolt: whereupon, furnishing his defective companies with such able men as were then in the town, although the Londoners, with tears, implored his aid, and desired his abode there for their defence; yet he marched forward, leaving behind him all such as either by reason of their age, sex, or other infirmities, could not follow, or else, for love of the place, as being bred and born there, would not abandon it. The town, being thus weakly guarded, was taken by the Britons, and the people therein all put to the sword. The like calamity befel the free town of Verulamium, by reason that divers of the Britons, finding their own strength, forsook their forts, and assailed the most notable and wealthy places, enriching themselves with the spoil of their enemies, whom they hanged, burned, and crucified, exercising all kinds of cruelty, that a mind, enraged with desire of revenge, could devise. They took no prisoners, either to preserve for ransom, or to exchange, according to the laws of war; but slew both citizens and confederates, to the number of about seventy thousand.

Suetonius, with the fourteenth legion, seconded by the standard-bearers of the twentieth, and some auxiliaries, made haste to encounter the Britons; and resolved, without further delay, to try the chance of a set battle. Then he pitched in a place that had a narrow entrance, with a thick wood for a defence behind him, and a fair, wide plain before his camp. The legionary soldiers were marshalled together in thick ranks, the light-harnessed inclosing them about, and the horsemen making wings on each side. Pœnius Posthumus, the camp-master of the second legion, was appointed to lead the foreward, but he contemptuously refused the charge.

In the mean time the Britons ranged abroad in great troops, triumphing for their late good success, and, being encouraged by the example of Voadica, their general, were fiercely bent to assail the Roman camp, supposing now that no force was able to resist them. And they had brought their wives with them, and placed them in waggons about the outmost parts of the plain, to be the beholders of their valiant acts, and witnesses of their expected victory. Suetonius being now ready to join battle, though he perceived that his soldiers were not much dismayed with the sight of so great numbers scattered upon the plain; yet he supposed it not unnecessary to use some speech to them, by way of exhortation, and therefore began in this manner:

"I cannot now use many words to exhort you; the time permits it not, and the present occasion requireth rather deeds than words: yet let not our small number discourage you, considering that your ancestors, with a smaller number, have effected greater matters; and that, where many legions have been in the field, a few soldiers have carried away the victory; what a glory shall it be for you then, if, with so small a power, you can purchase the praise of a whole army? There is no fear of ambush; the woods guard you behind, and on the plain before you lieth your enemies camp, wherein you may behold more women than men, and the men themselves, for the most part, unarmed, and not likely to endure the points and strokes of our weapons, which they have so often felt to their smart. It stands you now upon to approve yourselves the same men you are reputed to be: this is the time either to recover that you have lost, or to lose that which you shall never recover: you fight now not for honour only, but for honour and life. Remember that you are Romans, whose glory it is to do and suffer great things: the fortune of this battle will either give us peaceable possession of that our forefathers have won, or for ever deprive us of it: what shall become of you, if you be taken, the woeful experience of your countrymen, most miserably massacred before your eyes, may sufficiently testify: revenge therefore both their wrongs and your own, and, no doubt, but the gods themselves, who never leave cruelty unpunished, will assist you: it is better for us to die in this action, than by yielding, or flying, to outlive the praise of our own worthiness: but, whether we live or die, Britain shall be ours; for if we live, and recover it, our posterity ever after shall be able to defend it; and, though they should not, yet shall our bones keep continual possession of it. Take courage, therefore, and fear not the loud and vain shouts of a disordered multitude, but boldly give the assault, and, keeping yourselves close together, pursue the fight, without

thinking of the spoil, till you have made a full end; for, the victory once gotten, all things else will, of themselves, fall to your share."

With these, or the like words, the old soldiers were pricked forward; and Suetonius, perceiving it, gave the signal of battle. The legions kept the streight, as a place of defence, till the Britons had spent their darts; and then they sallied out into the plain (the auxiliaries and the horsemen making way) and pressing into the thickest troops of the barbarous people, who, being unable to endure the fierceness of the assault, turned their backs, thinking to save themselves by flight; but, by reason their waggons, placed about the plain, had hedged in the passages on all sides, few of them escaped: the residue, as well women as men, were put to the sword, and their dead bodies, mingled with the carcasses of their horses and chariots, were heaped one upon another. The number of the Britons slain in that battle was reported to be about eighty-thousand, and of the Romans about four-hundred only, and not many more wounded in the conflict. This day's service was renowned among the Romans, as comparable to those of ancient times in the free commonwealth. Voadica, disdaining to fall into her enemies hands, ended her life by poison; and Pœnius Posthumus, seeing the good success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions (for that, by disobeying the general, contrary to the discipline of war, he had defrauded his own legion of their part of the glory in the action) for very grief slew himself.

Then, Suetonius having gathered together his dispersed troops, certain legionary soldiers and cohorts of auxiliaries were sent him out of Germany, to reinforce the garisons, and to make an end of the war: some of the Britons that either openly resisted, or else stood doubtfully affected, were put to the sword; and some, that escaped the sword, died of famine for lack of corn, a calamity incident to them, as to a people given rather to war than husbandry: the rest found means to relieve themselves by the Romans provision; and though some overtures were made for a treaty of peace: yet they would not hearken thereto, for that they doubted their safety, imagining that their guiltiness of the rebellion had excluded them from all hope of pardon; and they much feared the private displeasure of the lieutenant who, though otherwise a singular man, yet seemed to shew too much haughty and hard dealing towards them, that yielded themselves, and in some sort, under pretext of the publick service, to revenge his own injuries. Besides, Julius Classicianus, who was sent to succeed Catus, being at variance with Suetonius, had given out that a new lieutenant was coming, and that he was such a one, as being void of malice, or the pride of a conqueror, would be ready to receive into favour all such as would yield themselves, he wrote letters also to Rome, signifying to the senate, that they should look for no end of the war in Britain, so long as Suetonius continued the government there; and that the ill success, which he had in the service, was to be attributed to his own ill carriage of himself, and the good, to the fortune of the commonwealth. Hereupon Nero sent Polycletus, a libertine, into Britain, to examine and report the state of the affairs there, and to interpose his authority as a means to reconcile the lieutenant and the procurator, and to win the Britons to

embrace peace. At his landing in the island, the Roman soldiers there seemed to fear and reverence him; and the causes of his coming were diversly reported at the first. But the Britons derided him; for, as men being born free, they knew not, till that time, the power of libertines (men made free) but rather marvelled, that a captain, and an army, which had atchieved so great an enterprise, could be brought to obey, and yield an account of their actions, to a base bond-slave, as they termed him.

These things, howsoever they were censured by others, yet they were reported to Nero, in such manner, as the reporters thought might best content him; and Suetonius, after the loss of some of his shipping, was commanded (the war being not yet finished) to deliver up the army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had a little before given over his consulship. He was a man of a soft spirit, and, being a stranger to the Britons faults, was the more tractable, and ready to remit them; by which means, having composed the former troubles, he delivered up his charge to Trebellius Maximus, whose unfitness for action, and want of experience in military matters, gave the more boldness to the Britons, that began now to discover the defects of their governors, having learned both to flatter and dissemble, in conforming themselves to the present times and occasions, for their advantage, and, for the most part, yielding themselves to those pleasures, which security useth to ingender, even in minds well disposed by nature. For Trebellius, besides his insufficiency, abused the authority of his place, to enrich himself, by polling the common soldiers; and Roscius Cœlius, a lieutenant of the twentieth legion, whetted them on against him, as against his ancient enemy; so that in the end they broke out into heinous terms, the one objecting matter of crime against the other. Trebellius charged Cœlius with factious-behaviour; Cœlius again Trebellius with beggaring the legions; and the discord betwixt them grew so far, that Trebellius, being despised, as well by the aids as the legions, both of them sorting themselves to Cœlius's side, was in great fear of his life: the danger whereof he sought to prevent, rather by flying away, than by executing any exemplary justice upon offenders. In the mean time, the soldiers, neglecting the ancient discipline of war, fell to mutiny and all kinds of riot, as men that had rather be doing ill, than doing nothing. And afterwards, taking again his former place, as it were by capitulation, he seemed to govern, only at the discretion of his soldiers, who, finding his weakness and want of judgment to use his authority, took upon them to do what they listed; and herewith also the lieutenant himself seemed contented, as being now given over altogether to a slothful kind of life, terming it peace and quietness, for which, the civil discord at that time between Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, ministered some colour of excuse. About this time the fourteenth legion, famous for many great attempts, and growing now more insolent than the rest, was revoked out of the island, to have been sent to the Streights about the Caspian sea, though afterwards upon intelligence of the revolt in Gallia, and Spain, when Julius Vindex took arms against Nero, it was retained about Rome for a safeguard to those parts. In the turbulent times that ensued Nero's death, it took part with Otho against Vitellius.

at the battle near Bebriacum, where Otho was overthrown; and Vitellius after the victory, suspecting the soldiers of that legion, as knowing their great stomachs, and ill affection towards him, thought it expedient to join to them the Batavian cohorts, that, by reason of the inveterate hatred between them, they might one oppose the other, and himself in the mean time remain more secure.

Then Victus Bolanus, a man not much unlike Trebellius in some respects, was sent over by Vitellius; during the time of whose government the like disorders continued still in the camp, saving that Bolanus, by the mildness of his nature (being not touched otherwise in his reputation) had purchased love and good-will, instead of fear and obedience. In his time, divers choice men of war, taken out of the legions in Britain, were conducted to Rome by Hordeonius Flaccus, in aid of Vitellius; but, when Vespasian made war for the empire, Bolanus refused to send Vitellius any succour, by reason that the Britons, finding the Roman state encumbered with civil dissension, began to revolt in divers places of the island; and some of them also shewed themselves openly in favour of Vespasian, who had carried himself honourably in Britain, when Claudius was there, and seemed now, by many ominous predictions, to be a man specially marked for the empire.

The death of Vitellius, quenching the flame of civil broils among the Romans, confirmed the possession of the empire to Vespasian, who shewed the care and respect he had of the island of Britain, by employing great captains and good soldiers there. The lieutenantship was then assigned to Petilius Cerealis, a man that had given good proof of his sufficiency in former services. Upon his first entrance into office, he invaded the country of the Brigantes, the most populous state of the whole province; the greatest part whereof, after many bloody battles, was either conquered, or wasted, and the hope of the Britons greatly abated; when Julius Frontinus, whose reputation was nothing impaired by the fame of his predecessor, took upon him the charge, which he afterwards executed with great commendation, in subduing the strong and warlike nation of the Silures; among whom he seemed to fight, not only with men, whose strength and valour was able to make opposition against his attempts, but also with mountains, streights, and places of very difficult access.

In this state Julius Agricola, having been trained up, for the most part, in the British war, did find the province, when he, as successor to Cerealis, entered into the government. He crossed the narrow seas about the midst of summer; at which time, as though the season of the year had been past to begin a new war, the Roman soldiers attended an end of their travel, and the Britons a beginning of annoyance to their enemies. The Ordovices, a little before he landed, had almost cut in pieces a troop of horsemen, that lay upon their borders; upon which attempt, the country being awaked, as desirous of war, allowed the example, and some staid to see how the new lieutenant would take it. Agricola in the mean time, although the summer was spent, and the bands lay dispersed in the province (his soldiers having fully presumed of rest for that year, and divers officers of the army being of opinion that it were better to keep and assure the places suspected, than

to make any new attempt) yet, all this notwithstanding, he resolved directly to encounter the danger, and, gathering together the ensigns of the legions, and some few auxiliaries, because the Ordovices durst not descend into indifferent ground, himself first of all, to give others like courage, marched up to begin the assault: and having, in that conflict, destroyed almost the whole nation of the Ordovices, and knowing right well, that fame must with instance be followed (for, as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeed) he deliberated to conquer the island of Mona, from the possession whereof Paulinus had been formerly revoked by the general rebellion of Britain; but, ships being then wanting, as in an enterprise not intended before, the policy and resoluteness of the captain devised a speedy passage; for he commanded the most choice of the aids, to whom all the shallows were known, and who, after the use of their country, were able to swim in their armour, if need were, to lay aside their carriage, and, putting over at once, suddenly to invade them: which thing so amazed the inhabitants, who supposed, that the Romans would have staid a certain time for ships and such like provision by sea, that now, believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to make war, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the island. Thus Agricola, at his first entrance into office, which time others used to consume in vain ostentation, or ambitious seeking of ceremonies, entering withal into labours and dangers, became famous indeed, and of great reputation. Howbeit, he abused not the prosperous proceeding of his affairs to vanity, or braving in speeches; for he esteemed it an action not worthy the name of a conquest, to keep in order only persons subdued before; neither decked he with laurel his letters of advertisement, but, by stopping and suppressing the fame of his doings, he greatly augmented it, when men began to discourse upon what great presumption of future success he should make so light an account of so great actions already performed. As touching the civil government, Agricola, knowing how the province stood affected, and being taught also, by experience of others, that arms avail little to settle a new conquered state, if violence and wrongs be permitted, determined at the first to cut off all causes of war and rebellion; and, beginning at home, he first of all reformed his own house, a point of more hardness to some men, than to govern a province: he committed no manner of public affairs to bond-men, or libertines: he received no soldier near his person upon private affection of partial suiters, nor upon commendation or intreaty of centurions, but elected the best and most serviceable: he would look narrowly into all things, yet not exact all things to the utmost: light faults he would pardon, and the great severely correct, not always punishing offenders, but oftentimes, satisfied with repentance, chusing rather not to prefer to office such as were likely to offend, than, after the offence, to condemn them. The augmentation of tribute and corn he tempered with equal dividing of burdens, cutting away those petty extortions which grieved the Britons more than the tribute itself. For the poor people, in former times, were constrained in a mockery to wait at the barn-doors, which were locked against them, and first to buy corn, and afterwards sell at a low price. Several ways also, and

far distant places, had been assigned them, by the purveyor's appointment, for carrying provisions from the nearest standing camps to those which were far off and out of the way (petty officers in the mean time making a gain thereof, by sparing some, and charging others at their pleasure) so as that, which lay open to all, and at hand, was turned only to the private profit of a few. By repressing these abuses in his first year, a good opinion was conceived of the peace, which either by the negligence, or partiality, of former lieutenants was now no less feared than war. In times of service he was very painful, and oftentimes more adventurous in his own person, than was fit for a general; for himself would always appoint his ground for pitching the camp, and also be the first man in proving the thickets, bogs, or any other places of danger, not suffering any corners or secret harbours unsearched, but wasting and spoiling every-where with sudden incursions and assaults. Howbeit, when by these means he had terrified the Britons, then would he again spare and forbear, as hoping thereby to allure them to peace; whereupon many cities, which before that time stood upon terms of equality, gave hostages, and meekly submitted themselves, receiving garisons, and permitting the Romans to fortify: a work performed with such foresight and judgment, that nothing was ever attempted against them, while he continued in office, whereas, before that time, no new fortified place in all Britain escaped unassailed. Thus far had Agricola proceeded, when the news came, that Vespasian was dead, and Titus his son invested in the empire.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable and publick device: For, whereas the Britons were rude, and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to war, Agricola, that he might induce them by pleasures to quietness and rest, exhorted them in private, and commanded his soldiers to help them to build temples, houses, and places of publick resort; commending such as were forward therein, and checking the slow and idle persons; seeming thereby to impose a kind of necessity upon them, while every man contended to gain the lieutenant's good-will. Moreover the noblemen's sons he took and instructed in the liberal sciences, preferring the wits of the Britons before those of the students in Gallia; the Britons also themselves being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately rejected the speech. After that, the Roman attire grew to be in account, and the gown much used among them; and so, by little and little, they proceeded to those common provocations of vices, namely, sumptuous galleries, hot baths, and exquisite banquetings; which things the ignorant people termed civility, though it were indeed a badge of their bondage.

In the third year of his government, he discovered new countries, ~~wasting~~ all before him, till he came to the firth of Taus: Which thing so terrified the Northern Britons, that, although the Roman army had been toiled and wearied with many sharp conflicts, yet they durst not assail it; whereby the Romans had the more leisure to incamp themselves, and to fortify; wherein Agricola was either so skilful, or so fortunate, that no castle, planted by him, was either forced by strength, or upon conditions surrendered, or, as not defensible,

forsaken. In all these actions Agricola never sought to draw to himself the glory of any exploit done by another; but, were he centurion, or of other degree, that had atchieved it, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yield him always his due commendation.

The fourth year of his office was spent in viewing and ordering that which he had overrun: And, if the valiant minds of his soldiers, and the glory of the Roman name, could have so permitted it, there should have been no need to have sought other limits of Britain, than were at that time discovered: For Glota and Bodotria, two arms of the two contrary seas, shooting mightily into the land, are only divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified with garisons and castles; so that the Romans were now absolute lords of all on this side, having cast their enemies, as it were, into another island.

The fifth year of the war, Agricola subdued, with many and prosperous conflicts, strange nations, before that time unknown, and furnished with forces that part of Britain which lieth against Ireland; and this he did, more for hope of advantage, than fear of danger: For, if Ireland might have been won (lying, as it doth, between Britain and Spain, and commodious also for Gallia) it would aptly have united, to the use and profit one of the other, those strongest members of the empire. The nature and fashions of the Irish did not then much differ from the British; but the ports and haven-towns in Ireland were more known and frequented, by reason of greater resort thither of merchants. Agricola, having received a prince of that country, driven thence by civil dissension, did, under colour of courtesy and friendship, retain him, till occasion should serve to make use of him. It was afterwards reported, that, with one legion, and some few aids, Ireland might then have been won, and possessed; and that it would have been also a means to have kept Britain in obedience, if the Roman forces had been planted in each country, and liberty, as it were, clean banished out of sight.

Now, in the summer following, because a general rising in arms, of all the further nations beyond Bodotria, was feared (the passages being all beset with the power of the barbarous people) he manped a fleet to search the creeks and harbours of the ample region beyond it; backing them first of all with a navy, and, with a goodly shew, bringing war both by land and sea; And oftentimes it chanced, that the horsemen and footmen, and the sea-soldiers, met, and made merry in the same camp; each man extolling his own prowess and adventures, and making their vaunts and comparisons, soldier-like, some of the woods and high mountains that they had passed; others, of dangers of rocks and tempests that they had endured; the one, of the land and the enemy defeated; the other, of the ocean assayed and subdued. The Britons (as by the prisoners it was understood) were much amazed at the sight of the navy, supposing that, the secrets of their sea being now disclosed, there remained no refuge for them, if they were overcome. Whereupon, the Caledonians, arming with great preparation, and greater fame (as the manner is of matters unknown) began to assail

their enemies castles; and some of the Roman captains, which would seem to be wise, being, indeed, but cowards, counselled the general to retire on this side Bodotria, and rather to depart of his own accord, than to be driven back with shame. In the mean time, Agricola had intelligence, that the Britons intended to divide themselves, and to give the onset in several companies: Whereupon, lest he should be inclosed about, and intrapped, either by their multitude, or by their skill in the passages, he marched also with his army divided in three parts; which when it was known to the Caledonians, they changed advice on the sudden, and, uniting their forces together, jointly assaulted, by night, the ninth legion, as being of weakest resistance: and, having slain the watch (partly asleep, and partly amazed with fear) they broke into the camp, and were fighting within the trenches, when Agricola, having understood by spies, what way the Britons had taken, and following their footsteps, commanded the lightest horsemen and footmen to play upon their backs, and to maintain the skirmish. When the day drew near, the glittering of the ensigns dazzled the eyes of the Britons, who, being daunted with fear of danger on each side, began to draw back, and the Romans, like men that were now out of peril of their lives, did fight more cheerfully for their honour, freshly assailing the Britons, and driving them to their own gates, where, in the very streights, the conflict was sharp and cruel; till, in the end, the Britons were forced to fly, whilst the Roman armies severally pursued them, contending with a kind of emulation, the one to seem to have helped the other, and the other to seem to have needed no help. Upon the success of this battle, the Roman soldiers, presuming that to their power all things were easy and open, cried to the general to lead them into Caledonia, that with a course of continual conquests they might find out the utmost limits of Britain. Now such, as before the battle were so wary and wise in adventuring, waxed forward enough after the event, and grew to speak gloriously of themselves. [Such is the hard condition of war; if aught fall out well, all challenge a part: misfortunes commonly are imputed to one.] Contrariwise, the Britons (presupposing that not true valour, but the cunning of the general, by using the occasion, had carried away the victory) abated not much their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their children and wives into places of safety, and sought, by assemblies, and religious rites, to establish an association of the cities together: and so, for that year, both parties, as enemies, departed incensed away.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola, sending his navy before, which, by spoiling in sundry places, should induce a greater and more uncertain terror, followed himself with his army by land, having drawn to his party some of the valiantest Britons, whom, by long experience in peace, he had found most faithful, and so arrived at the mount Grampius, where the Britons had lodged themselves before. For they were not altogether dejected with the unfortunate event of the former battle, but now, as men prepared for all chances, they attended nothing else but revenge, death or servitude; and, being taught, at length, that common danger must be repelled with mutual concord;

by leagues and ambassages, they had assembled the power of all the cities together, in number above thirty-thousand armed men, the view being taken, besides a great company of youth, which daily flocked to them, and lusty old men renowned in war, and bearing the badges due to their honour; at which time Galgacus, for virtue and birth, the principal man of all the leaders, seeing the multitude hotly demand a battle, is said to have used this or the like speech :

“ When I consider the cause of this war, and our present necessity, I have reason, methinks, to presume, that this day, and this our general agreement, will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole island. For we have all hitherto lived in liberty, and now no land remaineth beyond us : no sea for our safety : The Roman navy, as you see, surveying, and invironing our coasts; so that combate and arms, which men of virtue desire for honour, the dastard must also use for his security. The former battles, which have with divers events been fought with the Romans, had their refuge and hope resting in our hands. For we, the flower of the British nobility, and seated in the furthest part of the island, did never yet see the borders of those countries, which were brought under servile subjection, our eyes being still kept unpolluted, and free from all contagion of tyranny. Beyond us is no land : Besides us none are free : Us only, hitherto, this corner, and secret harbour, hath defended ; yet see the uttermost point of the land is laid open, and things, the less they have been within knowledge, the greater is the glory to achieve them. But what nation is there now beyond us ? What else, but water and rocks, and the Romans lords of all within the land, whose intolerable pride in vain shall you seek to avoid by service and humble behaviour ? They are the robbers of the world, that, having now left no land to be spoiled, search also the sea. If the enemy be rich, they seek to win wealth : If poor, they are content to gain glory to themselves, whom neither the east, nor west, can satisfy, as being the only men of all memory, that seek out all places, be they wealthy or poor, with like greedy affection. To take away by main force, to kill and spoil, falsely they term empire and government ; when all is waste as a wilderness, that they call peace. His children and blood each man holdeth by nature most dear, and yet even they are pressed for soldiers, and carried away to be slaves, we know not where. Our sisters and wives, though they be not violently forced, as in open hostility, yet are they, under the colour and title of friends, and guests, shamefully abused. Our goods and substance they daily draw from us, rewarding us only with stripes and indignities. Slaves, which are born to bondage, are sold but once, and after are fed at their owners expences. But Britain daily buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her own bondage. And as, in a private retinue, the fresh man and last comer is scoffed at, by his fellow servants : So, in this old servitude of the whole world, they seek only the destruction of us, as being the latest attempted, and of all others, the most vile in account. We have no fields to manure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in ; and to what purpose then should they keep us alive, considering that the manhood,

and fierce courage of the subject, doth not much please the jealous sovereign, and this corner, being so secret and out of the way, the more security it yieldeth to us, the greater suspicion it worketh in them: seeing therefore all hope of pardon is past, it behoveth you, at length, to shew courage, in defending and maintaining, both your safety, and honour. The Iceniens, led by a woman, fired the Roman colony, forced the castles, and, had the prosecution of the war been answerable to so lucky a beginning, the Britons might then with ease have shaken off the yoke, and prevented our peril. We, as yet, never touched, never subdued, but born to be free, not slaves to the Romans: We, I say, are now to make proof of our valour, and to shew in this encounter, what manner of men Caledonia hath reserved in store for herself. Do you think that the Romans be as valiant in war, as they are wanton in peace? No, you are deceived. For they are grown famous, not by their own virtue, but by our jars, and discord, while they make use of their enemies faults, to the glory of their own army, composed of most divers nations; and therefore, as by present prosperity it is holden together: So doubtless, if fortune frown on that side, it will soon be dissolved: Unless you suppose the Gauls and Germans, and, to our shame be it spoken, many of our own nation, which now lend their lives, to establish a foreign usurper, to be led with any true-hearted and faithful affection. No, it is rather with terror and distrust, weak workers of love: Which if you remove, then those, which have made an end to fear, will soon begin to hate. All things that may encourage, and give hope of victory, are now for us. The Romans have no wives to hearten them on, if they faint; no parents to upbraid them, if they fly. Most of them have no country at all, or, if they have, it is some other men's. They stand like a sort of fearful persons, trembling and gazing at the strangeness of the heaven itself, at the sea, and the woods. And now the heavens, favouring our cause, have delivered them, mowed up, as it were, and fettered into our hands. Be not terrified, or dismayed with the vain shew, and glittering of their gold and silver, which of themselves do neither offend, nor defend. And think, that, even amongst our enemies, we shall find some on our side, when the Britons shall acknowledge their own cause, the Gauls remember their old freedom, and the rest of the Germans forsake them, as of late the Usipians did. What then should we fear? The castles are empty, the colonies peopled with aged and impotent persons, the free cities discontented, and distracted with factions, whilst they which are under obey with ill will, and they which do govern rule against right. Here is the Roman general, and the army, their tributes, and mines, with other miseries, inseparably following such as live under subjection of others; which, whether we are to endure for ever, or speedily to revenge, it lieth this day in this field to determine. Wherefore, being now to join battle, bear in mind, I beseech you, both your ancestors, which lived in the happy estate of liberty; and your successors, who, if you fail in this enterprise, shall live hereafter in perpetual servitude." This speech was cheerfully received with a song, after their barbarous fashion, accompanied with confused cries and acclamations. And as the Roman cohorts drew together, and discovered themselves, while

some of the boldest pressed forward, the rest put themselves in array: And Agricola, albeit his soldiers were glad of that day, and could scarce with words have been with-holden; yet, supposing it fit to say somewhat, he encouraged them in this wise:

“ Fellow soldiers, and companions in arms, your faithful diligence, and service, these eight years, so painfully performed by the virtue and fortune of the Roman empire, hath at length conquered Britain. In so many journies, so many battles, we were of necessity to shew ourselves, either valiant against the enemy, or patient and laborious above and against nature itself: In all which exploits we have both of us so carried ourselves hitherto, as neither I desired better soldiers, nor you another captain. We have exceeded the limits, I of my predecessors, and you likewise of yours. The end of Britain is now found, not by fame and report, but we are with our arms and pavilions really invested thereof. Britain is found, and subdued. In your marching heretofore, when the passage of bogs, mountains, or rivers troubled and tired you, how often have I heard the valiant soldiers say, When will the enemy present himself? When shall we fight? Lo, now they are put out of their holes, and here they are come. Lo now your wish: Lo here the place for trial of your virtue, and all things likely to follow in a good and easy course, if you win; contrariwise all against you, if you lose. For, as to have gone so much ground, escaped the woods and bogs, and passed over so many arms of the sea, are honourable testimonies of your forwardness; so, if we fly, the advantages we have had will become our greatest disadvantage. For we are not so skilful in the country; we have not the like store of provisions; we have only hands and weapons, wherein our hopes, our fortune, and all things else are included. For my own part, I have been long since resolved, that to shew our backs is dishonourable, both for soldier and general, and therefore a commendable death is better than life with reproach (surety and honour commonly dwelling together) howbeit, if aught should mishappen in this enterprize, yet this will be a glory for us, to have died even in the uttermost end of the world, and of nature. If new nations and soldiers unknown were in the field, I would, by the example of other armies, encourage you: But now I require you only to recount your own victorious exploits, and to ask counsel of your own eyes. These are the same men which the last year assailed one legion by stealth in the night, and were suddenly and (in a manner) by the blasts of your mouths overthrown. These of all the other Britons, have been the most nimble in running away, and by that means have escaped the longest alive. For, as in forests and woods, the strongest beasts are chased away by main force, and the cowardly and fearful scared only by the noise of the hunters; so the most valiant of the British nation we have already dispatched, and the rascal herd of dastardly cowards only remaineth. And lo, we have now at length found them, not as intending to stay and make head against us, but as last overtaken, and by extreme passion of fear standing like stocks, and presenting occasion to us in this place of a worthy and memorable victory. Now therefore make a short work of our long

warfare, and to almost fifty years travel let this day impose a glorious end. Let each of you shew his valour, and approve to your country, that this army of ours could never justly be charged, either with protracting the war for fear, or upon false pretences for not accomplishing the conquest."

As Agricola was yet speaking, the soldiers gave great tokens of their fervent desire to fight; and, when he had ended his speech, they joyfully applauded it, running straightways to their weapons, and rushing furiously forward; which the Roman general perceiving, forthwith ordered his army in this manner. With the auxiliary footmen he fortified the middle battle. The horsemen he placed in wings on both sides. The legions he commanded to stand behind, before the trench of the camp, to the greater glory of the victory, if it were obtained without Roman blood; or otherwise for assistance, if the forward should be distressed. The Britons were marshalled on the higher ground fitly for shew, to terrify their enemies: The first troop standing on the plain, the rest on the ascent of the hill, rising up as it were by degrees one over another: The middle of the field was filled with chariots, and horsemen, clattering and running round about. Then Agricola, finding them to exceed him in number, and fearing lest he should be assailed on the front and flanks both at one instant, thought it best to display his army in length: And although by that means the battle would become disproportionably long, and many advised him to take in the legions; yet he confidently rejected the counsel, and, leaving his horse, advanced himself before the ensigns on foot. In the first encounter, before they joined, both sides discharged and threw their darts. The Britons, employing both art and valour, with their great swords and little targets defended themselves, and wounded their enemies, till Agricola, espying his advantage, appointed three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians, to press forward and to bring the matter to handy strokes and dint of sword; which they, by reason of their long service, were able readily to perform, to the prejudice of the other side, in regard of their little bucklers and huge swords. For the swords of the Britons, being weighty and bluntpointed, were no way fit either for the close or open fight. Now, as the Batavians began to strike them on their faces with the pikes of their bucklers, and, having overborne such as resisted, to march up to the mountains; the rest of the cohorts, gathering courage upon emulation, violently beat down all about them, and, running forward, left some of the Britons half-dead, some wholly untouched, for haste and desire to have part of the glory in winning the field. In the mean time, both the chariots of the Britons mingled themselves with their enemies battle of footmen, and also their troops of horsemen; albeit they had lately terrified others, yet now themselves, beginning to fly, were distressed by the unevenness of the ground, and the thick ranks of their enemies, who continued the fight, till the Britons, by main weight of their own horses and chariots, were borne down one upon another; the masterless horses affrighted running up and down with the chariots, and many times over-bearing their friends, which either met them or thwarted their way.

Now the Britons (which stood aloof from the battle upon the top of the hills, and did at the first in a manner disdain the small number of their enemies) began to come down by little and little, and sought to fetch a compass about the backs of the Romans, which were then in train of winning the field: But Agricola, suspecting as much, opposed them with certain wings of horsemen, purposely retained about him for sudden dispatches upon all chances, and repulsed them as fiercely as they ran to assail; so, the counsel of the Britons turning to their own hurt, the Roman wings were commanded to forsake the battle, and follow the flight. Then were there pitiful spectacles to be seen, pursuing, wounding, taking prisoners, and then killing such as were taken, as soon as others came in the way. Then whole regiments of the Britons, though armed, and more in number, turned their backs to the fewer; others, unarmed, sought their own death, offering themselves voluntarily to the slaughter. The fields every-where were imbrued with blood; every-where weapons lay scattered; wounded bodies, mangled limbs; some slain out-right, some half-dead, some yielding up the ghost; and yet, even at the last gasp, seeming, by their countenances, to discover both anger and valour. Such of the Britons, as in flying recovered the woods, joined themselves together again, and intrapped unawares some of the Roman soldiers, that unadvisedly followed, not knowing the country: And, if Agricola had not, by his presence and direction, assisted at need, setting about them his most expert footmen (as it were in form of a toil) and commanding some of his horsemen to leave their horses, where the passage was narrow, and others to enter single on horseback, where the wood was thin, doubtless the Romans had taken a blow by their over much boldness. But, after that the Britons saw them again in good array, and orderly following the chace, they fled (not in troops, as before, when they attended each other, but utterly disbanded, shunning all company) toward the desert and far distant places. The darkness of the night, and satiety of blood, made an end of the chace. Of the Britons were then slain about ten-thousand; of the Romans, three-hundred and forty; amongst whom the chief man of note was Aulus Atticus, the captain of a cohort, who, upon a youthful heat, and through the fierceness of his horse, was carried into the midst of his enemies. That night the winners refreshed themselves, taking pleasure in talking of the victory, and dividing the spoil; but the Britons, being utterly discouraged, crying and howling (both men and women together) took and drew with them their wounded persons, called the not wounded, forsaking their own houses, and in despite setting them on fire; then seeking holes abroad to lurk in, and, having found them, straightways again forsaking them; sometimes communicating counsels together, and conceiving some little hope, and then by and by dejected and desperate; sometimes moved with pity at the sight of their kinsfolk and friends, and sometimes stirred with rage and envy in thinking and speaking of their enemies; and (which was most lamentable) some of them, by way of compassion and mercy, killing their own children and wives.

The day following did more plainly discover the greatness of the victory by the calamity of the vanquished: desolation and silence

every where; the smoke of the houses fired appeared afar off; no sallies out of the wood, no stirring in the mountains, no man to make resistance, or to meet with the Roman spies, who, being sent abroad into all quarters, found, by the print of the Britons footsteps, that their flight was uncertain, and that they were no where in companies together, but scattered in divers places, and altogether unable to make any new attempt upon the sudden: Wherefore Agricola (the summer being now spent in this journey, and the time past for employment elsewhere) brought his army into the borders of the Horrestians country, where, having received hostages of the inhabitants, he commanded the admiral of his navy, being furnished with soldiers and sufficient strength for that purpose, to sail about Britain, whither the fame and terror of the Roman name was already gone before. Then he planted garisons upon the borders between Glota and Bodotria, and disposed of his footmen and horsemen in their wintering-places within the province. Thus, after many conflicts by the space of about an hundred and thirty years, the utmost limits of Britain, and the Isles of the Orcades, lying on the north-side of it, were, by the valour and industry of Julius Agricola, first discovered and made known to the Romans, and the south part of the Isle reduced to a full province, the government whereof was peculiar to the Roman Emperors themselves, and not at the disposition of the senate.

This state of affairs here Agricola signified by letters, without any amplifying terms, to Domitian the Emperor, who, after his manner, with a cheerful countenance and grieved heart received the news, being inwardly pricked with anger and disdain to think, that his late counterfeit triumph of Germany, wherein were certain slaves bought for money, and attired like captives of that country, was had in derision, and justly scorned abroad; whereas now a true and great victory, so many thousands of enemies being slain, was current in every man's mouth. Besides, he esteemed it as a most perilous point in a state, that a private man's name should be exalted above the name of a prince; and he supposed, that he had in vain suppressed the study of oratory, and all other politick arts, if he should in military glory be excelled by another; for matters of other kinds, as he supposed, might more easily be passed over, but to be a good commander of an army was to be above a private estate, that being a virtue peculiar for a prince. Domitian, being tormented with these and the like conceits, and musing much in his closet alone (which was commonly noted as a sign of some mischief in working) thought it best, for the present, to cloke and dissemble his malice till the heat of Agricola's glory and the love of his soldiers were somewhat abated, for as yet Agricola remained in office: Wherefore he commanded, that all the honours of triumphal ornaments, the image triumphal, and whatever else was usually bestowed in lieu of triumph, should, in most ample and honourable terms, be awarded him in senate; and then, sending a successor, he caused a bruit to be spread, That the province of Syria, which was then void, and specially reserved for men of great quality, should be assigned to Agricola. The common opinion was, that Domitian, sending one of his most secret and trusty servants unto him, sent withal the com-

mission of lieutenantancy for Syria, with private instructions, That, if Agricola, at the time of his coming, should be still in Britain, then it should be delivered; if otherwise, it should be kept back; and that the same man, meeting Agricola as he crossed the seas, without speaking to him, or delivering his message, returned again to Domitian. Whether this were true, or feigned upon a probable surmise, as agreeable to the Prince's disposition, it could not directly be affirmed; but, in the mean season, Agricola had yielded up the province in good and peaceable state unto Cneius Trebellius, or rather, as some writers report, to Salustius Lucullus: And, lest his coming to Rome should have been noted, by reason of the multitude of people, which would have gone out to see and meet him, he warily cut off the occasion of that courtesy, entering the city by night; and by night, as he was commanded, came to the palace; where, being admitted to the Prince's presence, and received with a short salutation, and no further speech, he sorted himself with other gentlemen of his rank, carrying himself ever after very temperately and warily in all his actions, as knowing the present state of those times, and the dangerous inclination of the Emperor himself, who, being (as all other princes are commonly) more fearful and jealous of the good, than the bad, envied him those virtues, and that honourable reputation, whereof himself was not capable: Yet, as good deserts cannot be hid (true worthiness shining even in darkness itself) so the retired life, which Agricola led, did nothing diminish his glory, but rather, like water sprinkled upon a burning fire, increased and continued the heat thereof. Divers times was he accused in his absence, which ministered to his ill-willers opportunity of working his disgrace; and as often in absence was he acquitted, the opinion only of his good deserts, and no matter of crime, giving the occasion; while such, as highly commended him to the Emperor, seeming his friends, but being indeed the most pestilent kind of enemies, procured under-hand his peril and ruin in the end. Howbeit, the ill success of the Roman armies in divers provinces at that time, serving as a foil to set out his honourable actions, drew him by force into glory; and Domitian made pretences of his purpose to employ him, thinking thereby to satisfy the people, who then complained of the want of good leaders. But virtue, that never continueth long time in prosperous estate, as being the common object of envy, hastened the death of Agricola, who, as the constant fame went, was made away by poison, and that not without the Emperor's knowledge and consent. These things, concerning Agricola's government in Britain, I have set down particularly, as they are reported by Cornelius Tacitus, who writ the story of his life; which remaineth to the world, as a perpetual monument of the doings of the one, and the writings of the other.

Salustius Lucullus, succeeding Agricola, left little memory of himself by doing any thing here, either for that no occasion was then offered to shew himself in action; or else, for that the fame of so worthy a predecessor blemished his reputation: For, having held the office but a short time, he was, by commandment of Domitian, put to death, for suffering certain spears, of a new fashion, to be called by his own name. About this time, Arviragus, a Briton by birth and educa-

tion, did govern, as king, part of the Island of Britain, the Romans accounting it a point of policy to permit the Britons, sometimes, to be ruled by princes of their own nation, whose aid and counsel they might use, upon occasions, to the pacifying of rebellions, and the establishing of their own greatness; for the common people (whose affection doth oftentimes sway the fortunes of great princes) are much more easily brought under the obedience of their own countrymen, than of strangers.

Domitian being slain, Nerva Cocceius succeeded in the empire: But in what state the affairs of Britain then stood, the histories of those times make no mention, either, for that the Emperor, being a man far stricken in years, and disposed to ease and quietness, employed himself rather in reforming abuses at home, than in maintaining war abroad; or else, for that the short continuance of his government did not suffer him to enter into any great actions in places so remote: For, having held the empire little above one year, he left the same, by death, to Ulpus Trajanus, a Spaniard, whom he had adopted for his virtue and wisdom. In his time, some of the Britons, desirous to free themselves from the Roman tyranny, entered into rebellion; but, wanting means to effect what they had begun, they soon gave over the enterprise. Howbeit, Ælius Adrianus, who succeeded Trajan in the empire, having intelligence that the northern Britons made incursions into the province, sent over Julius Severus to impede their attempts; but, before he could make an end of the war, he was revoked, and sent into Syria to suppress the Jewish rebellion; and Adrian the Emperor, himself, came with an army into Britain, where he encountered the barbarous people of the North, recovered such forts as they had taken, and forced them to retire to the mountains and woods, whither the Roman horsemen, without danger, could not pursue them: And then, fortifying the borders of that province, by raising a wall of turves, about eighty miles in length (between the mouths of the rivers Ituna and Tina) to defend the inhabitants thereof from the sudden assaults of their ill neighbours, he returned triumphantly to Rome. This exploit won reputation to the Roman army, and great honour to the Emperor himself, who was then called the Restorer of Britain, and had the same inscription figured for the stamp of his coin.

Now, the Britons dwelling within the province seemed, for the most part, patiently to bear the yoke, (which custom had made less painful) and they obeyed the more willingly, as standing in need of the Roman help, against their own countrymen, whose cruelty was now as much feared as in former times the invasion of strangers. Whereupon they conformed themselves to the Roman laws, both in martial and civil affairs, which were then principally directed by Licinius Priscus, who had been, not long before, employed in the expedition of Jewry, and was at that time prætor of Britain.

Antoninus Pius, succeeded Adrian the Emperor, when, Lollius Urbicus being lieutenant, the barbarous people made a road into the province; but they were beaten back by the Roman forces that lay upon the borders; and then was there another wall of turves built, by commandment of the lieutenant, to strengthen those parts with a double

rampart: In the mean time, a new war was kindled among the Brigantes, that annoyed some of the Roman confederates; but, by the discretion of the general, it was quenched before it came to a flame. For Lollius Urbicus, upon the first rumour of the revolt, marched thither with part of the army, leaving the rest behind to guard the borders; and Sejus Saturninus, admiral of the British fleet, being well appointed by sea, lay upon the north-side of the Isle, to defend the coasts, and, upon occasions, to further the land service. By this means the Brigantes were easily reduced to obedience, even by the presence only of the lieutenant, who, for his good service in Britain, during the short time of his employment there, obtained the surname of Britannicus.

Antoninus Pius being dead, and Antoninus Philosophus possessed of the empire, Calphurnius Agricola was made Lieutenant of the province, who, at his first entrance into office, understood of some new tumults raised during the vacation; but partly by policy, and partly by force, he, in a short time, appeased them, deserving thereby great commendation, though oftentimes the glory of such exploits was attributed to the Emperors themselves, the labour and peril in attempting, and, for the most part, envy after victory, remaining only as rewards to their ministers.

Now was the time come, namely about one hundred and fifty years after the birth of our Saviour, when the Christian religion, which, for many years together, had been wrapped up in the dark clouds of error and superstition, began to discover itself more openly in this Island, by the means of Lucius, surnamed Lever Maur, who, by permission of the Roman Lieutenant, did govern, as King, a great part of the province. For it appeareth by the testimony of ancient writers, that Britain received the Christian faith, even in the infancy of the church, immediately after the death of our Saviour Christ, whose apostles and disciples, according to his commandment, published and dispersed the same in divers parts of the world, by preaching and doing miracles; the fame whereof did sometimes move heathen princes to allow their doctrine, and to favour the professors thereof, as Lucius then did. Besides that, the Roman lieutenants and governors, as well in Britain as other provinces, did sometimes tolerate the exercise of true religion, which they seemed inwardly to approve; howsoever, for worldly respects, they forbore to shew themselves openly in favour of it. But Lucius, desiring to be fully instructed in that faith, whereof he meant to be a professor, sent letters to Eleutherius, then bishop of Rome, requiring his direction and assistance in accomplishing the good work which he intended. This motion was well liked of the bishop, who, writing unto the King, 'commended his zealous disposition to embrace the truth, exhorting him to read the holy scriptures with humility and reverence, and, out of them, by God's grace, and the advice of faithful counsellors, to gather instructions for the framing of laws necessary for the preservation of his estate; which laws, so gathered and framed, he did affirm to be much better than the imperial constitutions of the Romans, or any other whatsoever.' That, to make laws, and execute justice, were the proper office of a prince, who was, upon earth, the vicar of God him-

self, and received from him that title and authority, to the end he should use the same, to the good of the catholick church, and of the people committed to his charge. Hereupon Lucius and his family were baptised, the worshipping of images forbidden, the Flamens and Arch-flamens, idolatrous priests among the Britons, expelled, and the temples, dedicated to prophane gods, were consecrated to the service of the only true God. Thus Christianity, being here received by King Lucius, kept on her course untainted, and without opposition, till the time of Dioclesian the Emperor, who kindled the fire of the last and longest persecution in the primitive church. That storm being overblown, the sun-shine of true religion displayed itself, till Arius, and other hereticks after him, dispersed their impious assertions, which, like a contagious disease, infecting most parts of the world, invaded also this our island, the inhabitants whereof, as men delighting in novelties, were carried hither and thither, with every blast of vain doctrine, retaining nothing in matters of religion for certain, but their own uncertain opinions; howbeit, Britain may think herself, as happy in many other blessings, so most happy in this, that, among all the nations of Christendom, she brought forth and nourished the first Christian King.

This was the state of the church in Britain, when new troubles began to the disturbance of the province: For the northern Britons making a breach in the wall, which Adrian the Emperor had built; and, finding the borders but weakly guarded, entered the province, and, surprising the Roman general, killed many of his soldiers, and, ranging the countries, wasted and spoiled every where, without resistance, till Ulpus Marcellus, being sent over by Commodus the Emperor, staid their fury, and, with great difficulty, forced them to retire within the wall. By which means the province being quieted, he applied himself to reform abuses in his camp, reviving the ancient discipline of war, which had been for a time discontinued among the Roman soldiers, whom long service, and many victories, had made bold to say, and do, oftentimes more than became them. For Marcellus indeed was a man somewhat austere, in reproving and punishing, otherwise very temperate; diligent in times of war; not idle in peace: His diet was the same which the common soldier used; in quantity more sparing; for he would eat no bread, but such as was brought from Rome; which he did, to the end he might avoid excess, and take no more than sufficed nature, the staleness of the bread having taken away all taste, that might either please the sense, or provoke the appetite. The day-time, for the most part, he spent in viewing his camp, in training young soldiers, and giving direction to officers. In the night he wrote letters, and made his dispatches into divers parts of the province, as occasion required. He slept very little, by reason of his thin diet, and much business, wherewith he was continually occupied; for he thought he, that slept a whole night together, was no meet man to be either a counsellor to a prince, or the commander of an army. Every evening he used to write instructions upon twelve tables made of linden tree, which tables he delivered to one of his servants, appointing him to carry them, at sundry hours of the night, to certain of his soldiers, who,

thereby supposing that their general was still waking, and not gone to his bed, were the more careful in keeping the watch, and preventing sudden attempts in the night season. He was severe in the execution of justice; not to be led by favour; not to be corrupted by bribes: He levied money only as necessary for the war, not to enrich himself or his friends, as other governors, in former times, had done; for he never preferred his own private, before the publick good, nor a wealthy estate before an honourable reputation. The fame of these virtues, as they made him much respected both of his own soldiers, and of the Britons, so they procured envy, which always followeth virtue inseparably, as a shadow doth the body. Commodus the Emperor, understanding how Marcellus had carried himself in Britain, was much displeased therewith; and, doubting lest he should grow too great, he thought it best to cut him off. But, some accidents happening, in the mean time, to make him change that purpose, he only sent letters of discharge, and so dismissed him from the office.

After his departure, the army having been kept in by a hard hand, and, finding now the rein let loose upon a sudden, began to be mutinous, and refused to acknowledge Commodus for their Emperor. These disorders, Perennius, one of his favourites, took upon him to redress, by displacing such persons as he suspected, and committing their offices to men of meaner quality, wherewith the legions were much discontented; disdaining, that, instead of senators, and men of consular degree, they should now be governed by upstarts, and base companions. In the heat of these broils, about fifteen hundred soldiers forsook the army, and went to Rome, where they exhibited to the Emperor a bill of complaint against Perennius, whom they charged as the chief author of the dissension of the army, by bringing in new customs, by exceeding his commission, and doing things derogatory to the Majesty of the Roman empire. These, and other things, as well false as true, were objected against him by the multitude, who, for the most part, dislike such as exercise authority over them, and keep no measure in their affections, either of love or hatred. But that, which touched to the quick, was an accusation of treason put up against him for conspiring against the life of the Emperor, and seeking to advance his son to the empire. This point was quickly apprehended by Commodus, who thought that the suspicion of the fact, or the report only to have intended it, was a sufficient cause of condemnation, howsoever the party accused was indeed either guilty or innocent. Hereupon Perennius was declared a traitor, and delivered to the soldiers, who stripped him of his apparel, whipped him with rods, and, in the end, cruelly murdered him.

Then was Helvius Pertinax, a man of mean fortune by birth, as having risen from the state of a common soldier to the dignity of a commander, sent into Britain, to appease the tumults there. He was one of them that Perennius had before discharged from bearing office, and sent into Liguria, where he was born. At his first entrance he attempted by force to suppress the rebellion of the army, venturing so far in a skirmish, that, though he escaped with life, yet he was left among the dead, and supposed to be slain. Afterwards, proceeding with better advice and success, he composed the troubles, severely

punishing the principal offenders, and using some rigour in revenging his own injuries, by which means, growing odious to the soldiers, and distrusting his own safety, he made suit to be discharged of the lieutenantship.

Then was the government of the province assigned to Clodius Albinus, a man of noble birth, very forward, and, for the most part, fortunate in his attempts; for which the Emperor Commodus, either upon fear or favour, did honour him with the title of a Cæsar, though Albinus seemed unwilling to accept it, and afterwards discovered his disposition more openly, in affecting the ancient free state: For, upon a false report of the death of Commodus, he made an oration to the legions in Britain, in favour of the senate, whose government he had commended, and preferred the same before that of the Emperors. But Commodus, being advertised thereof, sent Junius Severus, with all speed, to take charge of the army. In the mean time, Albinus retired himself from affairs till Commodus was dead, and Pertinax elected Emperor. Then he combined himself with Didius Julianus, whom the soldiers, that then made open sale of the empire, had elected after the death of Pertinax. But Julianus, being infamous for his vices, and failing to perform his promise made to the soldiers, was, in a short time, forsaken of them, and afterwards murdered. Upon report of Julianus's death, Septimius Severus, a man adorned with excellent gifts of nature, was declared Emperor; and, for that he feared Clodius Albinus, who then had recovered the government of Britain, he made him his associate in the empire, and sent Heraclianus to be lieutenant of the province, which Heraclianus, soon after, resigned to Virius Lupus. But desire of sovereignty, that cannot endure equality of degree, made the one jealous of the other, and the fire of ambition, that had been smothered for a time, burst out at length into a flame: For Severus, having pacified some tumults in the west part of the world, and, after many conflicts, subdued Pescennius Niger, who usurped the empire in the east, pretended the breach of association, as a colour to make war upon Albinus, who, understanding thereof, transported over the seas a mighty army, furnished with abundance of victuals out of the Island itself, which then, through the industry of the inhabitants applying themselves to tillage and husbandry, yielded plenty of grain, and served the Romans as the garner of the west empire, out of which they carried yearly great quantities of corn, to maintain their armies in Gallia and Germany. Near Lyons, in Gallia, Severus encountered with Albinus, whose forces were there defeated, and himself slain. Then Severus made preparations for his voyage into Britain, which, by reason of the often change of governors, was grown much out of order; and, although the Britons, upon intelligence of his purpose, did send over ambassadors to offer their voluntary submission, yet, the Emperor, in whom neither age nor sickness had abated the heat of ambition, would not directly accept thereof, but entertained them with delays, till all things were in readiness for his expedition (so earnest a desire he had to pass into the furthest part of Britain, and to purchase the surname of Britannicus, as an honourable addition to his other titles.) His two sons, Bassianus, commonly called Caracalla, and Geta, he took with

with him, as doubting their agreement in his absence. To Geta, his younger son, he committed the government of the province here for civil causes, wherein *Æmilius Paulus Papinianus*, the famous lawyer, who, as chief minister of justice under him, had his tribunal seat at York, was appointed to assist and direct him. *Severus* himself, and *Bassianus*, with the army, marched northward against the *Meatæ*, a people bordering upon the *Caledonians*, and in league with them. *Virius Lupus*, but a little before, had essayed to enter the country by force, when the *Meatæ*, standing upon their own strength, withstood him, and forced him, in the end, to purchase his peace with money. Then *Severus* hastened into *Caledonia*, where, finding the passages uncertain and dangerous, by reason of the fens, woods, and deep waters, he caused trees to be felled, and bridges and causeways to be made, for his soldiers to march over. The *Caledonians*, in the mean time, sallied out of the woods, and charged the Romans, who were much incumbered for want of firm ground, and were oftentimes forced to trace the country, and to disperse themselves in several companies, seeking places of advantage; by which means a great number of them perished, while the barbarous people, lying in ambush, and, sometimes, leaving their cattle abroad, as a train, to draw them within danger, suddenly surprised and killed them, before they could recover the camp. This was an unfortunate journey to the Romans, who, besides the loss which they sustained by their enemies, were afflicted with diseases, by reason, partly of the unwholesome waters which they drank, and partly of the contagious air that infected their spirits; yea, many times, they killed one another; for such as, through feebleness, could not keep rank in marching, were slain by their own fellows, that they might not be left a prey to their savage enemies. There died, in this enterprise, about fifty-thousand Romans: Yet would not *Severus* withdraw his forces, till the *Caledonians* made offer to treat of peace, whereto he then hearkened the more willingly, for that he saw the difficulty, and, in a manner, impossibility, to bring that northern part of the Isle wholly under subjection, by reason of the rocks, mountains, and marshes; as also, for that, the country being, for the most part, barren and unfruitful, the profit thereof was not deemed likely to countervail the charge in getting and keeping it. The conditions were: That the *Caledonians* should first disarm themselves, and deliver part of the country, lying next the province, into the Romans possession; and that, from that time forward, they should attempt nothing against the public peace: Which articles being agreed upon, and assurance taken for the performance, *Severus* retired himself into the province, leaving his son *Bassianus* to take charge of the army, which, after the emperor's departure, grew careless and dissolute; wherewith the general seemed nothing displeased, either for that he was, by his own nature, inclined to the worst, or else, for that he hoped thereby to win the soldiers favour, as a means for his advancement to the empire after his father's death, which he had oftentimes attempted, by indirect practices, to procure.

In the mean while, the *Caledonians*, notwithstanding the late contract, understanding what disorders were in the Roman camp, suddenly invaded it, killing, and taking booties, which they shared with their

neighbours of the province, that had assisted them in the enterprise. Severus, being greatly incensed therewith, sent part of the army to pursue the Caledonians, expressly commanding, that they should be all put to the sword, without respect of age or sex. This sharp manner of proceeding quailed the hope of the Northern Britons, who fled into the remote parts of Caledonia; and Severus having rather stayed, than ended the troubles, spent some time in repairing and enlarging Adrian's wall, which he carried athwart the island, from sea to sea, intrenching and fortifying it with bulwarks and square towers in places most convenient to give warning one to another upon any sudden assault, for defence of the borders. Then, being wearied with age, sickness, and travel; having his mind also much grieved with the disloyal and unnatural practices of his son Bassianus, he withdrew himself to York, a colony of the Romans, being then the station of the sixth legion, called *Victrix*, and afterwards growing to be one of the chief places of account among the Brigantes: for these stations of the Roman legions were commonly the seed-plots of towns and cities, both in this island, and divers other parts of the empire.

It was reported, that, in his passage thither, a Moor, with a cypress garland on his head, did meet and salute him by the name of a God: and that, at his entrance into the city, he was, by error of the soothsayer that guided, brought into the temple of Bellona: and that black beasts being appointed for a sacrifice, did of themselves follow him to his palace. These things, howsoever they fell out accidentally, yet they were interpreted as ominous, in respect of the event. And now Severus, perceiving his death to approach, called before him some of his counsellors, and chief captains, unto whom he is said to have spoken in this manner:

‘It is now about eighteen years since I was first declared Emperor by the army in Pannonia; during which time, with what care, pain, and travail I have wielded this vast body of the empire, my continual employment in wars, both at home and abroad, may witness sufficiently. For, at my first entrance, I found the state incumbered every where, and now I shall leave it peaceable, even to the Britons. The future prosperity whereof must depend upon the mutual agreement of my two sons. For neither multitude of men, nor abundance of treasure, are so available to defend and maintain commonwealths, as amity and unity between governors. For, by concord, we see, that small things grow to greatness, whereas by discord the greatest fall to ruin. I must now leave to them, as my successors, the imperial diadem, that which Bassianus hath so long thirsted after, though he knew not yet, whether it be a thing to be wished, or feared, as having not proved the difference betwixt a prince and a private person. But ambitious minds are carried blindfold, they know not whither, in desiring that, which, having once obtained, they can neither keep without great care, nor leave without extreme peril; such a thing is sovereignty, whose greatness is not contained in itself, but consisteth, for the most part, in the opinion, and dependeth upon the dispositions of other men. It is virtue only, not glorious titles, which makes men truly

great. Myself, at this present, may serve for an example, to shew, upon what a weak foundation human greatness is built. For I have been all things, though now it avail me nothing: seeing I must pay my debt to nature, and, after all my exploits in the east and west parts of the world, I must die, as I may say, out of the world, in a strange country, if any country may be termed strange to the Romans, who have now by conquest made all countries their own. I exhort you, therefore, as you tender the welfare of the Roman empire, of your own selves, and your posterity, be true and faithful to my sons, as you have been to me, assisting them with your counsel, and persuading them to mutual concord, as the main pillar to support both their estates, and your own.

When he had uttered these, or the like speeches, he turned aside, and shortly after yielded up the ghost. Bassianus, being advertised of his father's death, practised with the soldiers, by bribes and fair promises, that he might be declared sole Emperor: whereto, when he could not persuade them, for the reverence they bore to his father Severus, he made a league with the Northern Britons that then assailed the borders, and returned to York, to meet with Julia the Empress, his mother-in-law, and Geta his brother. There he caused the physicians to be put to death, for not ridding his father sooner out of the way, as he had commanded them. Then he appointed secretly to the slaughter all those that, for their virtue and wisdom, had been esteemed and advanced by his father, and all such, as, having been tutors to him and his brother, advised them to mutual concord. This done, he entered into consultation about his father's funerals, which were solemnised by the army with all due rites, according to the ancient custom in times of war. The ashes of the dead body, being put into a golden urn, were afterwards by Julia, the empress, accompanied with the two Cæsars, carried to Rome, where Severus, after the usual ceremonies, was consecrated a God.

Now the affairs of Britain, for the space of about fifty years together, were passed over in silence, as being either omitted through the negligence of writers in that age, or perishing through the calamity of the times that ensued. But when Gallienus had obtained the empire, the Roman state was much incumbered and oppressed with her own forces, while certain captains, commonly called the Thirty Tyrants, disdaining the government of so cruel and dissolute a prince as Gallienus, and being chosen Emperors by the armies which they commanded, usurped absolute authority in divers provinces. Among these, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, Tetricus, and Marius, as histories report, ruled in Britain.

In the time of Aurelianus, the Emperor, Bonosus, a Briton by birth, and famous for his excess in drinking, invaded the empire with Proculus, usurping Britain, Spain, and Gallia Braccata. But, being afterwards vanquished by Probus, the Emperor, he hanged himself; whereof there went a common jest among the soldiers, that a drinking vessel, not a man, was hanged up. Then the governor of the province in Britain, being preferred to the office, by means of Victorinus, a Moor, a

man in great favour with Probus, the Emperor, began to raise sedition among the soldiers there; with which practice Probus first acquainted Victorinus, who, supposing himself touched with the imputation of his crime, whom he had recommended and advanced to the government there, desired leave of the Emperor to go into Britain, where, giving it out that he fled thither for safeguard of his life, he was courteously entertained by the governor, whom he afterwards murdered secretly in the night, and then speedily returned to Rome: having, by this device, appeased the tumults in the province, and approved his fidelity to the Emperor. About this time, as it is reported, certain Vandals and Burgundians, which had invaded Gallia, being vanquished by Probus, were sent into Britain, where they seated themselves, and did afterwards good service to the Romans, in suppressing rebellious attempts there: though the Emperor then sought to win the Britons favour, rather by clemency than rigour: licensing them to plant vines, and make wine, and to do other things, as well for their pleasure as profit.

Then Carus, succeeding Probus in the empire, assigned Britain, Gallia, Spain, and Illyricum, to Carinus, one of his sons, who possessed the same, till Dioclesian was declared Emperor: in whose time the province was peaceably governed, the borders being strongly guarded with forts and bulwarks against foreign invasion; but the sea-coasts, both of Gallia and Britain, were much annoyed with pirates of Germany, against whom C. Carausius, as admiral of the British fleet, was sent to sea.

Carausius was a man by birth of low degree, though otherwise worthy of the highest, if his own ambition, and the guiltiness of his actions, had not pricked him forward to seek it by unlawful courses, and to bolster out wrong by that authority, which is the ordinary means appointed to punish it; for in a short time he grew very rich, by taking great store of shipping and treasure, which he detained to his own use, without restoring the same to the right owners, or rendering account thereof to the Emperors officers. Whereupon Maximianus Hercules, whom Dioclesian had taken to be his associate in the empire, being then making war in Gallia, surprised the principal men of Carausius's faction at Gessoriacum, and gave commandment, that Carausius himself should be made away. But Carausius, being privily advertised thereof, and knowing that then there remained for him no mean fortune betwixt the life of a prince and the death of a traitor, entered forthwith into actual rebellion, making his party strong both by sea and land, in drawing discontented persons into the action, and allying the northern Britons to join with him, upon hope of spoils to be gotten in the province, which he then ruled with a kind of absolute authority, and soon after usurped there the imperial ornaments.

The Roman state being shaken in divers places, either by the negligent government or ambitious attempts of captains and commanders of armies, which gave occasion to whole nations and provinces to revolt: the two Emperors declared Galerius Maximinus and Constantius Chlorus as their assistants, by the name of Cæsars. Then was Maximinus sent into Persia, and Constantius into Britain, against Carausius. But, before Constantius arrived there, Carausius was slain by the prac-

tice of C. Alectus, his familiar friend, who then usurped the empire, as Carausius had done before; and, understanding that Constantius was coming over with a great power, he resolved to meet him upon the sea, and impede his landing; for which purpose he lay with his navy upon the coast of the isle Vectis; but, his hopes failing him, by reason the Romans, in a thick mist, did recover the land, before he could discover them, he prepared his forces to encounter them in a set battle near the shore. Constantius, having determined to try the utmost of his fortune, to take away from his soldiers all hope of return, did first set his ships on fire, and afterwards gave the charge upon Alectus, whose army was, for the most part, composed of mercenary men, consisting of Britons, Franks, Germans, and divers other nations, who fought not all with like courage; for, after the first encounter, some of them turned their backs, forsaking their commander, who escaped the fury of the battle by flight, though he was shortly after taken and slain by Asclepiodatus the *præfectus Prætorio*. The Franks that served under Alectus fled to the city of London, which, being weakly guarded, they rifled and sacked, though they did not long time enjoy the spoil; for part of the Roman army coming thither, rather by error in mistaking their way, than of set purpose, assailed them, took away their booties, and put the most part of them to the sword. This victory restored again to the Roman empire the province of Britain, which had been usurped about seven years by Carausius, and three years by Alectus.

Now began the storm of persecution for the Christian religion to arise under Dioclesian, who commanded, that, throughout the dominions of the empire, the people should offer sacrifice only to the gods of the Emperors, and that such as refused so to do, should be punished with divers kinds of cruel death. Hereupon the Christians, being then dispersed in divers parts of the world, not fearing any torments that tyranny could devise, made publick profession of their faith, which they constantly maintained, and willingly sealed with their blood. Amongst many others that died in Britain for that cause, Alban, an inhabitant of the famous free city Verulamium, is especially remembered as the first British martyr, who, being yet but a pagan, received into his house a Christian, one of the clergy, that fled from his persecutors; and, observing his devotion in watching, fasting, and praying, became, in the end, a follower of his faith and virtue. And, to the end that his guest might escape the hands of those that pursued him, he put on his garments, offering himself to the soldiers that were sent to search his house, and, in that habit, was presented to the judge, before whom he made confession of his faith, reproving the profane rites of heathenish superstition: whereupon he was committed to the tormentors to be whipped, and, persisting in his constancy, was afterwards beheaded on the top of an high hill near the city. It is reported, that the tormentor, who was first appointed to behead him, perceiving a miracle wrought by him, as he went to the place of execution, refused to do his office, casting the sword out of his hand; and, prostrating himself at St. Alban's feet, desired earnestly that he might either die for him, or with him, rather than live to be the minister of his death; whereupon, as a professor of that faith, whereof he had been long time

a persecutor, he drank of the same cup with St. Alban; and, instead of the sacramental sign of baptism, was washed in the bath of his own blood. It is also written of St. Alban's executioner, that his eyes fell out of his head at the very instant that the martyr's head (being severed from the body) fell to the ground: but, whether it were the pleasure of God, in the first planting of his truth here, to approve the same by miracles, or whether the incredulity of that age might give writers occasion to report more than the truth, I will not take upon me to censure. There suffered also in Legecestria, about the same time, and for the same cause, Aaron and Julius; and, in sundry other places of this island, many others, as well women as men, who gave testimony of their patience in praying for their persecutors; and also of their piety, by doing things miraculous, which moved the pagan princes at last to cease from their tyranny; as being rather wearied with afflicting the Christians, than the Christians themselves with enduring the affliction: such power hath man, being assisted with Divine grace, to do, and suffer, even above, and against nature itself. The manner of St. Alban's death, being engraven upon a marble stone, was set up within the city, for a terror to the Christians, who afterwards erected a temple in that place, which was accounted venerable for many ages after the destruction of Verulamium, out of whose ruins another town was raised, continuing the name and memory of St. Alban the martyr, even to this day. But, Dioclesian and Maximianus resigning their authority, Constantius Chlorus staid the persecution in Britain, and afterwards went thither himself, reinforcing the garisons, both within the province, and upon the borders, and establishing a general peace throughout the island; which done, he repaired to York, and there fell sick of a languishing disease. In the mean time, Constantinus, his son, being left at Rome, as his father's pledge, escaped from his keepers, and houghing the post-horses, as he passed the countries, that he might not be overtaken by pursuit, came, at length, into Britain, where he was received with great joy by Constantius, his father, who, being then past hope of life, signified, in the presence of his counsellors and captains, 'That he willingly and gladly embraced his death, since he should leave a memorable monument of himself in the life of his son, who, he hoped, should succeed him in the government, to protect the innocent from oppression, and to wipe away the tears from the Christians eyes; for therein, above all other things, he accounted himself most happy.' Thus died Constantius Cæsar, a wise and virtuous prince, as being not subject to those vices which commonly accompany the highest fortunes. He was first called from the degree of a senator to be a Cæsar; not affecting the title for ambition, nor refusing it respect of the danger. Helena, his wife, the mother of Constantine the Great, was, as some have written, the daughter of Coil, a British King, though by others it is otherwise reported. But, of what country or kindred soever she was, it appeareth, by consent of all writers, that she was a wise and virtuous lady, worthy to be the wife of such a husband, and the mother of such a son. She was an earnest professor of Christianity, and, upon religious zeal, travelled to Jerusalem, where she found out the manger, wherein Christ was laid at the time of his birth, and the cross whereon

he was nailed when he suffered. By this cross many diseases were cured, and strange miracles wrought, if credit may be given to such as have written thereof. Her constant desire to advance the Christian faith first moved Constantius, her husband, to favour the Christians; who, having in times of danger hidden themselves, for the most part, in desarts and dens, did then come abroad again into the view of the world, re-edified their old churches, founded new, instituted holy days to be celebrated in honour of their martyrs, and exercised religion freely and peaceably, as being licensed so to do by publick edicts. In all virtues, becoming a prince, there were few of his degree, either before his time, or since, that might worthily be compared with Constantius, who, in the administration of justice in civil causes, carried so even a hand, that he never used to make difference of persons, or to be misled by affection. He was no wasteful spender of his subjects treasure; no greedy hoarder up of his own; for he esteemed money only as a thing to be used, not kept: and he would oftentimes say, that it was more necessary for the commonwealth, that the wealth of the land should be dispersed in subjects hands, than barred up in princes coffers. For glorious apparel, and other outward ornaments, wherewith princes use to dazzle the eyes of the common people, he was more meanly furnished than became the greatness of his estate. His diet was neither curious nor costly; and, when he feasted his friends, he borrowed his silver vessels, supposing it a thing unnecessary to have any of his own; and considering, perhaps, that the metal, whereof they were made, might be converted to a better use. In times of war he was diligent and industrious; yet not using force, where policy might prevail: for he so much esteemed the life of a man, that he would never hazard it in desperate attempts for his own glory; which won him great reputation among his soldiers, who, for the love they bore him, did, presently after his death, elect Constantine, his son, to succeed him; other nations supposing this our island most happy, in first seeing him saluted Emperor.

Then Constantine, although he seemed at the first unwilling to accept the imperial title, and protested openly against it; yet, when the senate had confirmed the election, he took upon him the government of those provinces which his father had held in the west parts, and, with an army of Britons and other nations, he subdued first Maxentius, Maximian's son, then usurping the empire in Italy, and afterwards Licinius, his associate, who persecuted the professors of Christianity in the east parts of the world. By which means Constantine alone enjoyed the empire, and, for his many and glorious conquests, was worthily surnamed the Great. In this time the form of government in Britain, both for civil and martial causes, was altered, and new laws established. The civil government of the province there he committed to Pacatianus, who ordered the same as deputy to the Præfectus Prætorio of Gallia, an officer newly instituted by him. Then Constantine intending to make war in Persia, either to defend or enlarge the limits of the east empire, removed the imperial seat from Rome to the city Byzantium, which he re-edified, and caused the same to be called after his own name Constantinople; drawing thither the legions in Germany that

guarded the frontiers of the Western Empire, which was thereby laid open to the incursions of those barbarous people that afterwards assailed it, and in the end possessed the greatest part thereof. The borders also of the province in Britain were weakened, by removing the garisons there into other cities and towns, which, being pestered with soldiers, for the most part unruly guests, were abandoned by the ancient inhabitants.

After the death of Constantine the Great, Constantinus his eldest son enjoyed Britain as a portion of his dominion, till, making some attempts upon his brother Constans for the enlarging of it, he was by him slain. Then was the empire divided between Constans and Constantius, the two younger brethren. Constans seized upon the provinces which Constantinus his brother had held, and made a voyage into Britain, where Gratianus had then charge of the army. This Gratianus was surnamed Funarius, for that, being a young man, he was able, as it is written of him, to hold a rope in his hand against the force of five soldiers essaying to pull it from him. But Constans, afterwards following ill counsel, the ready way to princes ruins, and giving himself over to all kinds of vice, was slain by Magnentius Taporus, the son of a Briton, who then invaded the empire, usurping the government of Gallia and Britain till, after three years war with Constantius, finding himself unable any longer to uphold his greatness, he murdered himself. Then was Martinus, an aged man, made deputy of Britain, when Paulus, a Spaniard, surnamed Catena, (a name well sorting with his nature) was sent thither as a commissioner, to enquire of such as had conspired with Magnentius; but, under colour of his authority, he called in question such as were not faulty, either upon false information, or private displeasure, and sometimes to make a gain of those that were accused; which course Martinus the deputy disliking, intreated him, that such as had been no actors in the rebellion, might be no partners in punishment with offenders. Whereupon Paulus, charging the deputy himself as a favourer of traitors, and privy to the conspiracy, did so far forth incense Martinus, that, being either impatient of reproaches, or, perhaps, not altogether guiltless, he struck at Paulus with his sword, intending to have killed him; but, failing in the execution, he presently thrust the sword into his own body. Gratianus Funarius, though he was not specially bound by oath to the Emperor, as some others had been; yet, for that he had received Magnentius into his house, was adjudged to forfeit all his goods; the rest of the accused persons being fettered, and presented to the Emperor, were condemned, some to death, and some to exile.

Now was the government of Gallia and Britain assigned to Julianus, commonly called the Apostate, whom Constantius had made a Cæsar. Then Lupicinus, master of the armour to the Emperour, a good soldier, but notorious for his pride, covetousness, and cruelty, and after him Alipius, were sent into Britain, to repress the barbarous people that had invaded the province there, while Julianus himself remained in Gallia, not daring to pass into the island, both for that he feared the Gauls, who were ready, upon the least occasion, to revolt, and also doubted the Germans, who were then up in arms. After the death of Constan-

tius, Julianus possessing the empire, which he had usurped in the life-time of Constantius, banished Palladius, an honourable person, into Britain, and sent Alipius to repair the walls of Jerusalem, in which attempt God, discovering his wrath by terrifying the builders with thunder and lightening, and killing many thousand Jews, gave an apparent testimony how vain a thing it is for the power of a man to oppose itself against his immutable decree.

Jovinian succeeded Julianus in the empire, which he held but few months. About this time, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, invaded the Roman province in Britain, Valentinianus, the first of that name, then governing the empire, together with Valens his brother. These Picts and Scots, as some writers report, came first out of Scythia, though it is not improbable, that the Picts were very Britons themselves, which, being either born in the northern promontory of the island, or flying thither out of the south parts, entered into confederacy with the Scots, and retained for a time their ancient name of Picts, as being so called by the Romans, in respect of the old custom of painting their bodies, to distinguish them from the Britons then dwelling in the province. These Picts, increasing in number, did afterwards inhabit the isles of the Orcades, and, being for the most part rude and savage, as the Scots then were, became, in the end, as it were, one people with them, oftentimes harrassing the borders, and grievously annoying their civil countrymen; there being, commonly, no greater hatred, than that which is bred and nourished among the people of one nation, when they are severed each from other by difference of manners and customs. That the Scots had their original from the Scythians, their very name may seem in some sort to discover; howbeit, divers stories affirm, that they travelled first into Cantabria, in Spain, where, perhaps disliking that barren soil, they continued not long, but sailed into Ireland; and from thence a great number of them came over into Britain, seating themselves in the north parts of the island; where, being now armed with foreign power, they assailed the Britons both by sea and land, killing Neotaridius, the admiral of the British fleet, and surprising Bulchobaudes, one of their chief captains, the mutiny at that time in the Roman camp giving them opportunity and boldness to do, in a manner, what they listed. For the legionary soldiers refused to obey their leaders, and the deputies themselves, complaining of the Emperor's partiality, in punishing the least offence of the common soldiers, and winking at the great abuses of commanders and officers. Hereupon, a warlike troop of Germans was sent over, under the conduct of Fragmarius their King, who exercised there the authority of a tribune. Severus, the steward of the Emperor's household, and Jovinius, were appointed to second him, with certain auxiliary forces out of Gallia. By this means the fury of those barbarous nations was somewhat restrained, till the coming of Theodosius, who first appeased the mutiny among the soldiers, and afterwards prosecuted the war with such good success, that he restored the decayed towns, strengthened the borders, appointed night-watches to be kept there, and in the end recovered the province, which was then contented to admit of governors, as in former times, and, as a new-conquered state, had a new name given it; for,

in honour of the Emperor Valentinian, a part of the province was, for a time, called Valentia. Not long after, one Valentinian, a Pannonian, entered into a conspiracy there; which being discovered, before it was ripe, the peril like to have ensued was easily avoided.

Then Gratianus, succeeding Valentinian, elected Valentinian the Second, his brother, and Theodosius, the son of Theodosius aforementioned, to be his associates in the empire; but Clemens Maximus, governing the army in Britain, upon emulation and envy of Theodosius's glory, usurped the empire there; and, having transported the strength of the province into Belgia, the German army being also revolted to him, he placed his imperial seat among the Treviri, from whence Gratianus intended by force to have expelled him, but that, as he marched through Italy with his army, the most part of his soldiers forsaking him, he fled to Lyons in Gallia, where he was intrapped by a device, and afterwards slain by Andragathius, one of Maximus's captains. Maximus, having his mind lifted up with his fortune, created his son Victor a Cæsar, and used great cruelty against those that had served under Gratianus: whereupon, Valentinian, doubting his own estate, sent St. Ambrose unto him, as an ambassador, to desire peace, which, in the end, was granted upon condition. But Maximus, ambitiously affecting the sole government, did soon after break the peace, invading Italy, and attempting to have taken Valentinian himself, who, to prevent that danger, fled with his mother unto Theodosius his associate, then ruling the East Empire, imploring his aid against Maximus, that usurped Italy and other parts of his government. Hereupon Theodosius prepared an army to encounter Maximus, who, in Pannonia, being overthrown, fled to Aquileia, where, by the treason of his own soldiers, he was delivered to Theodosius, and presently put to death. This end had Maximus, after he had usurped the empire five years. The like calamities also befel his friends and followers; for Victor his son was afterwards slain in Gallia by Arbogustes. Andragathius, the murderer of Gratian, drowned himself, and divers of Maximus's captains, being taken, were put to the sword: howbeit, the Britons, by whose power Maximus had raised himself to that greatness, as men desiring rather to try new fortune abroad, than to return home, resolved to stay in Armorica, where some of their countrymen had remained, as divers writers affirm, since the conquest of Gallia by Constantine the Great. By this means, in process of time, partly by force, and partly by policy, they grew so strong, that they left the possession of a great part of that country to their posterity; who, being rooted therein by many descents, did afterwards enjoy it intirely as their own, the name of Britain continuing there among them, even to this day. This victory of Theodosius was so much esteemed, that the senate appointed by decree, that yearly feasts should be celebrated in remembrance thereof.

Now the Roman monarchy was drawing on to its fatal period, when Honorius, succeeding Theodosius, his father, in the Western Empire, sent Stilico into Britain, to defend the province against the Picts and Saxons, who assailed the Britons in most parts of the island, working upon the weakness of the province, in which (the most choice and able men having been from time to time transported and wasted in the Ro-

man wars with other nations) there remained not then sufficient strength to defend itself. The common soldiers there, seeing the state in combustion, took upon them to elect and depose emperors, first proclaiming Gratianus, a free citizen of Rome; but, not long contented with his government, they murdered him, and elected one Constantine, for the name's sake only, supposing the same to be auspicious. Constantine, transporting the flower and strength of all Britain into Gallia, made many dishonourable leagues, to the prejudice of the empire, with the barbarous nations that then invaded it, and sent his son Constans, whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar, into Spain; where Constans, having put to death some principal men, whom he suspected to favour Honorius, committed the government of the country to Gerontius, his chief captain, who afterwards slew him at Vienna in Gallia; and Constantine, his father, having run through many fortunes, was, in the end, besieged at Arles, where he was taken and slain by the soldiers of Honorius, the Emperor, who then recovered Britain. Chrysanthus, the son of Martianus, a bishop, a man of consular degree, was then deputy of Britain, where he was in so great reputation for his virtue and integrity shewed in the government both of the church (which was then tainted with the graceless heresy of Pelagius, the Briton) and also of the public weal of the province, that he was afterwards, though against his will, preferred to the bishoprick of Constantinople.

Now the Romans, about four hundred and seventy years after their first entrance into the island, gave over the government of Britain, and the Britons, that had been many times assailed by their uncivil neighbours, consorted with strangers of divers nations, perceived themselves unable to make resistance, as in former times; whereupon they sent ambassadors to Rome, requiring aid, and promising fealty, if the Romans would rescue them from the oppression of their enemies. Then was there a legion sent over into the island, to expel the barbarous people out of the province: which being with good success effected, the Romans counselled the Britons, for their better defence, to make a stone wall between Glota and Bodotria, the two arms of the sea that ran into the land, and so departed thence. But this wall was made only of turves, and not of stone, as they were directed, the Britons having not then any skill in such kind of buildings; by which means it served to little purpose; for the Scots and Picts, understanding that the Romans were gone, passed over the water in boats at both ends of the wall, invaded the borders of the province, and with main force bore down all before them. Whereupon ambassadors were sent again out of Britain, to declare the miserable state of the province, which, without speedy succour, was likely to be lost.

Then was there another legion sent over by Ætius, the president of Gallia, under the conduct of Gallio, of Ravenna, to aid the distressed Britons; and the Romans, having reduced the province to its former state, told the Britons, that it was not for their ease to take any more such long, costly, and painful journies, themselves also being then assailed by strangers, and that from thenceforth they should provide for their own safety, learn to use armour and weapons, and to trust to their own valour. Howbeit the Romans, in regard of the good service done

by the British nation in former times, built a wall of stone, from east to west, in the self-same place where Severus the Emperor had cast his trench, the labour and charges of the work being borne partly by the Romans, and partly by the Britons themselves. This wall contained about eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height, some reliques thereof remaining to be seen at this day. Upon the sea-coasts towards the south they raised bulwarks, one somewhat distant from another, to impede the enemies landing in those parts; and, this done, they took their last farewell: transporting their legions into Gallia, as men resolved to return hither no more. As soon as they were gone, the barbarous people, having intelligence thereof, presumed, that, without any great resistance, they might now enter the province. And thereupon accounting, as their own, whatsoever was without the wall, they gave an assault to the wall itself, which, with grapples, and such-like engines, they pulled down to the ground, while the Britons, their wonted courage failing them, ran away, each man laying aside the care of the publick, and providing for himself, as the present necessity would permit. The barbarous enemy in the mean time pursued, and killed such as resisted.

Some of the Britons, being driven out of their own houses and possessions, fell to robbing one of another: increasing their outward troubles with inward tumults, and civil dissension; by which means a great number of the inhabitants had nothing left to sustain them, but what they got by hunting, and killing of wild beasts. Others, burying their treasure under ground, whereof great store hath been found in this age, did fly, themselves, either into the countries of the Silures and Ordovices, or into the west part of the island, where the Damnonians then inhabited, or else to their own countrymen in Armorica; the rest, being hemmed in with the sea on one side, and their enemies on the other, sent to the Emperor for aid: which they could not obtain, for that, the Goths and Huns invading Gallia and Italy, the greatest part of the Emperor's forces were drawn thither, for defence of those parts; by which means, the state of Britain now declining with the empire, and shrinking under the burden of a barbarous oppression, the Britons sent ambassadors again to Ætius, the president in Gallia, desiring him to relieve their necessities: 'Declaring withal, that themselves were the small remnant, which survived after the slaughter of so many thousands, whom either the sword or the sea had consumed; for the barbarous enemy drove them upon the sea, the sea again upon the enemy: between both which, they suffered two kinds of death, as being either killed or drowned: that it imported the Majesty of the Roman empire to protect them, who had so many hundred years lived under their obedience, and were now plunged into the depth of intolerable miseries; for, besides the calamities of war both civil and foreign, at one instant they were afflicted with dearth and famine, which forced them to yield themselves to the merciless enemy.' But the poor Britons complained in vain: for the Romans either would not, or could not help them, without their own hindrances; howbeit, as extremities are not of long continuance, so some of the Britons, ta king courage, and resolving rather to die with their country than to abandon it, re-

sisted their enemies, and constrained them to return whence they came; by which means the rest of the Britons, many years after, lived in peace, and without any annoyance, save that the Picts sometimes in small numbers made incursions into the land, foraging the borders, and taking booties of cattle there.

After this peace in Britain, there ensued exceeding great plenty of grain, and other fruits of the earth, which the Britons abused, mispending them riotously in gluttony and drunkenness. Thus dissolute living, cruelty, pride, and all kinds of vices, the true causes of the change and ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, reigned as well among the clergy as the laity, both whom God severely punished, by sending among them a grievous plague, which, in a short time, wasted so many of them, that the living were scarce sufficient in number to bury the dead. Howbeit, the infection once ceasing, the Britons fell to their old disorders, drawing thereby a greater plague upon them, even to the utter subversion, and, in a manner, rooting out of their name and nation, as it afterwards happened. For the Scots and Picts, knowing how small a number of the Britons remained to withstand their attempts, the greater and better part being already destroyed, either by the sea, the sword, famine, or pestilence, entered boldly into the heart of the island, spoiled the people of their wealth, burnt their cities, made themselves slaves, and in a short time over-ran a great part of the land.

Thus, about five hundred years after the Romans first entrance, and four hundred and forty-six after the birth of our Saviour Christ, the island of Britain, which had been, not only a principal member of the empire, but, also, the seat of the empire itself, and the seminary of soldiers sent out into most parts of the world, was now, in the time of Theodosius, the younger, bereaved of the greatest part of its ancient inhabitants, and left as a prey to barbarous nations.

VOX REGIS, See Vol. I. p. 13.

[N. B. The date of the following Direction having been accidentally overlooked, it is here added at the end of her Reign.]

THE
SUMMARIE OF CERTAINE REASONS,
WHICH HAVE
MOVED QUENE ELIZABETH
TO PROCEED IN
REFORMATIONS OF HER BASE AND COURSE MONIES,

And to reduce them to their Values, in sorte, as they may be turned
to fine Monies.

Appointed to be declared by her Majestie, by Order of her Proclamation, in her
Citie of London. Black Letter, Octavo, containing six Pages.

FIRST of all it is knowen, that the honour and reputation of the
singuler wealth, that this realm was wont to have above all other
realms, was partely in that it had no currant monies but golde and
silver; whereas contrary all other countreys, as Almayn, Fraunce,
Spaine, Flaunders, Scotland, and the rest of Christendom have hadde,
and still have certain base monies now of late dayes, by turning of fine
monies into base, muche decayed, and dayly growen into infamie and
reproche, and therefore is thought necessary to be recovered; wherin,
lyke as her Majestie, for her part, meaneth to be at great charges, so
every good Englishe subiecte ought to be content, though it seme some
small losse at the first.

Also, by continuing of the base monies, divers persons; both in
forreine partes, and within the realm, have counterfaicted, from tyme
to tyme, no small quantitie, and brought to porte-townes, and uttered
the same at the fyrste after the rate of xii pence a teston, and after that
for vi pence, where the same was not in dede worth above two-pence;
and caried out of the realm, for those base monies, the riche commo-
dities of the same, as wolle, cloth, lead, tinne, leather, tallowe: yea,
and all kinde of victual, as corne, malt, beere, butter, cheese, and
such lyke, so as counterfaicters, and such like, have, for smal summe
of monies counterfaicted, caried out six times the value in commo-
dities of the realm.

By the means also that these base monies were currant, divers subtyll
people have chaunged the same for the golde and fine sylver monies of
this realm, and have transported and caryed out the same golde and
sylver, so as although there hath ben coyned both in the later end of
the raigne of Kyng Edward, and in the tyme of Quene Mary, and
now also sence the Quenes Maiesties raigne, great quantities of golde
and sylver, yet no part thereof is sene commonly currant; but, as it
may be thought, some part thereof is caryed hence, and some, percase,

by the wyser sort of people, kepte in store, as it were to be wysshed that the whole were.

Also by continuance of this sort of base monies, although Almyghtie God hath gyven, now of late yeares, plentifull increase by the earth, for the which he is to be thanked, without any such plages of scarcitie, as in our forefathers tyme hath bene read, when many hundrethes and thousandes of people have dyed for famine; yet the prices of all thynges growing, or commyng from the earth, hath immeasurably and dayly risen, as all maner of grayne, fruite, cattell, bestiall, victuel, wolfe, leather, and such like, and no remedy could be deuysed to amend the same, but to cause that the same base monies shuld be currant for no more than they were in iust value. For every man, of the least understanding, by one means or other, knew that a teston was not worth six-pence, nor the peece of two-pence was worth so much, and therefore no man woulde gyve gladly that thing which was and ever had ben worth six-pence, for a teston, but woulde rather require two testons: and so a thyng, being worth six-pence, was bought and sold eyther for two testons, or one and a halfe, which was in reckenyng xii or ix pence, and now every teston being brought to the just value, it must needs follow, that one shall buy of another hereafter that for iiii pence halspeny, which was wont to cost vi pence. And, when the teston shall be brought into fine sylver, then shall all men be as desyrous to sell any ware for suche fine monies, as they have of late ben loth and unwyllinge to sell any thyng for the base monies, except they might have had twyce as much of the base monies, as they were wont to have of the fine, or els that for necessitie they were dryuen to sell the same.

By this meanes also, now that the base monies are brought to the just value, and that every man shall have fine monies for them, all poor people that lyved of theyr hand labour, aswell artificers in cities or townes, as labourers in husbandrye, or men that toke dayetall wages, eyther by land, by sea, or by freshe waters, and all meane gentlemen that lyved but upon pensions and stipendes, and all soldiours and scruyng men, that lyved upon solde and wages, shall have theyr pensions, stipendes, soldes, and wages, now payde in good and fine monies, and therewith shall bye more necessities for theyr sustentacion, then could afore be bought; who surely hauyng heretofore after the rate of xxs. xxvis. viiid. v nobles, xl. s. iv marks, v marks, iv pounds, v pounds, xx nobles, and so upward, by the yere payde to them in these base monies, could not have so much victual, apparel, weapon, armure, horses, or such lyke, with the saide stipend, by more than a fourth part, as they shall now have, because in dede the saide base monies were of themselves no more worth.

By this reformation also of base monies shall necessarily folowe a more profitable accoumpte betwixt the monies of this realm, and of other countries, and thereby the accoumpte, which, by merchauntes, is called the Eschaunge, shall also aryse in estimation of the monies of Englande, in suche sorte, as in former tymes hath ben, and the forreine commodities thereby also be bought for easier pryces, to the benefit of all such as shall use the same.

So as, the matter well considered, the greatest numbre, and especially the poorest, shall have most commoditie hereby; yea, and such others as have moste gayned by excessive prices, shall have also (if they will consider themselues) no small profyte and helpe; and, fynally, no manner of person in the whole realm shall have, after one or two monethes, hurt hereby, except onely the traytour which hath lyved by counterfaicting. And, therefore it is to be allowed and imbraced of all people, and every man to thinke, that, although at the first he may suppose that he hath lesse monie in his purse, yet shall he have, for the same metal, as much as that was worth, eyther in ware, or at her Maiesties mint, in fine monies. And, whensoever he shall utter that base monies, which, at the tyme of the proclamation, he hadde, the nexte that he shall gette, eyther by his hand labour, or for his wages, shalbe eyther fine monies, or such as he may have as much fine monies in the mint for it. And, consequently, every man ought to thank Almyghtye God, that he may lyve to see the honour of his countrey thus partely recouered: sylver to come in place of copper, pryces of thynges amende, all people to be more able to lyve of their wages, every mans purse, or coffer, made free from the privie thefe, which was the counterfaictour. And, fynally, the treasure of this realm to be of sylver and golde, as was wonte in our forefathers tyme, and not of brasse and copper, besides many other great commodities that hereof must needs ensue, which, but for length, might be declared; and, for all the same, no losse to any, otherwise, but in opinion at the begynnyng, not much unlyke to them, that, being sicke, receive a medicine, and, in the takyng, feelee some bitterness, but yet, thereby, recover health and strength, and save theyr lives.

And, because it is sene by experience, that many tymes, when good thynges be denyed and attempted, the deuyl sleapeth not to hinder the same, but causeth them eyther to be defeated, or to be defamed and mistaken: Therefore it is meete, that no manner of person gyve any credite to such as shall caste abroad any mistrust or amendment of the money, or shall pretend this decree to be greater, or more burdalous than it is. For, truely, this amendment is so fully purposed by her Maiestie, as besyde that, experience shall trie it within one moneth, or vi weekes, within which tymes, necessarie thynges for the mint must be provided. It is sene, that her Maiestie may reforme these monies according to her proclamation, without any such great losse as might move her to forbear it: And, on the other syde, the monies be so fastly valued, as, indede, the base testons being set at iij. farthyng, and her Maiestie giving at her mint, for every pound of them, xxs. and iij. d. in rewarde, shall, thereby, gyve rather more than they shall be worth, beyng melted, than lesse.

So that her Maiestie, who, since she came to this crowne, never gayned any thing by any coynage, nor yet ever coyned any manner of base monies for this realm, will not now determine to lease the honour and fame that she shall, with small losse or gayne, recouer, by this noble acte, to benefit her realme and people.

And, as to the opinion of the burden of the losse, where the base testons be valued but at ii d. farthyng, whereby such as have them

shall seme to have the greatest losse, it is to be well and reasonably construed and taken of all men, for that there hath not, by good accompte, which hath bene made and well proved, bene above a sixth parte compared to the other base monies of the same sort of testons coyned in the mints of this realm, and at the coynage of the same base testons, now valued at two pence farthyng, which was done in the tyme of the wars heretofore, there were set thereto certaine marks, as a lion, a rose, a flour de luce, or a harp, called the privy marks of such as were then masters of the mint, which also be specified in the proclamation. For the better understanding whereof, here be, in the end of this declaration, set certaine stamps or prints, of every kind of the same base testons, with their saide several marks, to the intent, that every person, looking and beholding the same prints, may the better judge and discern the same from the other, that be valued at iii pence halpenny, although if the same be well considered, the colour of the saide base teston will shew the baseness thereof. And, because her Majestie meaneth to ease her subjects as much as possible may be, she is pleased to commaund her officers in her mint, that where there be many counterfaict testons, which were made by counterfaictours, when the testons were at the value of xii pence a piece, and since also that they were decreed to vi pence, and, by estimation, were so made, as they did contain about two pence farthyng, or thereabouts, in sylver: they shall do their indeavour to receave and trye such counterfaicts, and shall gyve to the subjects, eyther for every such counterfaict two pence farthyng, or so much good fine monies, as the same counterfaicts shall contain in sylver, whereby the people shall be relieved of such losse in some parte for counterfaicts, as, in no realm, any prince eyther hath or ought to do. And, for this, and for all the commodities hereof likely to ensue, her Majesty trusteth her most honourable good meaning shall be embrased of all her good loving subjects, and every person with good will yield to bear a small burden for a tyme, to avoid a perpetual and endless oppression, not only of themselves and their posterity, but also of the whole commonweal.

Given under the Queen's Maiesty's signet at her Honour of Hampton Court, the 29th of September, the Second Year of her Majesty's Reign, MDLX.

N. B. The stamps, or prints, of the base testons, which were printed at the end of the declaration, are now omitted, because there has been no such coyn in use these many years, and therefore it would have been of no use to have printed them.

ENGLAND'S MOURNING GARMENT,

Worn here by plain Shepherds,

IN MEMORY OF THEIR SACRED MISTRESS,

ELISABETH,

Queen of Virtue, while she lived, and Theme of Sorrow, being dead.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

The true manner of her Imperial Funeral.

After which follows the Shepherds Spring-song, for Entertainment of King James, our most potent Sovereign. Dedicated to all that loved the deceased Queen, and honour the living King.

Non Verbia sed Virtute.

London, by V. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his Shop under St. Peter's Church in Cornhill. Quarto, containing forty-eight pages.

This is the fifteenth in the catalogue of the Harleian pamphlets, and contains many peculiar curiosities: Its chief object, it is certain, was to perpetuate the deserved character of Queen Elisabeth, whom our author has, without the borrowed help of bombast, and undeserved praise, described to be most religious to God; temperate in all things; just, merciful, and charitable to her subjects; a faithful ally, and true friend to her distressed neighbours: But, in this compass, he has adorned her just and admirable encomium, with the history of her royal ancestors, from King Henry VII. inclusive; and, among other things, his caution to discontented, murmuring subjects is worthy our observation.

These, with other particulars, are concluded with a funeral song, by way of pastoral; then follows the form, or order of the procession, made at her funeral. To which is added, the Shepherd's Spring-song in gratulation of King James I's accession to the throne of England.

To all true Lovers of the right gracious Queen Elisabeth, in her Lye; being undoubtedly those faithful Subjects that now honour and affect our most potent Lord King James, after her death.

MY epistle to you is like the little town that the Cynick would have persuaded the citizens was ready to run out at the great gates, being scarce so long as the title. In a word, the negligence of many better able hath made me bold to write a small epitome, touching the abundant virtues of Elisabeth, our late sacred mistress; treating of her princely birth, chaste life, royal government, and happy death; being a lady born, living, reigning, dying, all for England's good. The manner is handled between shepherds; the form of speech, like the

persons, rude; affection exceedeth eloquence, and I have not shewn much art, but expressed the duty of a loving heart; shed some tears in reading our shepherds sorrow; and, in that true passion, let your love to our Royal Lord^e be shewn, who hateth hypocrites, as just men hall: Farewel all of you, that give the dead Queen a sad farewel, and the living King a glad welcome; the rest are time-pleasers, and I write not to them.

.S

Felicem fuisse infansum.

.S

THENOT. COLLIN.

Thenot.

COLLIN, thou look'st as lagging as the day,
When the sun, setting towards his western bed,
Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,
And frolick life, with murky clouds o'erspread,
Shall leave all earthly beauty amongst the dead;
Such is the habit of thy new array:
Why art thou not prepar'd to welcome May,
In whose clear moon-thy younglings shall be fed,
With night's sweet dew, and open flowers of day?

Collin.

I answer thee with woe and welaway,
I am in sable clad, sith she cannot be had
That me and mine did glad;
There's all I'll say.

Thenot.

Well spoken, swain, let me thy sorrow ken,
Rich soul, though wrong'd by idle antick men,
And driven by falshood to a clowdy den,
Tell me thy grief.

Collin.

O it is past relief; and which is worst of worst,
Bayards and beasts accurst, with grossest flattery nurst,
Have sung her sacred name, and prais'd her to their shame,
Who was our last and first.

Thenot.

Dear Collin, do not check the humblest song;
The will is ever master of the work;
Those, that can sing, have done all shepherds wrong,

* King James I.

Like lozels in their cottages to lurk :
 The air's the air, though it be thick and murk ;
 If they, to whom true pastorals belong,
 In needful lays use neither pipe nor tongue,
 Shall none the virtuous raise ?

Collin.

Yes, those that merit bays,
 Though tears restrain their lays,
 Some weeping hours or days
 Will find a time,
 To honour Honour still, not with a rural quill,
 But with the soul of skill,
 To bless their rhyme.
 Aye me ! why should I dote
 On rhimes, on songs or note ?
 Confusion can best quote
 Sacred Elisa's loss,
 Whose praise doth grace all verse,
 That shall the same rehearse ;
 No gold need deck her hearse ;
 To her all gold is dross.

With that, Collin, in discontent, broke his pipe, and, in that passion, as if his heart had been like his pipe, parted each piece from the other ; he fell without sense on the earth, not then insensible of his sorrow ; for it yielded, wept, and groaned at once with his fall, his weepings and his sighs. Poor Thenot shouted for help, at whose call came some nymphs full of sorrow for their sovereign ; and, no whit amazed to see him lie as dead, their hearts were so dead, with thinking of that which had astonished his : But yet, as gathering of companies draws more and more to wonder, so procured it among the shepherds, that left none but their curs to attend their flocks, themselves flocking about Thenot and Collin, who now recovered from his trance ; and, all asking the reason of his grief, with tears abounding in his eyes, that likewise drew more abundantly from theirs, he distractedly answered,

— *Illum nec enim reprehendere fas est,
 Qui fleat hanc, cujus fregerunt stamina parca,
 Solus honor sequitur mortales ille misellos.*

And therewithal, making a sign for the shepherds and nymphs to sit down, he told them, they had lost that sacred nymph, that careful shepherdess Elisa ; but, if it pleased them to lend attention, he would repeat something of her worth memory, that should live in despite of death ; whereupon a still silence seized them all, saving only now and then, by sighing, they expressed their hearts sorrow, and Collin thus began :

Seeing honour only followeth mortals, and the works of the virtuous die not with their deaths ; and yet those works, nevertheless, with the

honour and rites due to the departed, might be much blemished, if there were no gratitude in their successors: Let us, poor rurals, though no otherways able to erect statues for our late dread Sovereign worthy all memory, amongst ourselves repeat part of her excellent graces, and our benefit obtained by her government; for, to reckon all, were *opus infinitum*, a labour without end.

She was the undoubted issue of two royal princes, Henry of Lancaster, and Elisabeth of York; in whose union the quiet of us poor swains began; for, until that blessed marriage, England was a shambles of slaughtered men, so violent was the blood of ambition, so potent the factions, and so implacable their heads; whose eyes were never cleared till they were washed in blood, even in the dear blood of their objects hearts. This King, grandfather to our late Queen, was the first British King, that, many a hundred years before, wore the imperial diadem of England, France, and Ireland; in him began the name of Tewther* descended from the ancient British Kings to flourish; the issue male of royal Plantagenet ending in his beginning; his wife, grandmother to our late Elisabeth, being the last Plantagenet, whose temples were here circled with a sphere of gold: Which King and Queen lived and loved, and now lie entombed in that most famous chapel, built at his kingly charge, in the abbey of Westminster. King Henry, dying in a good age, left England rich, beautiful, and full of peace, and so blessed with his issue, after royally matched to Scotland and France, besides his undoubted heir, King Henry of famous memory, the VIIIth, that no kingdom in the earth more flourished.

His son, † the father of our Elisabeth, was to his enemies dreadful, to his friends gracious, under whose ensign the Emperor himself served ‡, so potent a prince he was; besides, so liberal and bounteous, that he seemed, like the sun in his meridian, to shower down gold round about the horizon; but he died too, and left us three princely hopes§; all which have severally succeeded each other, royally maintaining the right of England, and resisted all foreign wrong.

For King Edward, our late Sovereign's brother, though he died young in years, left instance he was no infant in virtues; his learning, towardness, and zeal, were thought fitter for the society of angels than men, with whom no doubt his spirit lives eternally.

Such assurance have we of the happiness of that royal, gracious, and worthy Lady Mary, his eldest sister, who, in her death, expressed the care of her kingdoms, so much lamenting the town's loss, that she told her attendant-ladies, if they would rip her heart, when she was dead, they should find Calais written in it. O Thenot, with all you other nymphs and swains, learn, by this worthy Queen, the care of sovereigns, how heart-sick they are for their subjects loss; and think what felicity we poor worms live in, that have such royal patrons, who eark for our peace, that we may quietly eat the bread of our own labour, tend our flocks in safety, asking of us nothing but fear and duty, which humanity allows, and heaven commands.

* Or Teuder.

† King Henry VIII.

‡ In France.

§ King Edward VI. Queen Mary I. and Queen Elisabeth.

With this Thenot interrupted Collin, telling him, there were a number of true shepherds misliked that Prince's life, and joyed greatly at her death; withal beginning to shew some reasons, but Collin quickly interrupted him in these words:

Peace, Thenot, peace, princes are sacred things,
It fits not swains to think amiss of kings.

For, saith he, the faults of rulers, if any be faulty, are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and, seeing none is superior to a King but God, to him alone refer their actions. And, whereas thou termost them true shepherds that so envied that lady's government, thou art deceived; they are still, as, they then were, proud, fanatick-spirited counterfeits, expert in nothing but ignorance, such as hate all rule; for who resisteth correction more than fools, though they deserve it most? Believe me, Thenot, and all you well-affected swains, there is no greater mark for a true shepherd to be known by than humility, which, God knows, those mad-men most want; too much experience have we of their thread-bare pride, who bite the dead as living curs may lions; not contented with their scandals of that royal lady, our late sovereign's sister, but they have troubled the clear springs of our Mistress Elisabeth's blessed government; nay, myself have seen and heard with glowing ears some of them, even in the fields of Calydon*, when his excellency, that is now our imperial shepherd, was only, lord of their folds, speak of his Majesty more audaciously and malapertly than any of us would do of the meanest officer; for, as I said even now, if rulers chance to slip, it is most insufferable that every impudent railer should, with the breath of his mouth, stir up the chaffy multitude, whose ears itch for novelties, whose minds are as their numbers, divers; not able to judge themselves, much less their sovereigns: but they ought, if they be true pastors, to follow the great Pan, the father of all good shepherds Christ, who teacheth every of his swains to tell his brother privately of his fault, and again and again; by that glorious number, three, including numbers numberless, before it be told the church. If then they must, being true shepherds, deal so with their brethren, how much more ought their followers do to their sovereigns, being kings and queens? And not, in the place where sacred and moral manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the rude to be more unmannerly, instructing every puny to compare with the most reverend prelate; and, by that example, to have every cobbler account himself a king.

Oh, said Thenot, Collin, there are some would ill think of you, should they hear you thus talk, for they reprove all out of zeal, and must spare none.

Peace to thy thoughts, Thenot, answered Collin, I know thou knowest there is a zeal, that is not with knowledge acquainted; but let them and their mad zeal pass, let us forget their railings against princes, and begin with her beginning, after her royal sister's ending, who departing from this earthly kingdom the seventeenth of November, in the

year of our Lord 1558, immediately thereupon Elisabeth, the hand-maid to the Lord of Heaven, and empress of all maids, mothers, youths, and men then living in this English earth, was proclaimed Queen with general applause, being much pitied, for that busy slander and respectless envy had, not long before, brought her into the disfavour of her royal sister Mary, whom we last remembered: in the continuance of whose displeasure, still made greater by some great enemies, how she escaped, needs no repeating, being so well known. Preserved she was from the violence of death, her blood was precious in the sight of God, as is the blood of all his saints; it was too dear to be poured out like water on the greedy earth; she lived, and we have lived under her, forty and odd years, so wonderfully blessed, that all nations have wondered at their own afflictions and our prosperity; and she died, as she lived with us, still careful of our peace, finishing, even then, the greatest wonder of all, our deserts considered, by appointing the kingdom to so just and lawful a ruler to succeed her, whom all true English knew for their undoubted lord, immediately after her death. But, lest we end ere we begin, I will return to her, who, being seated in the throne of Majesty, adorned with all the virtues, divine and moral, appeared to us like a goodly palace, where the graces kept their several mansions.

First, Faith abundantly shone in her, then young, and lost not her brightness in her age; for she believed in her Redeemer, her trust was in the King of Kings, who preserved her, as the apple of his eye, from all treacherous attempts, as many being made against her life, as against any princess that ever lived; yet she was still confident in her Saviour, whose name she glorified in all her actions, confessing her victories, preservings, dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent examples; this one serving for the rest, that, after the dissipation of the Spanish Armatho*, accounted Invincible, she came in person to Paul's-cross, and there, among the meanest of her people, confessed, *non nobis, Domine, non nobis; sed nomini tuo gloria†*. And as she was ever constant in cherishing that faith, wherein she was from her infancy nourished; so was she faithful of her word with her people, and with foreign nations. And albeit I know some, too humourously affected to the Roman ‡ government, make a question in this place, whether her Highness first broke not the truce with the King of Spain? To that I could answer, were it pertinent to me in this place, or for a poor shepherd to talk of state, with unreprouable truths, that her Highness suffered many wrongs before she left off the league.

O, saith Theſot, in some of these wrongs resolve us, and think it no unfitting thing, for thou, that hast heard the songs of that warlike poet Philesides, good Melæbee, and smooth-tongued Melicert, tell us what thou hast observed in their sawes, seen in thy own experience, and heard of undoubted truths touching those accidents, for that they add, I doubt not, to the glory of our Elisa.

To this intreaty Collin condescended, and thus spake: It is not unknown, the Spaniards, a mighty nation, abounding with treasure, being

* pl. Armada.

† Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us; but to thy name be glory, &c.

‡ i. e. Romish or Popish.

war's sinews, torn from the bowels of mines, fetched from the sands of Indian rivers, by the miserable captived natives, have purposed to be lords of Europe. France they have attempted, and failed in; Navarre they have greatly distressed; Lombardy, the garden of the world, they are possessed of; Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, are forced to obey their laws; and, that they reckoned England should be theirs, with such small ease, even, in a manner, with threatening, their songs taught little infants, from Andalusia to Galicia, bear witness. The dice were cast, her Majesty's subjects craftily put into the inquisition upon every small colour; if they escaped, which seldom sorted out so well, alive, could of their goods have no restitution. Their King gave pensions to our Queen's rebellious fugitive subjects, and not only to such, that, in regard of their religion, fled the land, but unto such as had attempted to resist her in active rebellion; and yet, not staying there, out of his treasury proposed rewards for sundry to attempt the murder of her sacred person; of which perfidious guilt she never was tainted; let any Spaniard, or Spanish affected English, prove where she ever hired, abetted, or procured any such against their King's Majesty, and I will yield to be esteemed as false as falsehood itself; nay, they cannot deny, but that, even with the rebels of her realm of Ireland, stirred up to barbarous and inhuman outrages by the Spanish policy, she hath no way dealt but by fair and laudable war.

But before I enter into her Majesty's lenity, in that Irish war, against sundry known rebels, and punishing some of her subjects, that, upon a zeal to her, or, perchance, to get themselves a glory, adventured their own lives, by treachery, to cut off the lives of some great leaders of the rebels: I will a little digress, lest I should be thought, after her death, to maintain the fire of hate, which I ever, in heart, desired might honourably be quenched between these potent kingdoms of England and Spain.

I wish all that read this, to bury old wrongs, and to pray that it would please God of his inestimable mercy to root out all malice from Christian nations; and as our royal sovereign, now reigning, hath conserved league and peace with all princes, so, for the weal of Christendom, it may more and more increase, that the open enemies of Christ may the better be repelled from those wealthy kingdoms in the East, where they have, many hundred years, most barbarously tyrannised; for no man doubts, but the blood shed within these thirty years, as well of English, as Scottish, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese, in the quarrel of religion, might, if God had so been pleased, been able to have driven the heathen* monarch from his nearest hold in Hungaria, to the fall of Danubia, in the Euxine sea, especially with the assistance of the French, that have cruelly fallen either upon others swords.

But I trust God hath suffered this offence to add more glory to our mighty King, that he should be the most famous of all his predecessors, as, indeed, he is the most mighty, and hath been raised to this realm, as a saviour, to deliver England, and make it more abundant in ble-

* Turkish.

sings, when many looked it should have had all her glory swallowed up of spoil.

The highness of his imperial place, greatness of his blood, mightiness of his alliance, but most, his constancy in the true profession of religion, even amidst my sorrows, Thenot, fill me with joys: when I consider how a number, that gaped for our destruction, have their mouths shut close, yet empty, where they thought to eat the sweets of our painful sweat; but, God be praised, as I said before, her Highness, that ruled us many years in peace, left us, in her death, more secure, by committing us to our lawful Prince, matched to a royal fruitful lady, that hath borne him such hopeful issue, that the days we lately feared, I trust, are as far off, as this instant is from the end of all earthly times; who shall not only, with their royal father, maintain these his kingdoms in happy peace, but subject more under him, and spread the banners of Christ in the face of misbelievers.

In this hope I here break off, and return to our late Sovereign's care of keeping faith, even toward her rebel subjects, which I will manifest in some two or three examples of the Irish.

When the rebel O'Neale, in the time of that memorable gentleman, Sir Henry Sidney, his deputy-ship of Ireland, was mightily strengthened in his country, and so potent, that the deputy had many dangerous and unadvantageable skirmishes against him: a servant of her Majesty's, one Smith, thinking to do a worthy piece of service, by poisoning O'Neale, prepared a little bottle, parted in the midst; one side containing good wine, the other with tempered poison of the same colour; and that he carries to O'Neale, under colour of gratification, for that his army lay far from the sea, or merchantable towns, and he thought wine was unto him very dainty, which O'Neale accepted kindly; for that the said Smith was born in O'Neale's country, and such the Irish do especially, and before others, trust, to bring messages even from their greatest enemies, under whom they serve.

But, the deceit being quickly espied, Smith was, by O'Neale, sent bound to the deputy, to whose plot he would fain have imputed the same practice; but, contrarily, the deputy publicly punished the said Smith, and her Majesty refused him for her servant, saying, she would keep none near her that would deal treacherously, no, though it were against traitors.

The like example was shewn on another, that would have attempted the poisoning of Rory Og, a bloody and dangerous rebel.

To which may be added, that her Highness, among other trespasses objected by her attorney against a convicted deputy, was, that he went about by poison to have took away the life of Felf Mac Hue, a rebel more immane and barbarous than any of the other two; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, yet living, opening at the same time, how just a spirit her Majesty was possessed with, that she hated treason, even to traitors; much more then to anointed Kings, whose honours and reputations she so maintained, that she not long since punished, by fine and imprisonment, a wealthy railer, for unreverent words spoken against the person of King Philip, her open and professed enemy; so faithful, so just, so gracious was she.

And to make it more plain, that Spain intended England the first wrong, so long time before it was muttered; but after that memorable battle of Lepanto, wherein Don John of Austria obtained the triumphant Christian victory against the Turks; to reward him, England was the kingdom set down, being then in her Majesty's possession; but he had it, when they could give him it that promised the same, which was at latter Lammas. And I trust his niece shall have as good success with her pretended title; for, if God strengthened her Majesty so, that, against her, being a woman, they could not prevail, we trust his almightiness will be as careful of our king, being already lord of three such people as have seldom been equalled in battle, except they have unnaturally contended among themselves; the sight of which day, dear shepherds, let us pray never again to see. Besides to express her farther intent, to preserve faith and league, notwithstanding infinite open wrongs, and certain knowledge, that a navy for invasion of this realm had been preparing more than fifteen years; yet did she bear, until, against all law of nations, the ambassador-liege of Spain, honoured with many favours, did, notwithstanding, plot and confederate with native traitors of this land; and, the matter being apparently proved, he was, by her mild sufferance, admitted to depart the realm, without any violence, to his perpetual reproach, and her never dying glory. Well, I will here conclude; touching this virtue of faith, both towards God and man, she was as firm in the one as mortality could be, and in the other approved glorious among all the princes of her time.

For Hope, the second divine virtue, she rather therein abounded, than was any way wanting; for her hope was no way wandering, she believed, and it came to pass; her enemies arise, but, before their arising, she was certain to see them fall; she having, by example of things past, nothing doubted of things to come; and she was not deceived till the hour of her death, for ever her expectation was fulfilled; she kept peace within, chasing the spoiler without; and, even as it is sung of Epaminondas, that valiant Theban captain, in his last victorious battle, wherein yet death of him got victory, he thus gloried, *Hercin am I comforted, that I die a conqueror.* For, even when death laid his last siege to her yet unvanquished life, Tyrone, the long disturber of her state, besought mercy at her feet. O nymphs and shepherds, doubt not she was full of divine hope, whose heart obtained ever the thing it faithfully desired, and that her desires were all of faith; I could add infinite examples to these already alledged, but that it is needless to cast water in the sea, or to make a question of that all men know, and will confess, except some whose hearts are strangers from truth, and the professed receptacles of falsehood.

Her Charity, the third and principal divine grace to the eyes of mortals (for that faith and hope bend principally their service to heaven, and charity's effects are manifested on earth) hath been extended over all her realms, and stretched to the comfort of her oppressed neighbours. The multitudes of poor daily relieved from her purse, the numbers of sick persons yearly visited, and, by her own hand, their corrupt sores touched, the washing of poor women's feet, and relieving

their wants, was a sign she was humble as well as charitable; for humility is charity's sister, they are two twins born at one time, and, as they are born together in any soul whatever, so do they live and die together; the humble spirit being ever charitable, and the charitable ever humble; for it is as impossible to have a proud man charitable, as to reconcile fire and water, or to make accord between any contraries. As she was, in these particulars, exceeding all ladies of her time, given to this helpful virtue, so had she general impositions through all her kingdom, for her well able subjects to follow her example; and so much did her example prevail, that, besides the ordinary and weekly alms distributed through the realm, there have been more particular alms-houses built for the relief of the aged, than in any six princes reigns before. And as all parts of England have, in this imitation, been very forward, so hath the city of London exceeded all; wherein divers private men have built sundry houses for the poor, and allowed them pensions; but the corporations have been most bountiful, as most able; and, among all, the right worshipful the merchant-taylors have exceeded the rest, all having done well, that have done any thing, but they best of any other, as I will one day, in a song of liberal shepherds, thankfully express; though, for myself, I know him not in the least gift to whom I am, in that sort, bound; but I ken not, *Thenot*, how I may, for there is none living but may lack. As the city, so many knights, gentlemen, honourable and devout persons, have followed her example; above the rest, an honourable, careful, reverend, and learned watchman, as full of mildness and piety, as he is of years, and griefs for his good and royal mistress's loss, within few miles of this city, hath built a worthy receptacle * to the like charitable end.

As for the poor and decrepid with age her Royal Majesty had this charitable care, so for soldiers and suitors she was very provident: The last being oppressed, in any part of her realms, by men of much wealth and little conscience, she allowed them council and proceedings, *in forma pauperis*, and maintenance weekly, in the terms, for some part of their succour. For soldiers and men of service, her decrees of provision are extant: Besides, it is most clear, no prince in the world, to land or seamen, was more bountiful, or willing, than her Highness; out of her coffers it went: but there is an old proverb, *Thenot*, 'carriage is dear;' and I have heard, but I will stand to nothing, base ministers and under-officers curtail the liberalities of great and potent masters. Some have, in her time, been taken with the manner, and, besides bodily punishment and fines, displaced: as I well remember, and cannot omit, amidst my grief, to tell, though somewhat from this subject it dissent, being of a fellow too mean; how her Highness, in one of her progresses, walking in the garden of a house where she was received, being somewhat near the high-way, heard on a sudden a market woman cry, and, from an arbour, beheld one of her own servants, a taker-up † of provision, use the woman uncivilly; whereupon, the cause being examined, and the poor woman found by the same fellow to be wronged, as well before as then, her

* Called Queen Elisabeth's College at Greenwich.

† Purveyor.

Highness caused him presently to be discharged of her service, and punished: Yet, the fault being but sleight, the taker was countenanced to make suit to be restored, and, some half year after, fell down before her Majesty, desiring mercy and restoring: her Highness, pitying his distress, commanded him to be provided for in some place, where he could not wrong her poor subjects; but, in any case, not to make him a taker. Many such false ones she hath punished with death. I could in this, as all the rest, reckon multitudes of examples; but I will knit all up with her excellence in this act of charity extended to her neighbours *, whom she hath, by her bounty, delivered from the tyranny of oppression; and aided the right of others † against rebellious subjects; others ‡ assisted to recover their kingdoms, not sparing millions to sustain the quarrel of the righteous: The reward of which mercy and charity she now finds, receiving infinite glories for her abounding charity, being done for his cause that leaveth no deed of mercy unrecompensed.

As she was richly stored with divine graces, so, in moral virtues, no princess, ever living in the earth, can be remembered to exceed her. Her wisdom was, without question, in her life, by any unequalled; she was sententious, yet gracious in speech; so expert in languages, that she answered most ambassadors in their native tongues; her capacity was therewith so very apprehensive, and invention so quick, that, if any of them had gone beyond their bounds, with majesty undaunted, she would have limited them within the verge of their duties; as she did royally, wisely, and learnedly the last strutting Poland messenger, that thought, with stalking looks and swelling words, to daunt her undaunted excellence: but, as he came proud, he returned not without repentance, having no other wrong here, but the sin of his own sauciness.

Many such examples I could set down, but I will satisfy you with one more: When the Spaniards, having their Armatho || ready, temporised with her Highness's commissioners in the Low-Countries, thinking to find her Highness unprovided; at last, when they accounted all sure, they sent her their King's choice, either of peace or war, wittily included in four Latin verses; portending, that, if she would cease to defend the Low-Countries; restore the goods taken by reprisal from the Spaniards; build up the religious houses diverted in her father's time, and let the Roman § religion be received through her land, why then she might have peace; if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commanding embassy, with royal magnanimity, gracious wisdom, and fluent wit, she answered instantly in one known proverbial line ¶, which she suddenly made into a verse:

Ad Græcas hæc fiant mandata Calendas,

O Thenot, did not assurance of our kingly poets love to the muses somewhat comfort me, I should utterly despair ever to hear pastoral song again filled with any conceit; seeing her Excellence, whose

* The Dutch.
‡ Al. Armads.

† The King of France.
§ Popish.

‡ The King of Navarre.
¶ These commands shall be obeyed at latter Lammas.

brain, being the Helicon of all our best and quaiat inventions, is dried up by the inevitable heat of death.

Her Justice was such, as never any could truly complain of her: neither did she pardon faults unpardonable, as, murder, rape, sodomy, that sin almost not to be named; neither was there in her time, with her knowledge, extremity of justice shewn to other malefactors: If any such did fall, it was either by falshood or malice of the evidence, or some other secret, wherewith poor shepherds are unacquainted; only this we are taught, that God sometimes punisheth the sins of parents on their children, to many generations.

But, for herself, she was always so inclined to equity, that, if she left justice in any part, it was in shewing pity, as in one general punishment, for murder, it appeared; whereas, before time, there was extraordinary torture, as, hanging wilful murderers alive in chains; she, having compassion, like a true shepherdess of their souls, though they were of her erring and utterly infected flock, said, Their death satisfied for death, and life for life was all could be demanded; and affirming more, that much torture distracted a dying man. In particular, she saved many; among some unworthy of her mercy, that proud fellow, who unjustly named himself Doctor Parry; and another, as I remember, called Patrick, an Irishman. The first, having offended in burglary, against a lawyer able and willing to take away his life, thereto urged by many misdemeanours; and, for that Parry doubted his attempt to kill, and act of felony, was without compass of pardon, considering the place where it was done, and against whom, he thought a lease of life safest, which, of her benign mercy, he obtained, for twenty-one years; but, ere three of them were past, he did unnaturally attempt her death, that had given him life; for which traiterous ingratitude he worthily was cut off. The Irishman likewise, being pardoned for a manslaughter, proved as unthankful, and ended, as he lived, shamefully. Besides, she was so inclinable to mercy, that her just and severe judges told her, how some desperate malefactors, building on friends and hopes of pardon, cared not for offending, but even scoffed at authority; wherefore when she heard, she took special care, considering it was as great injustice to pity some, as spare others; taking order to sign no pardon, except the judge's hand were at it first, who truly knew the cause why the party was condemned; by which means, murderers and presumptuous offenders were cut off from all hope.

One notable example of her justice, among many, I will here remember: Certain, condemned for piracy, having made some end with them they wronged, lay for their lives at her mercy; and, the judge of her admiralty having signified favourably of the quality of their offence, she was moved to pity them, and had commanded their pardon to be drawn. In the mean time, two of them, trained up in the fashion of our common cutters, that, I may tell thee, Thenot, swam rather like devils, than men, about the country; that swear, as if they had license to blaspheme, and stab men, as if they had authority; nay, sometimes themselves, for very trifles: two such, I say, were in the company of these condemned pirates, hourly hoping for their lives, and braving

either other of their manhood, saying, One durst more than the other. The eldest, being master of their late ship, wherein they had sailed to that place of sorrow, slices his own flesh with a knife, asking the other, if he durst do as much? The younker was very ready, and two or three times followed the old fool, in that desperate wounding of himself.

This brutish act, being committed in the prison belonging to her Majesty's own house, came quickly to her royal ear, and, some few days after, their pardon to be signed; who graciously gave life to all the rest, but commanded them, by express name, to execution, saying, they were unworthy mercy, that had none of themselves; adding, It was very likely, that such, as in prison, and in their state, would be so cruel to shed their own blood, would have small compassion of others, whom they overcame at sea: And so, leaving them to the law, they were worthily executed.

Of her mercy nothing can be said more, but that it equalled, or rather, as I said before, exceeded her justice; among infinite numbers, whom she pardoned, that * one, especially, being a clear witness, who shot the gun off against Greenwich, even into her Majesty's barge, and hurt the next man to her, at broad day-light; almost impossible to be excused by negligence or ignorance; for that any man, having his piece charged, would rather, upon retiring home, have discharged it among the reeds, than toward the breadth of the river, whose silver breast continually bore up a number of vessels, wherein men passed, on sundry affairs. However wilful, or unwilful, the act was, done it was, and, by a jury, he was found guilty, and adjudged to die. Towards execution he was led, with such clamour and injuries of the multitude, as seldom any the like hath been seen, or heard; so heinous and odious his offence appeared unto them, that, being upon the ladder, ready to be cast off, the common people had no pity of him; when, even just in that moment of despair and death, her Majesty sent a gracious pardon, which delivered him, to all men's wonder. I want but the Arcadian shepherd's enchanting phrase of speaking, that was many times witness to her just mercies and merciful justice; yet, rude as I am, I have presumed to handle this excellent theme, in regard the funeral hastens on, of that sometime most serene lady; and yet I see none, or, at least, not past one or two, that have sung any thing, since her departure, worth the hearing; and, of them, they that are best able scarce remember her Majesty. I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning Collin, indeed (for, alas! I confess my self too too rude) complaining, that a liberal *Mecenas* long since, dying, was immediately forgotten, even by those that, living, most laboured to advance his fame; and these, as I think, close part of his songs:

Being dead, no poet seeks him to revive,
Tho' many poets flatter'd him alive.

* Named Appletree.

Somewhat like him, or at least to that purpose, of a person more excellent, though in ruder verse I speak :

Death now hath seiz'd her in his icy arms,
That sometime was the sun of our delight:
And, pitiless of any after harms,
Hath veil'd her glory in the cloud of night.
Nor doth one poet seek her name to raise,
That living, hourly, striv'd to sing her praise.

He that so well could sign the fatal strife
Between the royal roses, white and red,
That prais'd so oft Elisa in her life,
His muse seems now to die, as she is dead :
Thou sweetest song-man of all English swains,
Awake for shame, honour ensues thy pains.

But thou alone deserv'dst not to be blam'd
He that sung forty years her life and birth,
And is by English Albions so much fam'd,
For sweet mixt lays of Majesty and mirth,
Doth of her loss take now but little keep ;
Or else I guess he cannot sing, but weep.

Neither doth Coryn, full of worth and wit,
That finish'd dead Musæus' gracious song,
With grace as great, and words, and verse as fit,
Chide meagre death for doing virtue wrong :
He doth not seek with songs to deck her hearse,
Nor make her name live in his lively verse.

Nor does our English Horace, whose steel pen
Can draw characters which will never die,
Tell her bright glories unto list'ning men,
Of her he seems to have no memory.
His muse another path desires to tread,
True satyrs scourge the living, leave the dead.

Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied muse one sable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his desert,
And to his lays open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elisabeth,
And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, death.

No less do thou, sweet singer Corydon,
The theme exceedeth Edward's Isabel ;
Forget her not in Poly-Albion,
Make some amends, I know thou lov'dst her well.
Think 'twas a fault to have thy verses seen,
Praising the King, e're they had mourn'd the Queen.

And thou delicious sportive Musidore,
 Although thou hast resign'd thy wreath of bay,
 With cypress bind thy temples, and deplore
 Elisa's winter in a mournful lay :

I know thou can'st, and none can better sing
 Hearse songs for her, and Pæans to our King.

Quick Antihorace, though I place thee here,
 Together with young Mœlibee thy friend :
 And Heroes last Musæus, all three decree,
 All such whose virtues highly I commend.

Prove not ingrate to her that many a time
 Hath stoop'd her Majesty, to grace your rhyme.

And thou that scarce hast fledg'd thy infant muse
 (I use thine own word) and commend thee best,
 In thy proclaiming James ; the rest misuse
 The name of poetry, with lines unblest'd.
 Holding the muses to be masculine,
 I quote no such absurdity in thine.

Thee do I thank for will, thy work let pass,
 But wish some of the former had first writ,
 That from their poems, like reflecting glass,
 Steel'd with the purity of art and wit,
 Elisa might have liv'd in every eye,
 Always beheld till time and poems die.

But cease you goblins, and you under elves ;
 That with rude rhymes and meetres reasonless,
 Fit to be sung for such as your base selves,
 Presume to name the muses patroness.

Keep your low spheres, she hath an angel spirit,
 The learned'st swain can hardly sing her merit.

Only her Brother King, the muses trust
 (Blood of her grandsire's blood, plac'd in her throne)
 Can raise her glory from the bed of dust,
 To praise her worth belongs to Kings alone.
 In him shall we behold her majesty,
 In him her virtue lives and cannot die.

At this Thenot and the rest desired him to proceed in his discourse of her virtues ; remembering where he left, at justice ; and, though the matter pleased them so well, that they could endure the hearing many days, yet, seeing the sun began to dye the west sea with vermilion tincture, the palace of the morning being hidden in sable clouds, and that the care of their flocks must be respected, requested him to be as brief, as the time limited him.

To which Collin answered : Thenot, I perceive thou art as all or the most part of the world is, careful only of thine own ; and, however friends fall, yet profit must be respected. Well thou dost well ; and

in this I doubly praise thee; to cark for sheep and lambs, that cannot tend themselves, and not to mourn as without hope our great shepherdess; who, after long life and glory on earth, hath obtained a longer and more glorious life in heaven. But to proceed: as she was constant in faith, stedfast in hope, chearful in giving, prudent in speaking, just in punishing, but most merciful in pardoning; so, for the third moral virtue, temperance, there was, in no age before, a woman so exalted to earthly honour ever read of; that so long, so graciously, in outward and domestick affairs, governed her kingdom, family and person, with like moderation.

First, for her kingdom, what can be devised more near the mean, than she hath in all things followed? for in religion, as in other things, there hath been an extreme erring from the truth, which, like all virtues, being indeed the head of all, keepeth place in the midst; so hath she established the true Catholick and Apostolical Religion in this land, neither mingled with multitudes of idle superstitions; nor yet wanting true honour and reverence for the ministry, in laudable and long received ceremonies.

But here I shall be carped at, in that I call the religion professed in her time, true Catholick and apostolical; considering the see of Rome, and such English only, as be her sworn sons, think that seat all one to hold the apostolical faith; excluding her Majesty, and all other Christian princes with their subjects, that have not fallen before that chair, as people worthy to be cut off from Christ's congregation; given them names of Protestants, Lutherans, and I know not what. And on another side, a selected company*, that would needs be counted saints and holy ones, when there is nothing but corruption in their hearts, they forsooth condemned her sacred government for Antichristian; when, to the amazement of superstitious Romans, and self-praising sectaries, God approved his faith by his love towards her. And lest I should be tasked of ignorance, and termed a Nullifidian in defending neither of these sides; and only of the faith that the collier professed, which was ever one with the most: I say, I was born and brought up in the religion, professed by that most Christian princess Elisabeth, who believed not that the spirit of God was bound or tied to any one place, no more to Rome, than Antioch; that the candlestick of any church might be removed, for neglecting their first love, and teaching traditions of men, instead of sacred verity; and no man can deny but the church of Rome hath so taught, and standeth not in her first estate; but, if it were in the primitive church, perfectly and fully established, then hath it received many traditions since, which our Elisabeth, nor any of her faithful subjects would obey, being no way by God's word thereunto warranted; besides, there are apparent proofs that the church of Rome hath many hundred years persecuted with great cruelty; which is no badge of the true apostolical church.

For the other sort, it is well known, they are, for the most part, ignorant and mechanick people, led by some few hot-spirited fellows, that would fain have all alike. These tying themselves to a more

* Anabaptists and Puritans.

straight course outwardly than other men, and though they bitterly objected to the Romanists, yet have they more he saints and she saints among them than are in the Romish calendar; where none, or at least but very few, are called saints, but holy virgins, martyrs, and confessors; but all the brethren and sisters of the other side are, at the first receiving into their communion, sainted, if it be but Kit Cobler, and Kate his wife; and both he and she presume they have as sufficient spirits to teach and expound the scriptures, as either Peter, or John, or Paul; for so bluntly they term the blessed apostles: but their vanity and pride our Elisabeth hated, and therefore bridled their ways, and was not moved with their hypocritical fasts; because 'they fasted to strife and debate', as it is written by the prophet Esaiah, lviii. and 'to smite with the fist of wickedness.'

Her Highness, therefore, taught all her people the undoubted truth; that faith in Christ alone, the way, the door, and the life; not turning either to the right hand, or to the left; and in this, being the best mean, her temperance chiefly appeared; this rule she taught her kingdom, her family, herself; at least caused them to be taught by excellent pastors, to whom humbly she gave publick ear.

As in this, so for apparel, manners, and diet, she made laws, and gave example in her own person; to curb the vanity of pride in garments, by express statutes, appointed all men and women to be apparelled in their degree and calling. To repress the excess of drinking and hated sin of drunkenness, she hath commanded no drink in her land to be brewed above an easy price; and, to avoid gormandising, she hath yearly commanded the Lent and fasting-days to be kept; as in times before, not for superstition's sake, but common policy, to have God's creatures received indifferently: and alone to increase mariners for the strength of the isle, whose numbers, while fish is contemned, by neglect of fishing, mightily decay; fishers, being indeed, pretty trained mariners, by reason that they have experience in most of the havens, creeks, shoals, flats, and other profits and dangers near the places they used. But what should I say, if they, that will only make the scripture their cloke, and yet respect not this part? obey the magistrate for conscience; their sin fall upon themselves. I trust the prince is excusable, that would his subjects would do well; and so I am certain was her excellencie.

True, said Thenot, but, for all her laws, these courses were little set by; I have seen upstarts yet it gayer than lords, numbers drink till they have seemed dead, and multitudes eat flesh even upon Good Friday. What remedy? said Collin; they that will break the King's law, make little account of God's; such subjects are like false executors; they perform not the legacies of the dead; her highness was not the worse, for that good laws were violated; they, that dealt so with her, dealt worse with God; offending him double, by breaking his laws and her's. But in her own household and person she observed all these rules; and, though many abroad by corruption were winked at, yet sometimes there were some taken and paid home.

But her excelling self, though her table was the abundantliest furnished of any princess in the world with all variety; yet fed she

oftenest of one dish, and that not of the daintiest. For quaffing, as it was unfitting her sex, so she extremely abhorred it, hating superfluity as hell; and so far was she from all niceness, that I have heard it credibly reported, and know it by many instances to be true, that she never could abide to gaze in a mirror, or looking-glass; no not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adorned; but simply trusted to her attendant ladies for the comeliness of her attire; and, that this is true, Thenot, I am the rather persuaded, for that, when I was young, almost thirty years ago, courting it now and then, I have seen the ladies make great shift to hide away their looking-glasses, if her Majesty had passed by their lodgings.

O humble lady, how meek a spirit hadst thou? How far from affecting beauty, or vain pride; when thou desiredst not to see that face, which all thy subjects longed daily to behold, and sundry princes came from far to wonder at.

As in all these things she kept truly the mien, so likewise in her gifts; as I first noted, touching her charity, which was still so tempered, notwithstanding her great charge, in aiding her distressed neighbours, that she was ever truly liberal, and no way prodigal; as I trust his Royal Majesty shall by the treasure find.

As she was adorned with all these virtues, so was she indued with fortitude and princely courage, so plentifully, that her displeasure shook even her stoutest adversaries; and those unnatural traitors, that came armed sundry times, with bloody resolution to lay violent hands on her sacred Majesty, her very looks would daunt, and their instruments, prepared for her death, dropped from their trembling hands, with terror of their consciences, and amazement to behold her countenance; nay, when she knew they came of purpose to kill her, she hath singled divers of them alone, and let some pass from her with mild caveats afar off; whose lenity rather increasing than diminishing their malice, they have followed destruction, which too timely overtook them.

I could, in this place, name many particular men, as Parry, and others; but I will content you with one private example overpassing the general. Fortitude she shewed in her youth, in her captivity, and in her glory, at all times; for defence of her faith, and all oppressed true professors thereof; ending with this example of her high courage and assured confidence in God. When Appletree, whom I remembered before, had hurt her waterman, being next to her in the barge; the French ambassador being amazed, and all crying, Treason, Treason; yet she, with an undaunted spirit, came to the open place of the barge, and bid them never fear, for, if the shot were made at her, they durst not shoot again; such majesty had her presence, and such boldness her heart, that she despised all fear, and was, as all princes are, or should be, so full of divine fulness, that guilty mortality durst not behold her, but with dazzled eyes.

But I wonder, saith Thenot, she in so many years built no goodly edifice, wherein her memory might live.

So did she, answered Collin, the goodliest building * in the earth, such as like floating isles commanded the seas, whose outward walls are dreadful engines of brass, sending fearful thunder amongst enemies. And the inhabitants of those wooden isles are worthy sea-men, such as dread no danger, but, for her, would have run even into destruction's mouth. I tell thee, Thenot, I have seen, in a fight, some, like nimble spirits, hanging in the air by little cords; some lading ordnance with deathful powder; some charging musquets, and discharging ruin on their enemies; some at the foreship, other busy at the helm, skipping here and there like roes in lightness, and lions in courage; that it would have poured spirit into a sick man to see their resolutions. For such tenants made she many buildings, exceeding any emperor's navy in the earth, whose service, I doubt not, will be acceptable to her most worthy successor, our dread sovereign Lord the King.

Other palaces she had great store of, which she maintained and yearly repaired, at least would have done, if those, that had care of her surveying, would have been as careful for her's as for their own.

What should I say of her? The cloudy mantle of the night covers the beauty of the heaven; and this evening looks like those four days that preceded the morning of her death. The beasts, the night that she ended her fate in earth, kept an unwonted bellowing, so that I assure thee, Thenot, being assured of her sickness, I was troubled, being awakened with their cries, with imagination of her death, that I pitied not my bleating flocks, who, with their innocent notes, kept time with my true tears, till the hour of her death was past, when immediately a heavy sleep shut up the windows of mine eyes; at which time, as I have since heard, death's eternal sleep utterly benumbed all her senses, whose soul, I doubt not, hath already entered endless rest, whither God will draw her glorified body in his great day. Sweet virgin, she was born on the eve of that blessed virgin's nativity, holy Mary, Christ's mother; she died on the eve of the Annunciation of the same most holy virgin; a blessed note of her endless blessedness, and her society in heaven with those wise virgins, that kept oil ever in their lamps, to await the bridegroom. She came unto the crown after her royal sister's death, like a fresh spring even in the beginning of winter, and brought us comfort, as the clear sun doth to storm-dressed mariners; she left the crown likewise in the winter of her age, and the beginning of our spring; as if the ruler of heaven had ordained her coronation in our sharpest winter, to bring us happiness, and uncrowned her in our happiest spring, to leave us in more felicity by her successor. O happy beginning, and more happy end; which, notwithstanding, as natural sons and subjects, let her not go unwept for to her grave. This evening let us be like the evening, that drops dewy tears on the earth; and, while our hinds shut up the sheep in their folds, sing a funeral song for the loss of divine Elisabeth; invoking absent scholars to bewail her, whom, in sundry schools, she cherished, and personally, in either of their universities, visited; let us bid soldiers lament her, towards whom,

* A fine fleet of ships.

besides many apparent signs of her exceeding love, this is one most worthy memory: she came amongst them mounted at Tilbury, being gathered into a royal army against the Spanish invasion; promising to share with them in all fortunes, if the enemy durst but shew his face on land. Let citizens likewise shed tears for her loss, especially those of London, to whom she was ever a kind sovereign, and bountiful neighbour.

I need not bid the courtiers weep, for they can never forget the countenance of their gracious mistress, till they have engraven in their hearts the favour of their most royal master. For, as poor shepherds, though we are not able to suit ourselves in blacks fine enough to adorn so royal an interment; yet, Thenot, quicken thy invention, Dryope and Chloris shall bear part; and let us conclude our sorrow for Elisa in a funeral hymn, that shall have power to draw from the swelling clouds waters to assist our woe. The springs, taught by the tears that break from our eyes, already overflow their bounds: The birds sit mute to hear our musick, and our harmless flock hearken to ourmoans.

To this they all, as gladly as their grief would suffer them, consented. Collin for his broken pipe took Cuddyes, who could neither sing nor play, he was so full of passion and sighs,

The Funeral Song between Collin and Thenot, Dryope and Chloris, upon the Death of the sacred Virgin Elisabeth.

Collin.

YE sacred muses dwelling,
Where art is ever swelling;
Your learned fount forsake,
Help funeral songs to make;
Hang them about her hearse,
That ever loved verne.
Clio write down her story,
That was the muses glory.



Dryope.

And, ye soft-footed hours,
Make ready cypress bowers;
Instead of roses sweet,
(For present spring-time meet)
Strew all the paths with yew,
Night-shade and bitter rue.
Bid Flora hide her treasure;
Say, 'tis no time of pleasure.

Thenot.

And, you divinest graces,
Veil all your sacred faces,
With your bright shining hair,
Shew every sign of care :
The heart, that was your fane,
The cruel fates have slain :
From earth no power can raise her,
Only our hymns may praise her.

Chloris.

Muses, and hours, and graces,
Let all the hallow'd places,
Which the clear moon did view,
Look like a sable hue:
Let not the sun be seen,
But weeping for the Queen,
That grace and muse did cherish;
O that such worth should perish!

Collins.

So turn our verse, and on this lofty pine
Each one engrave for her some funeral line:
Thus I begin.

Collin's Epitaph.

Elisa, maiden mirror of this age,
Earth's true Astræa, while she liv'd and reign'd,
Is thrown by death from her triumphant stage;
But by that fall hath endless glory gain'd;
And foolish death would fain, if he could weep,
For killing her, he had no power to keep.

Thénot's Epitaph.

**Elisa, rich and royal, fair and just,
Gives heaven her soul, and leaves her flesh to dust.**

Dryope's Epitaph.

There is no beauty but it fades,
No glory, but is veil'd with shades:
So is Ella, Queen of maids,
Stoop'd to her fate.
Yet death, in this, hath little thriv'd,
For thus her virtues have atchiev'd,
She shall, by verse, live still reviv'd,
In spite of hate.

Chloris's Epitaph.

Elisa, that astonished her foes,
 Stoop'd her rebellious subjects at her feet;
 Whose mind was * still the same in joy, in woes;
 Whose frown was fearful, and her favours sweet:
 Sway'd all this land, but most herself she sway'd,
 Liv'd a chaste Queen, and dy'd a royal maid.

These epitaphs ended, the nymphs and shepherds led by Collin and Thenot, who before plaid heavy tunes on their oaten pipes, got to their several cottages, and spent their time till midnight, mourning for Elisa: but sleep, the equaller of Kings and captives, banished their sorrows. What humour they are in after rest, you shall, in the morning, hear; for commonly, as the day is, so are our affections disposed.

The Order and Proceeding at the Funeral of the Right, High, and Mighty Princess Elisabeth, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, from the Palace of Westminster, called Whitehall, to the Cathedral Church of Westminster, the 28th of April, 1603.

FIRST, the knight marshal's man, to make way.	After them Grooms.
Next, the two-hundred and forty poor women, by four and four.	Wheat-porters.
Then, servants of gentlemen, esquires, and knights.	Coopers.
Two porters.	Wine-porters.
Next, four trumpets.	Conducts in the cake-house.
After them	Bell-ringer.
Rose, pursicant at arms.	Maker of spice bags.
Two serjeants at arms.	Cart-takers, chosen by the board.
The standard of the Dragon.	Long-carts.
Two equeries leading a horse.	Cart-takers.
Then the messengers of the chamber, four by four.	Of the almonry.
Children of the almonry.	Of the stable.
Children of the wood-yard.	Of the wood-yard.
Children of the scullery.	Scullery.
Children and furners of the pastry.	Pastry.
The scalding-house.	Scalding-house.
The larder.	Poultry.
	Catery.
	Boiling-house.
	Larder.
	Kitchen.

* Her royal word or motto was, *Semper Eadem*.

Laundry.
 Ewry.
 Confectionary.
 Wafery.
 Chaundry.
 Pitcher-house.
 Buttery.
 Cellar.
 Pantry.
 Bake-house.
 Compting-house.
 Then noblemen's and ambassador's
 servants.
 Grooms of the chamber.
 Four Trumpets.
 Bluemantle.
 A serjeant at arms.
The Standard of the Greyhound.
 Two equeries leading a horse.
 Yeomen of the servitors in the
 hall, four and four.
 Cart-takers.
 Porters.
 Almonry.
 Harbingers.
 Wood-yard.
 Scullery.
 Pastry.
 Poultry and scalding-house.
 Purveyors of the poultry.
 Purveyors of the acatry.
 Stable.
 Boiling-house.
 Larder.
 Kitchen.
 Ewry.
 Confectionary.
 Wafery.
 Purveyor of the wax.
 Tallow chandlers.
 Chaundry.
 Pitcher-house.
 Brewers.
 Buttery.
 Purveyors.
 Cellar.
 Pantry.
 Garneter.
 Bakehouse.
 Compting-house.

Spicery.
 Chamber.
 Robes.
 Wardrobe.
 Earls and countesses servants.
 Four trumpets.
 Portcullis.
 A serjeant at arms.
The standard of the Lion.
 Two equeries leading a horse trap-
 ped with velvet.
 Serjeant of the vestry.
 Children of the chapel in sur-
 plices.
 Gentlemen of the chapel in
 copes.
 Clerks.
 Deputy clerk of the market.
 Clerks extraordinary.
 Cofferer.
 Diet.
 Master cook for the houshold.
 Pastry.
 Larder.
 Scullery.
 Wood-yard.
 Poultry.
 Bake-house.
 Acatry.
 Stable.
 Serjeants.
 Gentleman harbinger.
 Wood-yard.
 Scullery.
 Pastry.
 Catery.
 Larder.
 Ewry.
 Cellar.
 Pantry.
 Bake-house.
 Master cook of the kitchen.
 Clerks of the equery.
 Second and third clerk of the
 chaundry.
 Second and third clerk of the
 kitchen.
 Supervisors of the dresser.
 Surveyor of the dresser for the
 chamber.

- Musicians.
 Apothecaries and surgeons.
 Sewers of the hall.
 Marshal of the hall.
 Sewers of the chamber.
 Groom porter.
 Gentlemen ushers and waiters.
 Clerk, marshal, and avenger.
 Chief clerk of the wardrobe.
 Chief clerk of the kitchen.
 Two clerks comptrollers.
 Clerk of the green cloth.
 Master of the household.
 Cofferer.
Rouge Dragon.
 A serjeant at arms.
The banner of Chester.
 Clerks of the council, four and four.
 Clerks of the privy seal.
 Clerks of the signet.
 Clerks of the parliament.
 Doctors of physick.
 The Queen's chaplains.
 Secretaries for the Latin and French tongues.
Rouge Cross.
 Two serjeants of arms.
The banner of Cornwall.
 Aldermen of London.
 Solicitor, attorney, and serjeant.
 Master of the revels, and master of the tents.
 Knights batchelors.
 Lord chief baron, and lord chief justice of the Common pleas.
 Master of the jewel house.
 Knights ambassadors, and gentlemen agents.
 Sewers for the Queen.
 Sewers for the body.
 Esquires of the body.
Lancaster and Windsor.
The banner of Wales.
The banner of Ireland.
 Master of the requests.
 Agents for Venice and the States.
 Lord Mayor of London.
 Sir John Popham, Sir John Fortescue.
 Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary.
 Comptroller and treasurer of the household.
 Barons.
 Bishops.
 Earls eldest sons.
 Viscounts.
 Dukes second sons.
 Earls.
 Marquisses.
 Bishop almoner, preacher.
 Lord keeper.
 The French ambassador.
 Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Four serjeants of arms.
The great embroidered banner of England.
 Somerset and Richmond.
 York, helmet and crest.
 Chester, target.
 Norroy King at arms, sword.
 Clarenceaux King at arms, coat.
 After them the gentlemen ushers with white rods.
 The lively picture of her highness's whole body, crowned, and in her parliament robes, lying on the corpse, embalmed and leaded, borne in a chariot, drawn by four horses trapped in black velvet.
 About it, six banner-rolls on each side: gentlemen pensioners, with their axes downwards.
 With them the footmen.
 A canopy borne over the chariot by four noblemen.
 The Earl of Worcester, master of the horse, leading the palfrey of honour.
 Two esquires and a groom, to attend and lead him away.
Gentleman usher, Garter king at arms.
 Lady Marchioness of Northampton, assisted by the lord treasurer and lord admiral.

Chief mourner, her train supported by Mr. Vice-chamberlain.	Earls daughters.
Two earls, assistants to her.	Baronesses.
Fourteen countesses, assistants.	Maids of honour of the privy chamber.
Gentlewomen of the privy chamber.	Captain of the guard, with all the guard following, five and five in a rank, their halberds downward.
Countesses.	
Viscountesses.	

The Shepherds Spring Song, in gratulation of the royal, happy, and flourishing Entrance to the Majesty of England, by the most potent and prudent Sovereign, James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

Collin.

THENOT and Chloris, red-lipp'd Dryope,
 Shepherds, nymphs, swains, all that delight in field,
 Living by harmless thrift your fat herds yield,
 Why slack ye now your loved company?
 Up, sluggards, learn, the lark doth mounted sing
 His chearful carols, to salute our King,

The manis, blackbird, and the little wren,
 The nightingale upon the hawthorn brier,
 And all the wing'd musicians in a quire,
 Do with their notes rebuke dull lazy men.
 Up, shepherds, up, your sloth breeds all your shames,
 You sleep like beasts, while birds salute King James.

The grey-ey'd morning, with a blustering cheek,
 Like England's royal rose, mixt red and white,
 Summons all eyes to pleasure and delight,
 Behold the evening's dews do upwards reek,
 Drawn by the sun, which now doth gild the sky,
 With his light-giving and world-cheering eye.

O that's well done; I see your cause of stay,
 Was to adorn your temples with fresh flowers:
 And gather beauty to bedeck your bowers;
 That they may seem the cabinets of May:
 Honour this time, sweetest of all sweet springs,
 That so much good, so many pleasures, brings.

For now alone the livery of the earth,
 Gives not life, comfort to your bleating lambs,
 Nor fills the strutting udders of their dams,
 It yields another cause of gleesome mirth,
 This ground wears all her best embroidery,
 To entertain her Sovereign's Majesty.

506. ENGLAND'S MOURNING GARMENT, &c.

And well she may; for never English ground
Bore such a Sovereign as this royal Lord :
Look upon all antiquities record,
In no inrollment such a King is found.
Begin with Brute (if that of Brute he true)
As I'll not doubt, but give old bards their due.

He was a Prince unsettled, sought a shore
To rest his long-toss'd Trojan scatter'd race;
And (as 'tis said) found here a resting-place :
Grant this : but yield, he did false gods adore.
The nations were not call'd to Christ that time,
Black Pagan clouds darken'd this goodly clime.

So, when dissension brought the Romans in,
No Cæsar, till the godly Constantine,
(Descended truly from the British line)
Purged this isle's air from idol-hated sin ;
Yet he in care of Rome left deputies.
Our James maintains (himself) his dignities.

The Saxon, and the Dane, scour'd with sharp steel,
(So did the Norman Duke) this beauteous land,
Invading lords reign with an iron hand :
A gentler ruling in this change we feel,
Our lion comes as meekly as a dove,
Not conqu'ring us by hurt, but hearty love.

Even as a calm to tempest-tossed men,
As bread to the faint soul with famine vex'd ;
As a cool spring to those with heat perplex'd,
As the sun's light into a fearful den,
So comes our King : even in a time of need,
To save, to shine, to comfort, and to feed.

O shepherds, sing his welcome with sweet notes,
Nymphs, strew his way with roses red and white,
Provide all pastimes that may sense delight,
Offer the fleeces of your flocks white coats :
He, that now spares, doth in that saving spill ;
Where worth is little, virtue likes good-will.

Now from the Orcades to the Cornish isles,
From thence to Cambria, and the Hiberian shore,
The sound of civil war is heard no more ;
Each countenance is garnished with smiles,
All in one hymn, with sweet contentment, sing
The praise and power of James their only King.

Our only King, one isle, one Sovereign;
O long-desired and perfected good!
By him the heat of wrath, and boiling blood,
Is mildly quench'd; and envy counted vain,
One King, one people, blessed unity,
That ties such mighty nations to agree.

Shepherds, I'll not be tedious in my song;
For that I see you bent to active sport;
Though I persuade me all time is too short,
To welcome him, whom we have wish'd for long.
Well done, dance on; look how our little lambs
Skip, as you spring, about their fleecy dams.

Thus were ye wont to trip about the green,
And dance in ringlets, like to fairy elves,
Striving in cunning to exceed yourselves,
In honour of your late fall'n summer Queen:
But now exceed; this May excels all springs,
Which King and Queen, and Prince and Princess, brings.

Shout joyfully, ye nymphs, and rural swains,
Your Master Pan will now protect your folds,
Your cottages will be as safe as holds,
Fear neither wolves, nor subtle foxes trains,
A royal King will of your weal take keep,
He'll be your shepherd, you shall be his sheep.

He comes in pomp; so should a King appear,
God's deputy should set the world at gaze;
Yet his mild looks drive us from all amaze.
Clap hands for joy, our Sovereign draweth near,
Sing *Ió, Ió*, shepherds, dance and sing,
Express all joy, in welcoming our King.

The air, the season, and the earth accord
In pleasure, order, both for sight and sense:
All things look fresh to greet his Excellence,
And Collin humbly thus salutes his Lord:
Dread and beloved, live England's happy King,
While seasons last fresh as the lively spring.

THE
MARQUIS OF ARGYLE'S
LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT,
WITH
HIS CHARACTER.

Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

IN the name of Smectymnus and Hocus Pocus, so be it; I Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, the Devil's viceroy in the Highlands, and the most sacred covenant's protomartyr in the low, now a prisoner in the Talbooth at Edinburgh; calling to my mind, that my prefixed bargained term of years is even expired, and knowing that all the town cannot save me: Having recollected all my unparalleled rebellions, treasons, murders, rapine, plunderings, witchcraft, perjury, covetousness, and sacrilege, for which I do expect to receive good wages at the hands of my master, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, in manner and form following:

First, Because it is of form to begin so, I believe, with Pythagoras, that souls do transmigrate, I myself being that very Machiavel that lived in Florence some two hundred years since; and therefore I will, that mine do forthwith after my dissolution pass into one of his wild-fowl, thence into a Soland goose, thence into a Scotch pedlar, thence into a man whom Lilly by the stars prognosticated, some ages to come, to be made a notorious cuckold, so that, by that means, it may be sure at last to come to heaven.

Secondly, For my body (since the parliament so detest that horrid barbarism committed on the Marquis of Montrose, that they think it not fit to retaliate it upon me the prime author thereof) it being at my own disposal, I request my executors hereafter named, to see it solemnly interred with the spells of the directory, and laid so shallow, that, at the next trump of sedition, it may by the same raise-devil directory be conjured up again, and meet my exalted head, that bound-mark of presbytery, its *ne plus ultra*, Hitherto shall you go and no further: But I forbid then any such superstitious procession, as to my scandal, and great offence of the brethren, was used to the gathered relicks of that late loyal martyr.

As for my worldly goods and estate with which the covenant, that goddess Diana, hath blessed me, I say to it, Presto Jupiter, lightly come, lightly go, the wicked cavaliers will divide the spoil; what was got by oppression, will be booned away by the King's liberality: Had mine been a mean fortune, it had not probably met with such extremes.

Nevertheless, my dear brethren in affliction, I have also a portion for you; as I had time and opportunity of getting, so I had the wisdom of hiding and concealing, and what I thus preserved I give and bequeath in manner following:

Imprimis, For that great reverence and religion I owe to the solemn league and covenant, I give a thousand pounds to the pastors and ministers of the church of Geneva, towards the erecting a shrine, or building a sanctuary, for the covenant, now persecuted and driven out of these three kingdoms; whose sacred ashes, if they can be found, I will also to be there deposited in a golden urn, to be provided at the charge of my executors: Streightly requiring, that no tapers, lamps, torches, links, or other lights, be used near the said shrine, or in the said sanctuary; it being popish, heretical, and impious, and most abominable. And I do hereby lovingly request the said church, since our kirk hath lost its keys, immediately to excommunicate the London hangman, and all other persons whatsoever, who have had any hand in burning, or otherwise prophaning that most holy thing.

Item, I give 2000*l.* more for founding a college or fraternity there, to be christened by the name of the Society of the covenant, and for founding a covenant reader in that university, hoping that well disposed presbyters will so add to this foundation, that, in a short time, it may rival for villainy with that of the Jesuits.

Item, Whereas the sad case of Dr. Burges hath mightily affected the tender bowels of the sisters, who complain there is not a stone by a stone of all his late purchases, particularly the great loss he hath had by the fire of the covenant in his deanery of Wells, to his utter undoing, and for which he is never likely to have a brief, I bequeath to him the sum of 500*l.* it being a good competency to keep him in Bedlam all the remainder of his life.

Item, I give to that little David of the covenant, that champion of presbytery, Mr. Zachary Croston, an augmentation of 100*l.* per annum, as long as St. Peter's bonds abide; and that, through any discouragement or restraint, he may not faint and fall away, I add a noble a day for caudles and cordials, charging him to stand manfully for the cause, he being the chief standard-bearer, in which this impress is written, *Tu patronus, si tu descris, nos perimus.*

Item, As next in order, I give to Mr. Jenkins, not out of respect to his love of the covenant, for Satan, that buffeted him, knows how weak he is in that point; but for his seditious preachments, for his turbulency of spirit, and restlessness against the King's government, 500*l.* I know that is too much, for I detest a recanter with all my heart, and it is not according to our strict discipline to revoke a tittle: But, seeing how near the brink presbytery is brought, all things must be done to support it, and therefore we must make use of renegado's.—Hang him, he shall have it; but the devil do him good with it, if he recants again.

Item, I will give 10,000*l.* for erecting a seminary of such rogues in Eutopia, for I cannot persuade myself, there will ever be the like in any of these three kingdoms.

Item, Not to forget Dr. Wilkinson, I give him 20s. to mend the bellows of his mouth and nose, against the next opportunity of blowing up the flames of a civil war; and for his subdeanery of Christ-church, Oxon, a fart.

Item, To Mr. Poole with the red head (I like him the better for that) I give 300 marks to buy him some manners, and 500 marks to buy him more wit, else presbytery will soon lose a prating, nonsensical Cacatuego, and his parish a troublesome tithemonger.

Item, To all those old presbyterian serpents that have slipped their skins, and are winding themselves into favour, in the *a la mode* cassock, and, in a submissive compliance, lick the dust of the bishop's foot, and yet keep their venom within their teeth, I bequeath to each a Scotch thirteen-pence half-penny, for the use of Esquire Dun, who shall shew them slip for slip.

Item, I give 400l. for the building of an alms-house, for the entertaining of all antiquated, exauthorated elders, who cannot sufficiently or quietly live in their own parishes.

Item, I give 1000 marks for the building of an hospital or pest-house, for all such as are or shall be infected with the Scotch plague, that is, such as want cloaths, money, and friends.

Item, To the several sects of anapabtists, fifth monarchy-men, quakers, &c. I give respectively ten groats, to redeem their meeting-houses, on condition they do not jeer that covenant in which they voluntarily perjured themselves.

Item, All my offices and preferments whatsoever I give freely to those who are disabled to bear any in England.

Item, For perpetual memory of presbytery, I give 100l. for the casting the figure of the dog in brass, that lay with the elder's maid, to be placed where the last provincial classis was held in London, as a desk for the directory.

Item, To any that can, or shall prove presbytery to be *Jure Divino*, I will give him three kingdoms; for then they will not be worth the having, and the devil's proffer, and my legacy, will be all one.

Item, I give to the wife of Oliver Cromwell, for his keeping the covenant in the right sense by murdering the King, a groat a day.

Item, I give to the late Secretary Thurloe my debt due to me from his master and the Rump, for monies expended by me for their use in Scotland, which was to be repaid me out of the commission for discoveries, when I was last in London, by Oliver's direction. I understand, and I thank him he hath made so large a progress in discovering, that he can pay it now to himself.—The devil was in me to suffer such a pitiful fellow to whiddle before me.

Item, I give my debentures to Captain George Withers, Esq. to purchase more bishops lands, in lieu of those he sacrilegiously kept before; and that he may never cease scribbling of rhymes, I will not give him a farthing.

Item, I give to the independant gathered churches, under the cure and teachings of Cockain, Brooks, &c. all the ill qualities of our gasping kirk, that by the impudence and deceit of their pastors, their ruin also may be expedited.

Item, I give to the clerk of Mr. Calamy's church a ring to wear for my sake, for his great superlative zeal yet manifested to the covenant—

Item, To all the sons and daughters of presbytery, who now mourn and lament, I give a medal (with my squint eyes in it, leering after other times, and a better day) to dry up their tears.

All these legacies and bequests I will and order my executors to perform and pay, the morrow of the next puritan reformation in England, or at St. Tib's Eve, at farthest, without any coven or delay.

As for my own country, relations and friends, I do also dispose of my estate to them, as followeth:

I will, therefore, first, That the whole Scotch nation be put into mourning, in remembrance of those ruins, dishonour, conquest, and slavery, which my covenanting covetous designs have brought upon it; tho' I would not have my brethren of the presbytery lay that so much to heart, as that they are like to do so no more.

As to my sept, so famous heretofore in this kingdom, as I never did them good in my life, so they cannot expect otherwise at my death; they have a Scotch privilege now to beg or steal where they please, without any frustraneous dependence or expectance on my greatness; if my name will do them any service, they may make use of it and stern, since they are, I fear, rejected of God and man.

Item, To my dear Lady, I give and bequeath her full and intire jointure, which was settled firm enough by law before, thanking her for all the kindness and benevolence I had from her, when my keeper was out of the way.

Item, To my hopeful son, the Lord Lorne, I give the inheritance of my qualities, leaving him an equal portion and share of estate and honour; the first I forfeited from him, and the last he never had from me, nor is like to be capable of, since he must continue and preserve my hated nature: I give him my unnecessary blessing, as it is prescribed in that most exact form in the directory.

Item, To the rest of my sons and daughters, since I cannot be too indulgent a father, I advise, for their great consolation, to read the Spanish curate, and take what portions they please.

Item, To all my servants and retainers, who I doubt not have learned from me, their master, to carve for themselves, without bidding, all they can cheat and purloin from my estate, as well as others, besides my pronsim of oat-meal for their lives, and hemp for their deaths.

Item, To my vassals of my seigniory, I give their long desired freedom.

Item, To the poor of my parish, for every curse they give me, the sum of 000.

And I do make and ordain my loving and intimate friends, Archibald Johnson, Lard Wareston, and William Dundass, sometime governor of Edjinburgh Castle, executors of this my last will, to whom I freely give

all the rest and residue of my whole estate not hereby disposed, requesting them, by all the obligations of conscience and honesty, to compeer suddenly in this kingdom, and take upon them the execution of the premisses; no way doubting or mistrusting, but that they shall be well rewarded.

All this I ratify and confirm by the mysteries of the stool of repentance, on which I devoutly set my breech, and having done, sealed it with a—

And I do hereby revoke all former wills by me made, as not being framed according to that holy pattern of the covenant, from which, under damnation, no man may recede a tittle; and which I will further to be cut in brass, and laid upon my tomb-stone.

Subscribed,

ARGYLE.

Done in the presence of
Sir John Chersly,
David Lesley.

The Character of the late Marquis of Argyle.

SO many remarkable accidents, such alterations of government, affairs of such moment and intrigues of states, do fall in with this Marquis's memoirs, that it will rather seem a history, than a character, to speak him out. His birth rendered him very noble, and his education proffered him the advantage of making it nobler, though for that he was beholden to the first temper of the times, being by his late Majesty, to oblige from the rebellion then on foot, created a Marquis. He was of stature something exceeding the mean, like his own countrymen the Highlanders, with a bigness proportionable to it, his face somewhat long, his cheeks wide, the hair of his beard red, his eyes very much a-squint, so that he was nicknamed, in Scotland, Glead Argyle; which remembers me of that proverb—*Quem Deus in oculo notavit, hunc caveto*. There will no more need to be said of his person, which the hands of the executioner have so lately profaned; nor was there any thing in him that was so good remarkable as to invite to be curious, and it will be best for him that he sleep forgotten, lest the remarks of his face should fright fanciful people like a spectre. He was one of that wicked triumvirate, who began, continued, and lived to the end of our troubles. A most dexterous artist in that prime quality of a Scot, dissimulation, which was the ground-work of all the exploits he did after. If ever he seemed what he was, though that be not to be over-believed, it was in the matter of the covenant, which he entered into so eagerly and resolutely, and left it, and the world together, so confidently and avowedly; and yet the middle agreed with neither, when, in the crisis of the sincerity, honesty, and loyalty of that libel, which it so highly boasted of, as to the maintenance of the King's person, dignity, and authority: By this Marquis's counsel, his late Majesty was delivered into the hands of the English at Newcastle. But it is most evident, that the right spelling of Covenant is Covetousness, and, according to

that, he very well kept it, having shared a good part of that 200,000*l.* given the Scotch army for their departure. He was as versatile as a dye, and like that, sometimes, was played always with very lucky hands, as those times were, and was every way as square, stood firm on his own interest, and could oppose a broadside to every emergency of fortune, then adored by the name of Providence. He was in with all the several usurpers, and that not by a servile subjection, but as a petty prince's interest, that could help them, as well by informing and discovering, as supplies and stores, though the latter to Cromwell was a mere braggadocio, and beyond the High Mightiness of his Highland sovereignty, where his baseness had lost him all respect and obedience. Certainly he was the Proteus of the age, and had not the sudden surprisal of our most happy resolution seized him supinely careless, and at a great distance (though he hurried up to London to wait on his Majesty) and then bound him fast, that he could have no liberty to assume any other shape than what he was then found in, being denied access or audience at court, he might have been a riddle still, whereas now death has resolved him. All that ever he did handsomely was then, and yet that too was but a mere disguise, since so dissonant to the whole course of his life, a mere imitation, though so well personated, that we may well let it pass for a bravery, and allow it to him as a gentleman. He was a great fomenter of war, yet cared not at all to endanger himself, like the monkey, that took the cat's foot to pull the chesnut out of the fire; nor was he much to be blamed, having been, by the Marquis of Montrose, so often put to shift, and that narrowly too, for his life: What he wanted of the generosity of a warrior, he supplied with the malice of a witch, being the most implacable revengeful enemy loyalty ever met with in Scotland. Learned he was, and that not as a gentleman enough to set off and polish, but to accomplish him; and a most excellent way of speech he had, if it be possible any thing can sound handsome in Scotch, very fluent and rhetorical. His speeches at his trial (which were said to have been spoken *ex tempore*, because they would not allow him his delays, but compelled him to present answer) are very grave and sententious, yet polite and very cunning. He was a deep lawyer, and was formerly lord chief justice, I think not much taxed for bribery (for I take all their lands, estates, and whatever Scotland is worth, not to be worth a suit, much less the overplus of a greasing) yet, all this while, a bad nature predominated, like stinking oil upon generous wine; his potentiality to virtue never exerted itself, while his vices were most notorious and boyant. It is a truth undeniable, that he died unpitied of all men, and the reason was this: The universality and complication of his vices could miss no man's eyes, and, for one fault or other, so many single observations hit him, as drew a general odium upon him; excepting only the presbyterian clergy, who always had a particular respect for him, not from any other inducement, but the necessity of dependence; the kirk rides, while the lords hold the reins, and keep that people under the tyranny of that worse than Turkish government. He was the first promoter of the discipline, and that with an earnestness extraordinary, wherein, no doubt, he served himself principally; and the large demesures he died

possessed of will evidence what religion he was of, and how beneficial a thing reformation is to the first projectors. He was at feud with all his superiors in Scotland, as well as his peers; of four Marquisses, he procured the execution of three, viz. Hamilton, Huntley, and Montrose; the other, Douglas, through his impotency and infirmity, escaped him, so that he was Lord Paramount there. No doubt his abilities prompted him to cope with the greatness and authority of those noblemen, whose great and honourable families would soon have smothered and suppressed an ordinary envy, while his burned and flamed at their grave. He was a profound politician, of a fine mercurial spirit, of whom it may be said disjunctively, what his late Majesty said of the Earl of Strafford: He was such a minister of state, that he might well be ashamed of himself, and his Prince as rightly fear him: There was nothing wanting in him but loyalty and honesty, two such dispensable things with presbytery, that they could hardly be afforded room in their morals for one whole age together; but it had been direct blasphemy to blend and incorporate them into their religion; however, for specious pretence sake they crept into the covenant. He was a most indefatigable carrier on of his designs, and that with very great expedition, though his motions were eccentric, but all turbulent, and violent efforts are usually very sudden: He thrice repaired and recruited his broken forces by the Marquis of Montrose, before there could be any thought of an enemy from him. He was never discouraged with any disappointment, but he would set the kirk to thunder out anathemas, and himself make prescriptions and levies together, fight with the pen and the sword at one and the same time; but his escripts were not Julius Caesar's commentaries, but Caius Marius's publications and sentencings, betwixt whom there is, in many things, a near parallel.

To take a nearer view of him and put him altogether, he was absolutely master of all the arts of state; it was no injury to him to say it was his religion, since the great successes of rebellion led him to a firm belief that there was nothing but what was manageable by, and feasible to policy. But he so mixed them both in his affairs, that it was not easily discernible to which he owed most; by the first, he secured his interest, and, had not the excesses of the English usurpation out-run him, probably advanced his designs to that which Hamilton was suspected of; by the other, he procured an awe and reverence to himself, being vogued up by the clergy, and rendered to the vulgar as a pattern of piety, and zealous promoter of godliness, till such time as the vizard of the specious reformation was laid aside, and bold-faced interest out-stared the impudence of the kirk, and made them veil to, and worship the devil they had raised.

In a word, he was the right antithesis to that glorious Marquis of Montrose, so that whoever hath read, or heard of his excellencies, may, by opposition, know the vileness of this. Such is the order of the world, though there be no standing mean, yet, that the extremes should balance one another, otherwise it had been a most hard fate for Scotland (who can impute her dishonour and total conquest to no name originally but Argyle) to have produced no renowned person his contemporary, such as was Montrose, whose glories and fame may fill up his chasms in their history.

THE
MIRROUR OF WORLDLY FAME.

COMPOSED BY I. H. Æ.

*Ad hunc modum te forma, atque ita institue, ut paratus ad omnia, promptus
ad singula, dulcia pariter, & amara despicias.*

London, printed for James Shaw, and are to be sold at his Shop near Ludgate,
1603. Twelves, containing sixty pages.

*To the Right Worshipful my singular good Uncle, Mr. William Hynd,
I. H. wisheth continuance of Health, with prosperous Estate and
Felicity.*

THE extraordinary kindness which you, right worshipful, have shewed me from my infancy, hath constrained me to publish out abroad the manifestation of my bounden duty, that thereby I might be held far from incurring the blemishes of ingratitude; which vice the Persians so detested, as that they held them worthy of due punishment, whom they found more prone to receive, than to requite. Being, therefore, animated thereto, first by your fatherly affection (whereof you have made most evident demonstration) and, next, for clearing myself of this suspicion of my guilt herein, which, otherwise, you might justly conceive against me, I have strained the small talent I had, to plead my cause in this behalf; beseeching you, both for the pardon of those wants, wherewith this my simple travel is blemished, through lack of learning, and a favourable acceptance of my bold unskilfulness; which, albeit it is not worthy to be presented unto your view, yet, notwithstanding, relying myself wholly upon your wonted clemency, I thought it good, for want of better ability, to gratify you with this small testimony of my good-will; presuming, that you will weigh rather the propensity of the giver, than the value of the gift. And I am the more emboldened herein, in regard of your affection unto learning, wherof you have been a loving patron, and a bountiful Mæcenas, of which thing I myself am witness. Learning would quickly vanish away, without the aid and support of such as you are; which was well considered by great men many hundred years since. For Philip of Macedon, so highly esteemed of Aristotle, that he committed his son, Alexander, surnamed the Great, to his tuition: and he so affected good letters, that he used to lay the Iliads of Homer under his bed's-head. Augustus Cæsar so loved Virgil, that, after his decease, he diligently kept his works from the fire, to the which they were adjudged. I might here, likewise, bring in divers others, not inferior to them for their favour and love to the learned sort; but, remembering I wrote to your worship, I will abridge, therefore, that of purpose,

which might be more amply illustrated; knowing there needeth no apology to be made unto you, in the behalf of learning, whose mind hath been so addicted to the same, that, long since, I had been discouraged from my studies, if I had not found you so prone to be my patron. Wherefore, being pricked forward by your bounty, I present, and offer up these my labours unto you, to peruse them, at some hours, for your recreation; which, if you should like, it will not only be an especial means for them to escape the bites of basilisks brood, but I shall think my pen set to the book in a happy hour, and it will encourage me to attempt some matter of more weight, as soon as opportunity shall be answerable to my desire. The Almighty bless and prolong your days here, that we may behold the consummation of happy old age in your worship, before you shall be summoned to that everlasting happiness, which is always permanent, without mutability.

Your Worship's most humbly devoted,

L. H.

TO THE READER.

Courteous and gentle Reader,

IF, in this Mirrour of worldly fame, any thing is devised, which shall delight thee, and if some other shall not please thee, yet, in respect of that which doth like thee, afford me thy good word for my good-will, in passing over the same favourably to others, with whom, perhaps, it may be more agreeable. For all men are not of one and the self-same disposition; for that, wherewith one is delighted, another, oftentimes, doth not regard, and what some do detest, some other chiefly doth esteem. But shall I think, that my simple travel herein shall escape the tongues of the envious, who are always ready, with a prejudicate opinion, to condemn before they understand the cause? No, surely; for, in the former times, if those which wrote very learnedly, as Homer, Marcus Varro, Cicero, and Virgil, could not shelter themselves from the sting of Zoilus, how may I think that these, my imperfections, shall pass, where many are so quick-sighted, as that they will, at the first, behold the least tittle that is not rightly placed? And albeit, perhaps at the first, by some it will be embraced for the novelty thereof, yet, at the length, it will be contemned as a thing unsavoury, and little worth; for the nature of man is such, as that it is corrupted always with curiosity. The fairest garden, wherein is variety of colours and smells, cannot affect all men's fancies alike, but are either misliked, or, in seeming not pleasant, rejected. No artificer can fit all men's minds alike, nor any orator please every man's humour; but, where his customers are too dainty and nice, his workmanship shall be controuled, and despised; and, where the auditors are too rash and careless in regarding, his rhetoric shall be condemned; and, to conclude, no work is so exquisitely performed, and absolutely

perfect, but some are ready and prone to reprehend and find fault with it. Yet, in the wiser sort is my greatest hope, because they are wise; and, presuming upon their favours, I doubt not, but they will pardon that which is done amiss, and afford me a favourable construction for my pains. Farewel.

I. H. Æ.

WHEN I record within myself the infinite misfortunes, and sudden motion of things which are subject unto mankind, then, surely, I find nothing more frail, than mortal life, nothing more unquiet. For those gifts which nature hath endued us withal, as memory, understanding, prudence, and the like; I see that they are daily turned, either to our destruction, or continual labour. Besides, we are not only exposed to vain and unprofitable cares, but those things also, which are grievous and hurtful unto ourselves, daily so afflict us, not only for the present, but also for the time to come, as that we seem to stand in fear of nothing more, than when we shall be least miserable. Furthermore, we do so hunt after the cures and remedies of our maladies, as that we make this life of ours, which, if it were rightly governed, would seem most pleasant, nothing else but a sea of troubles; whose beginning blindness and oblivion do possess, whose proceeding labour and travel do molest, whose end sorrow and vexation do disturb. Which thing every man shall find true, if judicially he will measure out the whole course of his life. What day have we ever seen, which hath brought unto us quietness? Or what ease have we found in any day? Nay, rather, what day hath not almost stifled us with anguishes; and what thing ever hath been so secure in the morning, whose glory, before the evening, some sinister chance hath not eclipsed? The occasions whereof, although they are many, yet notwithstanding, if we will sincerely acknowledge it, we shall find that the greatest fault consisteth in ourselves. For, that I may omit to speak of other calamities, with which we daily are oppressed, how great is that war which we wage with fortune, whereof virtue by herself is able to make us conquerors; but we willingly, and wittingly, have, and do daily swerve from her; therefore we are constrained to encounter with her, as with an implacable enemy, being ourselves, by nature, feeble and unarmed, and able no ways to make any resistance; at which she levelling, one while lifteth us up, and other while casteth us down, and windeth us about in such a manner, as that it were more tolerable for us to be utterly vanquished. And what hath been the cause of this, but our lenity and niceness? We are tossed hither and thither like balls, being creatures short-lived, but infinitely tormented. Which things being so, to what shore shall we fasten our ship, to what council shall we apply our minds, seeing, besides the present evil, something hangeth over our heads, which may molest us, something before our eyes may terrify us? Neither are any such mishaps incident to any living creatures so much as to man, for they, after dangers past, live secure; but we, by reason of our wit, and sharpness of mind, must contend

always, as it were, with that three-headed dog Cerberus. The war, which we make with fortune, is of two sorts, and either of them fearful, yet both to be undertook; the one needeth reins to curb and keep back the affections, and the other comfort; here the swelling of the mind must be suppressed, there weariness and travel must be refreshed and eased. For I think it a matter of more labour for a man to govern himself in prosperity, than in adversity; to which I am the rather drawn to condescend, because I find in myself this saying to be true, that, *insidiosior est fortuna blanda quam minax*; which thing also experience and example maketh manifest. For many there have been which have suffered many griefs, as poverty, banishment, imprisonment, death, and lamentable diseases worse than death, with a patient and quiet mind; but few or none at all could be found, which lived contented with their riches, with their honours, with their principalities, but that still they affected more, and never were satisfied. Others likewise, which in all respects seemed sufficiently fortified against all the assaults of fortune, and whom no threats could ever vanquish, pleasure hath. How many Roman Emperors, how many foreign Princes, being plucked from their regal thrones, either by the hands of their enemies, or their own countrymen, have lost both their government, and life? Neither doth antiquity only afford us these, but our age also hath brought some forth, little inferior to those which, have been banished, taken captives, slain in war, beheaded at home, and, that which is most vile to utter, killed with chains, and horribly quartered. Again, such is the inconstancy of man, that, if by any adverse fortune thou art brought into adversity, why then those which were, but now no longer, thy friends, will wonder at thee, as a prodigious monster, sent from afar; and then thou thyself shalt not be able to determine within thyself, whether first thou mightest bewail the loss of friends or the loss of goods. But these things I omit, and hasten to those whereof I intend to treat, which, in man's life, are most uncertain, and most miserable.

CHAP. I.

OF YOUTH.

THE flourishing time of youth is termed by many philosophers 'the first vain hope of man,' which hath and will deceive thousands. This flower in a moment withereth; and who can call that perfect, unto which much is wanting? Yea, that little which it hath is most uncertain. Neither, in respect that it is far from old-age, is it therefore not near death; for, amongst the many parts of our life, that is most subject to dangers, which too much security maketh unprovided. Nothing is so near unto life as death, which then, when it seemeth to be furthest off, is at hand: wheresoever you betake yourself, it is at your heels, and ready to execute her terror upon you: nothing more

fleeing than youth, nothing more moveable; for the time of it is unstable, it flieth away by little and little without any noise; yea, when we sleep, and are at our pastimes, Death creepeth upon us. O! if the speediness of time, and the brevity of this our life, were as well known in the beginning of it, as it is in the end, then would we not let loose the reins of our affections unto so many unlawful concupiscences as we do. This time is not only incredulous, and not seen in the differences of causes, but also so much carried away with self-love, as that it scorneth and rejecteth good admonitions, being, as Solomon saith, the first step to folly. Wherefore nothing doth detect and lay open unto us the errors which are in youth, so well as old-age; which Tertullian, in his Apologeticum, bringeth in excellently, speaking to young men, saying: Ye have not marked and given attention to that which ye ought, and was requisite, set down unto you by the grey-heads; but have been carried away with all manner of voluptuous living; the inconveniencies of which, if any would in time diligently consider, that man should be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters (whereof David maketh mention) that will bring forth its fruit in due season; whose leaf shall not fade, and whatsoever he shall do shall prosper. This age, since it first began, hath continual motion, and never resteth; but, as one day thrusteth on another, and as one water is driven with the consequent, so runneth this, and, as Cicero saith, *volat*, or as Maro,

— *Celeres neque commovet alas :*

And, as they, which are carried in a ship, oftentimes, besides their expectation, are arrived upon a coast; even so young men come upon their ends, when they think upon nothing less than it. But some, perhaps, will say, that no part is so much distant from the end as the beginning: true it is, and then it would be rightly so, if all in general might live in indifferent spaces; but now by many ways and more often youth dieth, whereby it cometh to pass, that, for the most part, he is more near his end, which seemeth to be furthest off. In a word, the greatest felicity in a moment is obscured, and nothing ought to be desired by those which are of a stout courage, which hath not long continuance. Awake from sleep, thou young man, for it is high time to open thy heavy eyes; accustom thyself now at length to meditate upon heavenly things, to love and desire them, and, on the contrary side, to despise those which are momentary; learn of your own accord to depart from them, because they cannot long abide with you; and in your mind forsake them, lest you be forsaken. For they err, which say, that youth is stable and permanent; there is nothing more volatile than time: time is a chariot, upon which all ages are carried, and therefore there can be no long continuance of any one thing.

CHAP. II.

OF BEAUTY.

AND, as youth, so the beauty of the body is frail, in regard that it both cometh and vanisheth away with time; which, if it could consist still, and have no motion, then, perhaps, beauty might do the like; but, being grounded upon a weak foundation, it flieth away like a shadow, and cannot long abide. Accidents may perish, although the subject standeth; and, it falling, they must needs fall: but, amongst all the qualitics which vanish away with man's body, nothing is more swift than beauty, which, like a flower, being in the hands of those which admire and praise it, fadeth: a small frost will nip it, and a little wind will beat it down, or on a sudden it is trod under feet of those which pass by it. To conclude: rejoyce and boast of it as much as thou wilt, behold, the time cometh, and that speedily, which with a thin veil will cover thee; and then death will shew of what worth the beauty of a living man is; and not only death, but old-age also, and the space of a few years, or the sudden sickness of one day. For there is no external thing, which, by standing or continuing, is not consumed and brought to nothing; neither hath any thing ever affected a man with such joy at the beginning, as it hath with grief at the departure. These things (unless I am deceived) the fair Roman Prince Domitian sometime tried; who, writing to his friend, I would have you know, said he, that nothing is more grateful unto a man than beauty, and nothing more short. But, admit this gift of nature were durable, why then I see no reason, why that superficial comeliness, for the coverture of so base a skin, should have any thing else besides to obscure so many filthy and horrible things, which do nothing else but flatter and delude the senses. Therefore it is great praise and commendation for a man or woman to be delighted with those goods which are certain and true, which are not false and deceitful; for, if the form and stature of thy body is elegant and neat, why then thou hast a mask for thy face, a snare for thy feet, and lime for thy feathers, which will so intangle thee, as that thou shalt hardly escape; thou shalt not be able to put a difference between truth and falshood; thou shalt not have the power to be any ways virtuous; for beauty hath detained many from embracing honesty, and hath thrust them into the contrary headlong. Nothing is more to be admired at, than the vanity of this evil; for, with how many delights and pleasures are young men delighted? What labours do they not undergo! What dangers do they not heap upon their own heads, that being not fair labour to appear! How unmindful are they, through the desire of this, of their own health and safety! How much time in trimming them up is vainly spent! And how many honest, profitable, and necessary things in the mean time are neglected! Enjoy, therefore, this thy short and frail good, this thy vain and foolish joy, which will

take both rest and time from thee; which will daily torment thee; which will afford thee matter of labour sufficient, causes of dangers enough; which will set on fire thy affections, and finally procure thee more hate than love; not, perhaps, amongst women, but amongst men daily thou shalt be suspected. Thy wife also will be jealous over thee, seeing that no one thing giveth more suspicion of mistrust, than it. The comeliness of thy face and colour shall be altered; thy golden hair shall perish, and grey shall succeed; thy cheeks and fair forehead shall be full of wrinkles, and an obscure mist shall darken thy chrystal eyes; thy ivory teeth shall in such manner be defiled with filth, as that they shall not only be of another colour, but the tenor of them likewise shall be changed; thy straight neck and nimble shoulders shall be bowed; thy throat shall be rumped, and, when thou shalt see thy lean hands, together with thy withered feet, thou wilt immediately say, they were none of thine; and, in a word, the day will come, wherein thou shalt not know thyself in a glass. All these things (lest thou mightest not say, that thou wast foretold, and so be astonished at the sight of them) I tell thee, will fall upon thee sooner than thou art aware. What shall I say more in brief, that that which Apuleius Medaurensis did? *Expecta paulisper, & non erit.* Oh, how much better were it, that the beauty of the mind were answerable to that of the body, how sweeter would it be, and more certain, subsisting by her laws in the comeliness of good behaviour, and fit disposing of her qualities! that is to be desired; and for that we must labour, which neither long iniquity of time can terrify, nor sickness extinguish, no not death itself. If we would so endeavour, then should we be truly fortunate, and seem more notable by our beauty, and our virtue more gracious. For that without virtue doth not so much grace, as it doth disgrace the mind; yea, very often bringeth it into danger. Finally, Why should we glory in that which is neither ours, nor can long continue with us? If we have it, then it is, as our health, subject daily unto many diseases, against which, old age is armed with a thousand kinds of griefs, envying the prosperity thereof: against which, pleasure displayeth her banners, and against which, we must, as with a familiar friend, contend. O how much better had it been for nature to have made thee deformed, she then would have asswaged the fury of thy violent affections, and brought thee to such a pass, as that thou shouldest have said, that she had given thee not that where with thou oughtest to be delighted, but that from which, as by a conduit-pipe, thou mightest derive many virtuous profits unto thy self; she would have adorned thee with that, which sickness could not infringe, which age could not impeach, and which death could not have touched! Beauty hath made many adulterous, but few or none at all chaste. It hath drawn many, through the inticements of pleasure, to an infamous death. To be brief, and not to hold you overlong, know this, that, by the deformity of the body, the mind is not defiled, but by the comeliness of the mind the body is adorned: This, therefore, would not disgrace thee, but would lay open, by virtue, a way for thy further honour. If nature had born Helena ill-favoured, or (that I may speak of men) Paris, perhaps then Troy would have

stood. Amongst all other things virtue hath this property, it may be gotten, but not taken away: and, when other things are at the arbitrement of fortune, only virtue is free from her laws, and shineth more bright, by how much fortune maketh resistance.

CHAP. III.

OF NOBILITY.

OF all those things which either I have read or heard, nothing ever pleased me so much as that of the Poet, *virtute decet non sanguine niti*: and, indeed, so it behoveth every one which will rightly be termed noble to do. For to boast of our pedigree which we fetch from others, and not bestowed upon us for our deserts, is a thing very ridiculous, and their worthiness is the mark of degenerate successors: neither doth any thing so much make evident the blots and spots of posterity, as the splendor and glory of predecessors. And, unless you can fetch true praise from yourself, expect it not from others: for it is an especial good thing, that others should be known by you, and not you by others. But from whence is your nobility drawn? (for your forefathers had never been noble, if they had not done something worthy of commendation.) Is it from the excellency of your blood? Why then every man should be honoured alike, seeing that, in a manner, every man's blood is of one and the self-same colour: and, if at any time any one is found more perspicuous than another, the cause of that is health, and not nobility. But perhaps you will say, that the excellency of your parentage is great: I answer, that your baseness, by reason of that, may be greater. For I confess, that you receive from your parents both a body and a patrimony; but he, who hath true nobility, very seldom or never doth translate it over unto his progeny: and he, who is not endued with it at some times seeth it abide in those which must afterwards succeed him. How famous had Caesar been for the renown which he received from his father? And how base was the son of African, who, if he might have been noble by tradition, had sufficiently been adorned with it? But his father, by reason of too much affection, did not only not illustrate him, but received by him a wonderful eclipse of his own glory. Whereby it appeareth, that that, which inheritance hath most precious, is darkened by the judgment and disposition of him who is the successor. A thousand such could I rehearse, if I had time, or that it were expedient, who, tho' they descended from a noble race, yet were most obscure. If you would live privately sequestered from all troubles, you cannot, because that benefit is taken away by those which daily accompany you, which daily publish abroad your gallant sports, your stately living, your beautiful wife, your brave children, and, in a word, which make inquisition after all your exercises, after all the manner of your life: so that there is nothing you speak or do, which is not delivered out abroad, be it never so good, or never so bad: and these are the fruits

of your nobility. If you once do any thing amiss, you are held always afterwards inexcusable: whereas true nobility, which is gotten by life, and not by birth, is always so annexed unto virtue, as that it is never culpable, and after death is not forgotten; but the other antiquity darkeneth, and so taketh it away. For how many noble families have there been, whose memory is utterly abolished? How many flourishing houses have we seen which now oblivion hath obfuscated? And whereupon may we conjecture the reason, but that time doth diminish and consume all, and not only families and houses, but cities and towns also wax old, and the world itself, if I be not deceived, groweth to an end. And thou, whosoever thou art, which boastest of thy ancient house, take heed, lest, in process of time, the root of thy glory, with whose flowers thou art now decked, perisheth not. For every thing, which hath its beginning from time, endeth with time; but your glory had its rising from it, and therefore must vanish with it; and that, which time hath brought forth, and made greater, being at the greatest, overthroweth it. Therefore that is a vain ambition which leaneth not upon its own merit, but upon the oblivion of others: which thing happeneth unto you, not that thereby you might be the nobler, but more obscure. For there is but one beginning of all things, but one Creator of mankind, one fountain of all, which one while being troubled, and another while quiet, by turns is derived to every one of us: but upon this condition, that that, which was formerly clear, may be made dark; and that which was darkened, may again be clarified. And hereupon it cometh to pass, that he, who yesterday held the plough, to-day holdeth arms; and he, who did ride through cities and towns upon a horse richly trapped, is on a sudden become a herdsman: so that the saying of Plato is true, *neminem regem non ex servis oriundum, neminem servum non ex regibus*. Whereby it appeareth, that this nobility, with which you are puffed up, is nothing else but a vain and sottish delight, subject never to any constancy, always variable, always fleeting. Desist, therefore, to substitute those into any place of honour making for you, which, for themselves, have achieved some notable exploit, never for you. And for that cause did they endeavour to lift themselves up with the wings of virtue, that so they might be ennobled with true nobility. To conclude; this excellency of name and fame is very short, and look how little soever it is, it is no ways appertinent to you. Do not, therefore, shadow your name with other men's virtues, lest that an impartial judge cometh, and, in giving every man his due, maketh you destitute of all, and, in lieu of honour, you shall heap upon yourself nothing but shame and ignominy. As, for example, amongst many thousands take but these, Tullius and Marius, Aulus and Clodius, and balance in one scale the two first, and the two latter in the other; and then it will appear who is the weightiest, and how much Rome will give place to Arpinum. In a word, true nobility is not hereditary, for very seldom or never you shall see an excellent man have an excellent child. Wherefore, either imitate, continue, or increase by practice your predecessors nobility, or else persuade yourself that it is rather obscured by you, than you made famous by it.

CHAP. IV.

OF PRIDE.

IT is daily seen, and experience maketh it manifest, that men, when, by a prosperous gale of fortune, they are lifted up to the haven of their desires, do then immediately swell, and wax big with the sweetness of their felicity; rejecting God, who gave essence to that which before was not, and scorning the good and wholesome admonitions of wise teachers. With this sin of pride too many are too well acquainted, and no marvel, if so many through it are brought to confusion: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble and meek. Nothing is more hateful to him than it; for, if Lucifer, that angel of light, was thrown down into hell, by reason of this one sin, what shall become of thee, thou sinner, who are addicted to many millions of sins? Why shouldest thou be so puffed up? Art thou not mortal? Art thou not a grievous sinner, exposed to a thousand mishaps, obnoxious to an uncertain death? Dost thou not remember thyself to be miserable? Think upon that which Homer saith:

Nihil miserius terra nutrit homine.

The earth yieldeth nothing more miserable than man.

Is the fragility of thy limbs a cause why thou art proud, the brevity of life, the blindness of thy mind, disquieted amongst most vain hopes, and continual fears, the oblivion of things past, the ignorance both of present and to come? Do the ambushments of thy enemy stir thee up to it, the death of thy friends, continual adversity, fugitive prosperity? If these be the steps, by which you ascend to pride, they are likewise the steps which tumble you down, headlong, to destruction. Wherefore shouldst thou be delighted with it, seeing it is the disease with which fools are oppressed? Wherefore shouldst thou hunt after it, seeing that, when thou art dead, serpents, beasts, and worms shall inherit thee? But the beginning of pride is to forsake God, because a man revolteth from him, which created him, and the beginning of all sin is pride. Overcome, therefore, thy affections, and deform not many good parts with this one vice; corrupt and defile not the favour of many good deeds with a greater fault, than the cause of the fault is; banish it from thee with the pricks of industry, with the reins of prudence, lest, by propagation, thou beest snatched with a whole multitude to an inglorious end; for God, as I have said, resisteth the proud man, and nothing is more monstrous than he.

CHAP. V.

OF DANCING.

IRON sharpeneth iron, saith Solomon, and one vanity draweth on another; and that which cometh behind is, for the most part, greater, and more notorious; as it is apparent in this age of ours, which daily hunteth after nothing so much as them. For, amongst the frivolous pleasures, which, as I may so term it, ravish men's senses with delight, not any one is more coveted than that of dancing; from which nothing proceedeth, but that which favoureth of lust, hateful to every honest man, and ought, in general, to be a disgrace to all. The affections of the mind are made known by nothing so well, as by the body; for the casting of the hands, a moveable foot, a rolling and wanton eye, argueth some evil motions to consist within the mind. If, therefore, you will be modest, have a regard, that neither you do any thing effeminately, nor speak wantonly, seeing that motion, sitting, lying, gesture, laughter, gait, and speech are the signs of the mind, and very often, upon small occasions, are detected. Besides, what can be more absurd, than for a man, not hearing the musician's instrument, to be leaping and skipping amongst a company of foolish women, and men worse than they? But admit he doth (which, for the most part, is without grace, measure, dexterity, and good order) why then he heapeth up madness upon madness. No, thou art not so much delighted for the present, as thou art for hope of a future delight. Dancing is the voluntary, which is plaid before a passage is made to unlawful desires; this is that, which, at one and the self-same time, banisheth away both fear and shame; this is that which provoketh men to lust, being a most licentious recreation: and this is that delight, which you term dancing, being a pastime without all hurt, as you say, by which coverture you obscure the offence; for, if it were only for honest recreation, then would it be practised amongst men, and amongst women severally; but, not being so exercised, many inconveniencies do arise, which are able to make a general dissolution of those good qualities, which are incident in man. No man shall dance with King David before the Lord, lest, perhaps, his wife hath him in derision; but, amongst many now-a-days, it is commonly used, and not only no derision thereupon ensueth, but wonderful admiration. And why? because of itself it is a most foolish thing, and bringeth more tediousness, than delight. Hereupon sprang that saying: *in circuitu impij ambulans*; for it hath been the cause which hath brought unto men much discredit, and hath been the only means why many women have lost their chastity, even upon that day wherein their nuptial rites have been solemnised. Whensoever, therefore, thou shalt be so affected, then take this as a canon and rule (to direct thee from swerving, to uphold thee from falling) that thou usest modestly, and very seldom, those things, from which thou canst not refrain and abstain thyself; that so, temperance being thy guide, thou mayest,

with facility, obscure those things, which will argue effeminate passions to be predominant in you. I illustrate this not with example, because the imitation of worthy men is not always expedient; for every feathered fowl hath not sufficient vigour to follow an eagle, and many honest men most commonly are repugnant to that, which, in their predecessors, did seem laudable. Cato, being cumbered with the cares of the commonwealth, was wont to releuate his mind with wine, which thing Solon likewise did; whom many afterwards, being willing to imitate, did abuse that with drunkenness, which they used for restorative. Wherefore, if counsel may any whit prevail with you, First, drink wine but seldom, and, Secondly, abstain always from dancing. For there are many, and sundry more kinds of recreation, with which you may better reifresh your disdainful mind; but with this caution, always to think, upon whatsoever you go about, your adversary's eyes to be fixed, ready always to blemish the lustre of it, by taking exceptions; for it is more commendation, that your enemies should be astonished at your abstinence and gravity, than your friends excuse your looseness and lasciviousness. And, indeed, that glory is worthy the applause of many, unto which no man can object any true accusation, much less dareth a false; for true and perfect virtue terrifieth the accuser, but a mean kindleth wrath. As touching sobriety, I had rather have thee resemble Cæsar, and so to fall into mislike with wine, than Cato, whose objected ebriety Seneca so confuted, as that the barretor did say, that an honest accusation will effect a matter with more facility, than an absurd Cato. But concerning that whereof we now treat; dance I would not have thee, otherwise than Scipio, or drink wine, than Cato; that, by so doing, you may not only not incur the opprobrious speeches of wicked and slanderous men, but cast such an astonishment upon those that are your foes, as that they may hold you in daily admiration.

CHAP. VI.

OF APPAREL.

IT is manifest, that the knowledge of never so many things, without either a grace, or a certain kind of pleasing delivery of the same, not only is exquisite in praise, yet meriting due commendations, though not in the excellency or height thereof; so likewise to speak much, and to enter into the handling or discourse of many matters, for one that knoweth little, and is but slightly travelled in the truly-conceived paths of literature, not only discovers an ineducated rudeness, and lame ignorance of letters, but oftentimes induceth unto himself danger, and many are offended very highly, as Marcus Tullius at large, and learnedly, hath written. And, therefore, to let us understand that it is requisite, before something is touched, to know very well what we undertake to speak and discourse of, and to apprehend a right conceit what we suppose we know indeed; to argue with short and

pithy disputations, thereby to pull on attention, and avoid the misery of being thought to be tedious; to contend mildly, and, lastly, to write methodically, and with a good grace, being indeed an especial introduction of a reading spirit. The ancients always thought it a most frivolous thing (as in many excellent authors it is recorded) for men to glory in the outward coverture of the body; but many now-a-days, contrary to them, do not only account it a thing not inglorious, but that patrimony also which they have, although it be but small, do so lavish out, most commonly, upon apparel, as that their diet is altogether unprovided for; yea, we are all so affected, as though there rested amongst us a kind of sympathy, and concordance of dispositions. First, it is not good, because that those things, which are pure and good, love not to be obscured; but our common custom is, to darken those things, which are filthy, with most choice colours. Secondly, it will strike an astonishment into thee, when thou shalt seriously bethink what thou art by nature. Thirdly, it is not expedient; for the learned man, Crispus, could say, That it was not becoming for a man to be extraordinarily attired: Let men labour, saith he, and let women be gallantly clothed; for, in a man, stately apparel is the standard of pride, and harbour for luxury. I will not rehearse unto you religious men, which, being half naked, have repelled the rigour of the winter's cold. And I know very well, that too much plenty maketh a man forget his Creator. Have a regard to that which you intend, and remember Augustus Cæsar, of all men most wealthy, who never otherwise was attired, than like a private man, his garments being made either by his wife, sister, or daughter, or by any other of his nieces, for so it is recorded of him; and so he, being lord of all the world, wearied with labour those women, which were of his near alliance. But thou, perhaps slave to others, travellest through the farthest countries for habit. The Belgian, the Persian, Seres, and Indian, must both pin and weave for thee; the Tyrian sea must be ransacked for purple, the Britannian sheep must be sheared for thy wear, the patise, and arsenick red, must be ground for colours, and Augustus must be appareled with the works of his family. So much hath virtue decreased, and pride increased; so much men delight with contrarieties, that examples of modesty are now both vile, and clean worn out. Many there have been, which seemed very lofty and magnificent in apparel, worse than the basest, more wretched than the vilest, and more contemptible than he which is most. Caius, and many other besides him, had their attire more befitting beasts, than civilians. And why? Because the more beautiful the habit is, the sooner the spots of deformity are detected, and the eyes of passengers fixed upon it: Therefore, a deformed man is in nothing so much his own enemy, as when he will appear beautiful and glorious. Moreover, variety of cloathing doth not so much adorn a man, as it doth discredit him. For the nature of things is not to be conquered by human art; and, oftentimes, by how much the more it is suppressed, by so much the more it lifteth and elevateth itself up in such sort, as that fine colours, and sweet perfumes, are not able to alter the native fidity of man's body, but either make it more conspicuous or mistrustful. For,

put into a golden coffin a dead man's carcase, and beset it with pearls and precious stones, you shall perceive, that, the more adorned it is, the more horreur and fear will the body incuss into you. And if this word Cadaver, for a dead carcase, is rightly termed by the Latins à cadendo, of falling, why should we not deck it being fallen, as well as that which must, and will incontinently? But it is not now meet for me to bewail, and inveigh against these vanities of external habits, cut out after all manner of foolish fashions, being used amongst us ever since the creation of the world. Thus much understand, that God buteth those beasts which are of man's countenance, savagely minded, fair-tongued, richly trimmed, with their hair platted, after the wear of most impudent women, evil conditioned, shamelessly detecting the secrets of their bodies, and inconstancy of their minds.

CHAP. VII.

OF PERFUMES.

A CCIDIT in vita, ut in longa via, aut plurimum luti, aut pulveris:
 As it is with a man which travelleth, the further and longer he journieth, the more dirty or dusty he is: So it is with us, who the longer we live in this valley of tears, the more subject we are to those things which work most commonly our confusion, hunting daily after vanities, which are nothing else but vain illusions, deceiving the senses. And, amongst all which are usually practised, that of perfuming must not be omitted, which one, by itself, doth so intoxicate men's affections, as that he is best esteemed of, who savoureth most of it. We use it not only in our apparel, whereof we have already spoken somewhat, but in our diet also. It is a thing so effectual, as that, by it, our affections are caused and moved to undergo the blemishes of incontinency; it is so hateful, that the perfumed sort are condemned by honest men, both of turpitude and vanity. How better were it for a man to savour of virtue and honesty, whose scents are more sensible than aromatical spices, and burned brimstone; those would comfort his languishing spirit, refreshing it with much consolation. And, as in many things, so also in this, the variety of natures is infinite, not only between man and man, but between nation and nation. For it is credibly reported by Pliny, that learned writer, that there is a nation inhabiting near the river Ganges, which is nourished with nothing else save the smell of an apple, carrying one always about them, as a thing very cordial; and so much detesting ill savours, that, as a sweet and pure smell doth nourish, so an infectious doth destroy them. Hereupon, the men which bordered upon the oriental parts, as they fell more and more into dislike with meat, so they became very greedy, and thirsted after perfumes in such a manner, as that from them the like curiosity came to us: The inconvenience whereof you may easily understand by the Romans, who, having vanquished the Assyrians, Arabians, and Sabeans, became, through

their perfumes, slaves to them; which savours, at the first, the senators (in the five-hundred and sixtieth year after the city was built) so withstood, as that there was given out, in an edict, by the censors, That no man, upon pain of death, should, by any means, convey into the city any external perfumes. But, not long after, lasciviousness being conqueress, through the vices of modern men, violating the statutes of their predecessors, as it is the custom, burst into the senate, as a heady ruler, author of that decree. Thereupon came in all manner of ointments, being especial arguments of some defects which are concealed in man; and then the care of them, which becometh not any man or woman, brought under subjection the whole estate of man. Remember that perfumist, who being bedaubed with the same or such like ointments, as that very instant wherein he should have thanked Vespasian the prince for an office received, was highly rebuked by him, and dismissed away with much disgrace. By whom we may easily perceive, that such like odours are sometimes not only no renown, but also much hinderance unto a man, especially when a grave censor of men's behaviours ruleth. A notable example we have of one Plantius, a senator, who being condemned by the triumvirs, for some trespass, to be executed, and afterwards, for fear of death, having fled into the Salernitanian thicket, was, from thence, by reason of his sweet-smelling savours, detected, and immediately punished. Desist, therefore, for the most mixed and less simple odours procure more dishonesty and ignominy. For every filthy thing is made worse, by how much the more it is compounded. Art is the ornament of honesty, but burden of dishonesty. Moreover, odours are used after a more vile manner than heretofore. For although, as I have said, Rome made such resistance against this plague coming out of Asia, as against an armed legion of enemies; yet, notwithstanding, at the length, a troop of evil favoured vices, passing their *Corps du Guard*, came into Europe, and there subdued most strong people. And, forasmuch as it is a most frivolous thing for a man to rehearse every thing in particular, conjecture of the rest by the valour of one valiant man thereby daunted and quailed. That unconquerable man Hannibal, in the midst of his troublesome wars, which he waged with the Romans, anointed himself, together with his fierce army; but the end of this effeminate captain, and his soldiers, whose proceeding struck astonishment into men's hearts, was very lamentable: perfumes are penetrable, but vices far more. Hereupon it cometh to pass, as it always hath been the manner, that too much labour and trouble it is for a man to read or hear of those things, which are both written and spoken against this vice. To conclude, understand this, that he, who is delighted with it, labourereth not of a vice common in these times, but of one proper and peculiar to the mind. Wherefore endeavour, that you neither favour ill of those odours which are pleasant and delectable, or be hateful, by reason of those things which are odious.

CHAP. VIII.

OF ENVY, DISSIMULATION, AND GUILT.

ENVY and malice I comprehend both under one, because that they are brethren of the same brood. But, if we could find some difference in them, let us make what Augustine saith: Malice is delighted with another man's evil, envy is grieved at another man's good. So then we may affirm, that evil is the object of malice, and good of envy. A malicious man is subject to the law, because he is a murderer; as it is in John iii. 13, whosoever hateth his brother, is a manslayer; and know, that no manslayer hath eternal life abiding in him. This sin of malice is that which the apostle Paul, Rom. i. 29, shewed to be condemned, and that from which we are dissuaded: He willeth also the Corinthians, in his fifth epistle, the fifth chapter, the seventh and eighth verses, that they should purge out the old leaven, saying, let us keep the feast not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of maliciousness: Because, that malicious men are stopped from the kingdom of heaven, and the wrath of God, for this vice, cometh upon the children of disobedience. Moreover, what may be spoken of love, may, *vice versa*, be spoken of malice; and whatsoever is spoken in the dispraise of malice, may be for the praise of love. For most sure it is, that the praise of one is the dispraise of the other; as that which is straight sheweth itself to be so, and that which is crooked to be crooked, as one straight line may shew, being drawn by a crooked line: So then, when we speak of love, we may say unto the fault of malice, *Mutata vice fabula de te narratur*: To malice and envy are always joined guile and dissimulation, as most agreeable one to another; for, in dissimulation, we are deceived, as in love; for none are more deceived than such as, under the pretext of unfeigned love, think well of them whom they affect. In affection, likewise, we are deluded as well as in love, the truth whereof can hardly be discerned. But that course is commended, which Constantius the emperor did take for finding out such as he did suppose, in his court, to be dissemblers, and said unto them, that they only, whom he found to be most constant, were worthy to be about a prince. Theodorick, the Arian King, did kill Cæso with his own hands, a servant of his, whom he perceived to abjure and deny his faith; and said, moreover, as *Sigon. Occ. Lib. xvi.* hath, That he could in no sort be true and faithful unto him, seeing that he had shrunk back from Christ, and denied him whom before he had confessed. Metius Suffetius most fitly doth resemble unto us the person of a dissembler, who, when as the Romans were in the field against their enemies, did betake himself unto the top of an hill, from whence he might see and behold who were like to have the better in battle, that he might go unto them; yet, notwithstanding, for this fact of his, the Roman King condemned him to be torn in pieces by wild horses, a death most fit for such a dissembling person. Most like unto this Roman are all such as carry themselves aloof off, continually expecting and looking for an alteration in the state, not shewing, indeed, what they are; so that they are not unlike the Jews, who speak half the language of the Ashdodites, and half of

their own. For, by this manner of life and conversation, they cannot be perceived what they are; whereas the prophet saith, they have a heart and a heart, yea a double heart, to make outward semblance of one thing, and to mean another; whenas they, for fear, wish well, or rather, seem to be favourers of the present state, not making any shew of dislike of it at all. But such may know that, *sperantes vel unto die consenescent*; and, although they stand still gazing for some change and alteration, long may they so continue; and altho' they be not unlike that countryman which Horace speaketh of, when he saith,

*Rusticus expectat dum defluat annis, at ille
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum;*

yet they must assure themselves, that God, who ruleth above, sitteth and seeth all their plots laid by them, and their policies, and will, most assuredly, disappoint them of their purpose; and altho' they go on from one evil unto another, yet shall they not escape the hands of the Lord, neither can they so cover themselves, as that, by the mighty Jehovah, they cannot be discerned. Yea, and although the pope doth continually what he can to take away life from our sovereign, in sending traitor after traitor, and always canonising them, and would make this work of theirs meritorious; yet God, who hath heretofore disappointed them of their purpose, sitteth still in heaven, and laugheth them to scorn. And altho', with the cruel emperor, they could wish, *O si caput unum haberet*, that at once they might have their will, yet God will not suffer their wicked treacheries to take effect. In the old law was set down unto us, how that an ox and an ass ought not to be coupled together, and a garment of linsey-wolsey ought not to be worn; whereby we may learn, not to make a shew of honest and plain-dealing, and be dissemblers, full of guile and hypocrisy. For they are not fit couples to be joined together, nor garments which will agree upon our backs at once. And from hence proceedeth all evil-speaking, as backbiting, slandering, railing, and the like. A reason may be hereof, *Tulit nos ætas iniquiores*: We daily wax worse and worse. For none will now spare to revile, and that in a shameful manner, if any hope of advantage can be found. And, although we can have no just and true occasion to defame any, yet, *audacter calumniando*, we will proceed against such as we would hate; and, altho' we know no such slander can be truly raised, yet we assure ourselves that the scar will still remain, some judging badly of them, because of the rumour. If any fault can be found out in any one whom we would malign, then are we still like flies, lighting always upon the bare and sore place; if we can find out any imperfection, there will we be, and shew it unto the world; but, as for virtues the slanderous person letteth them pass, and will not so much as once look upon them. In Leviticus, we read how that kites were forbidden to be eaten, because they did feed upon living beasts, and so became unclean; even so in slanderers and evil-speakers, no clean thing can be found; for the heart, the mouth, the hands, and every part of them is unclean; so that they cannot offer up sacrifices unto God. They are more savage than the beasts, for they do not feed upon one of the same kind; but man

devoureth man, yea, killeth him with his tongue and slanderous reports. We ought to remember, that as windows are narrow on the outside, and larger within; so should we, out of our own houses, and, in other men's affairs, see less than in our own. We must not be like that woman of whom Plutarch giveth this report, that when she went abroad would put her eyes into her head, but when she came home would take them out, and would not, in her own house, see any longer by them: But we must, in some sort, do the contrary; we must, in our own houses, that is, in our private actions, have more circumspect eyes than in other men's. And, finally, we must take heed, that we have not that the subject of our talk which may malign others, and that our actions deserve not to be evil-spoken of by others.

CHAP. IX.

OF BENEFITING AND UNTHANKFULNESS.

FORASMUCH as justice and honesty require this, that we should give thanks unto them which have bestowed benefits upon us; nature followeth this order, that we should convert the effects into their causes: forasmuch as they have their conservation and increase from whence they spring. The degrees of benefits are four:

1. First, Thou seest some, that, when they bestow benefits, they have only a respect to themselves. So do shepherds and swineherds, when they provide pasture for their cattle, whereof they have charge, since, therein only, they seek for their own gain and commodity, otherwise they have no love to sheep, and swine, &c.

2. There are others, which, in doing of good, have regard both unto themselves, and also unto them whom they do help. For the poor do serve rich men and princes, partly, because they love them, and partly, to get some commodity at their hands.

3. In the third degree are those placed, which do in such sort bestow a benefit upon any man, as they look for no recompence of him. It oftentimes happens, that, when we see one in misery, we are touched with mercy, and we help him; which, without doubt, proceedeth of humanity: forasmuch as we are men, we think that nothing belonging to a man, but it appertaineth unto us.

4. They are counted in the last and chiefest place, which benefit others, even with their own grief, hurt, and loss.

After this manner Christ dealt towards us; he redeemed mankind with the loss of his own life: Whom Jephtha, after a sort, resembleth, who delivered the Israelites unto liberty, and that to his great danger, which he declared by this form of speaking: 'I have put my life in my hands', Judges xii. 3. that is, I have not refused to endanger my life, wherefore the Ephraimites were most ungrateful for so great a benefit. The degrees of ungrateful men are likewise four:

The first sort of ungrateful men is, when they require not good to those that deserve it at their hands.

The second is, when they praise not, nor allow well of those things which good men bestow upon them.

The third is of them which forget the benefits they have received.

The fourth and worst of all is, when, for benefits, injury and hurt is recompensed.

After this manner, the Ephraimites behaved themselves towards Jephtha; who, because he had gotten the victory, would have burned him and all his. What else is this, than to condemn both the benefits, and him that bestoweth them? But this is most of all the point of unthankful men, when neither men, nor other creatures, are despised in their so doing, but God himself contemned. For, whatsoever benefits we receive of men, we have them of God, who useth the help of men to relieve the miserable and afflicted. Wherefore they, which are ungrateful, are void of charity, as well towards God, as towards men. But thou wilt say, when men, that bestow benefits, do sometimes light upon ungrateful persons, what ought they to do? shall they straightway withdraw their well-doing from them? Undoubtedly, they deserve this. Howbeit, we must not forthwith do it, because men (by reason that nature is corrupted) are slow, neither are they easily moved to do their duty; therefore we must go forward in well-doing, for he, who is not moved to be thankful by the first benefit, will, peradventure, be stirred by the second, third, fourth, or fifth: But if he altogether continue in his ingratitude, we may justly withdraw from him our benefits; not moved thereunto by hatred or desire of revenge, but that he may be corrected, and that he do not continually disdain the benefits, which are the gifts of God. Kings do not make every citizen a ruler, a president, or other officer belonging to a magistrate, but them only that are just and wise: which, if they do not, they execute not their office. But when they give unto their people liberal gifts, or a banquet, or distribute corn, because, without great labour and pain, they cannot separate the good citizens from the bad, therefore they bestow such things as are of this kind, upon all men, one with another; and chuse rather to deserve well of evil citizens, than to defraud the good of their liberality, for whose sake they are chiefly moved to be bountiful towards the people. Let us also imitate this, that when we bestow private things, although we light upon one that is ungrateful, let not us straightway withdraw from him our liberality, but let us behave ourselves in such manner, as we have before declared; that if he stubbornly proceed to be ungrateful, let us, at length, for his correction sake, cease to bestow any benefit upon him. But such benefits as are common or publick, let us continually bestow them, yea, even upon the ungrateful, as we are of God commanded. And let us rather chuse to have our good things distributed to godly and holy men, than to cease off from doing good, because the wicked should not be partakers of them.

CHAP. X.

OF GENTLENESS AND AFFABILITY.

THE virtue, which followeth things delightful in sports, is *virginitas*, to wit, gentleness and affability in speech. It is otherwise a necessary thing, for as the body hath need of rest, so the mind to be

refreshed with some pleasure: Yet must we beware that we be not too forward in those things, lest we hurt, and lest that we speak any unclean thing. Moreover, we must observe these circumstances, to wit, when, with whom, and how, and that it be done with such words and actions, as are convenient. The excess is *Βαυσαρχία*, to wit, when men use reproachful kind of scoffing, when they speak those things that are filthy, and hurt others, and have no consideration of time, manner, or persons. *Βαυσαί* signifieth an altar, and, in old time, about altars, there was meat; and then there sat jesters about the altars, that they, by their much babbling (which oftentimes was very uncivil) might make men merry: These are said to be rude and rustical fellows; or else, as they which are pleasant may be called civil, so these other may be called uncivil.

THE CONCLUSION.

YOU have heard (Philosarchus) the treatises of those things which you desired, and my judgment upon them likewise; which request of yours I refused not to perform, in regard that I thought the probabilities of them would be special motives to abandon, and sequester far from you, that carnal and voluptuous manner of living; which, if they shall, then I shall think myself well contented, and my labours sufficiently discharged: If otherwise, yet I shall seem to have performed the duty of a loving and faithful friend.

KING JAMES'S SPEECH

TO

HIS FIRST PARLIAMENT,

Monday, the Nineteenth of March, 1603.

BUT of one thing I would have the papists of this land to be admonished, that they presume not so much upon my lenity, because I would be loth to be thought a persecutor, as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their number and strength in this kingdom; whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my posterity, they might be in hope to erect their religion again. No, let them assure themselves, that, as I am a friend to their persons, if they be good subjects, so am I an avowed enemy, and do denounce mortal war to their errors; and that, as I would be sorry to be driven, by their ill behaviour, from the protection, and conservation of their bodies and lives, so will I never cease, as far as I can, to tread down their errors and wrong opinions, for I could not permit the increase and growing of their religion, without first betraying of myself, and mine own conscience. Secondly, This whole isle, as well the part

I am come from, as the part I remain in, in betraying their liberties, and reducing them to the former slavish yoke, which both had cast off before I came amongst them. And Thirdly, The liberty of the crown in my posterity, which I should leave again under a new slavery, having found it left free to me by my predecessors; and therefore would I wish all good subjects, that are deceived with that corruption, first, if they find any beginning of instinct in themselves of knowledge, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them; and, if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned men, and to use all such means as may further their resolution; assuring themselves, that, as long as they are discomformable in religion from us, they cannot be but half my subjects, be able to do but half service, and I to want the best half of them, which is their souls.

A RELATION

Of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

Lord High Admiral of England,

His Highness's Ambassador to the King of Spain:

Being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, according to the several Articles formerly concluded on by the Constable of Castile in England in the Month of August, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By Rob. Treswell, Esq. Somerset-Herald.

London, printed by Melchisedeck Bradwood for Gregory Seaton, and are to be sold at his Shop under Aldersgate, 1695. Quarto, containing forty six Pages, including the Preface.

This curious piece, which stands in the seventeenth place of the catalogue of our pamphlets, was written by one of the Earl's retinue, Robert Treswell, Esq. Somerset-Herald, and is recommended for publication by a gentleman at Oxford, who, in his letter to the printer, says, that, 'It is not to be met with, except in the Bodleian Library, Oxon, and in that of the Earl of Oxford, which is here exhibited; and that, as it will illustrate, as well as correct the historians in the reign of King James the First, he desires it to be reprinted as a real curiosity.' And we believe it will be acceptable to all our subscribers, as it gives a better idea of the court of Madrid, as well as of the general disposition of the Spaniards, and of some of the customs peculiar to them at that time, than can be met with in any other English writer: Besides, it must be allowed to be a most agreeable and entertaining relation; for, among other varieties, the reader is here presented with an account of the famous procession of Corpus Christi, and of a Bull Feast and Spanish Tournament, and other kind of diversions, such as masquerades, &c.

To the Reader.

HAVING collected together many general observations in that honourable journey into Spain, lately performed by the Right Honourable and worthy Earl, the Earl of Nottingham; although, amongst many reasons, which persuaded me to be therein to myself secret, and to the world sparing, in divulging this treatise, I found especially (and which I must of necessity confess) my own weakness in compiling the same and making it fit and worthy of so general a reading as by this consequence it must undergo; yet, being over-weighed with many especial motives which I could not well answer or contradict, I thought rather to expose myself to the favourable censure of the worthiest and best-minded (who rather respect a plain and home-bred style, yet true, than a tale consisting of eloquent phrases, but doubtful) than, pleasing myself in my own fearful humour, give cause of offence to them whom most I laboured to content. The first of these motives being, that many of my friends, knowing me to have been by especial appointment an attendant upon his Lordship in that honourable employment, and understanding of the care taken by me in observing some particulars in the same, exceedingly urged me to give them a perfect knowledge and satisfaction thereof; which, as it was a thing likely to be tedious, so could they not receive that contentment by a brief report, which a more ample relation and discourse might better afford. Another was, that, for that it came to our knowledge, how many false and ill contrived reports had been bruited abroad, after our departure from England, as well derogating from that honourable entertainment we received in general, whilst we were in Spain, as from the proceedings of his Lordship and his company in some particulars, I could not but (taxing myself of duty to his Lordship, and the rest) endeavour to satisfy all doubtful and unsatisfied minds, with relating and declaring the truth thereof. But a third, and a more especial cause is, that, since our return, one not well informed, having undertaken to know much of the proceedings of that journey, and mistaking himself in his own understanding, lately published a pamphlet of many false and erroneous observations; thereby possessing the readers with an untrue relation of that, the truth whereof they so much desired. Upon these former considerations therefore, I was advised to tender unto your generous acceptance my well-meaning endeavours; which although they cannot give that pleasure and content in reading you happily expect, yet shall they assure you what they promise: That is, a true relation of such things, which happened in that honourable journey. In reporting whereof, I had rather be condemned for plainness, than once suspected for reporting an untruth.

ROD. TRESWELL, *alias* SOMERSET-HERALD.

SO soon as the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, had taken notice from his Majesty, that it was his will and pleasure to employ him in this great ambassage to the King of Spain, calling to mind how honourably and richly the Duke of Fryas, Constable of Castile, and late ambassador for the said King, had formerly demeaned himself in England; presently, with a

most honourable resolution, neither fearing the hazard of his person, being now aged, nor regarding the expences, that so great and honourable an employment should require, with what speed he conveniently might, endeavoured to perform his Majesty's designs and appointment herein. And therefore, by the advice of the council of England, he first resolved both what honourable personages, and what number of them might be fitting, for accompanying and attending him in this his great employment. To whom whenas particular letters from the council, by his Majesty's especial commandment, were dispatched, to give them notice to prepare themselves to attend the said noble Earl, according as his Highness had commanded; they seemed so willing and ready to perform their duty and service therein, that his Lordship was far more troubled to deny many, and that of very good sort, who voluntarily tendered their service in good will and honour of his Lordship, to attend him in this his appointed voyage, than he was at first in bethinking what company were necessary to take with him. And therefore, at last, concluding of a competent number (not without displeasing many), he resolved upon these whose names hereafter follow :

The Earl of Perth,

The Lord Howard of Effingham, his son and heir.

The Lord Willoughby.

The Lord Norris.

Sir Charles Howard, Knight, his second son.

Sir Thomas Howard, Knight, second son to the Earl of Suffolk,

Sir John Sheffield, Knight, son and heir to the Lord Sheffield.

Master Pickering Wotton, son and heir to the Lord Wotton.

Sir Richard Lewson, Knight, admiral of the fleet, and vice-admiral of England.

Master Thomas Compton, brother to the Lord Compton.

Hans Herman Van Veiscenbach, a German, and of good esteem in England.

Sir Robert Drewry.

Sir Robert Maunsel, treasurer of the King's navy, and vice-admiral of the fleet.

Sir Edward Howard, his nephew,

Sir Thomas Palmer.

Sir Edward Swift.

Sir William Smith.

Sir John Trevor, surveyor of the navy,

Sir Robert Killegrew.

Sir Richard Cowper, gentleman-porter of the King's house,

Sir George Buck.

Sir Guilford Slingsby,

Sir Adolphus Cary.

Sir Francis Howard, his Lordship's nephew also.

Sir Sackville Trevor, rear-admiral of the fleet,

Sir Walter Gore.

Sir William Page.

Sir Giles Hoffman,

Sir Thomas Roe,

Sir John Eyre,

Sir Philip Cary.

Sir Henry Knowles.

Sir John Guevarra, Knights.

Master Giles Porter, his interpreter. Doctor Marbeck, Doctor Palmer, physicians. Master Pawlet, Master Cary, Master Barret, Master John Lewson, Lewis Tresham, Captain Thomas Button, William Button, John Fearn, Hierom Laments, Henry Butler, John Milliscent, Bernard Sanders, Philip Roper, Francis Plomb, Roger Tailor, Captain William Morgan, Henry Minn, Christopher Frederick, Thomas Buck, Captain William Polewheel, Edmond Fittou, Walter Grey, John Atkinson, Dudley Carleton, Edward Smith, and many other gentlemen of good condition and quality, as well his Lordship's private officers and servants, as divers, whose names are not herein remembered.

The ships appointed to attend his Lordship and his company for transportation of themselves, the followers and necessities, were these :

The Bear,	} being ships royal.
The Due-repulse,	
The Waste-spight,	
The Mary-Anne,	
The Amity,	
The Resistance,	
The great hoy, called the George.	

According to appointment, the said lords, knights, and gentlemen prepared themselves to give their attendance, whensoever his Lordship should take his journey ; and therefore, understanding that he intended to take leave of the King on Thursday, the one and twentieth day of March, according to the computation of England, the greatest number of them, being very richly apparelled themselves, and extraordinarily appointed for their servants, gave their attendance at Nottingham House, the said one and twentieth day of March, his Lordship having appointed many barges and boats for conveying himself, the said lords, and knights, and their company to the Court, the King's Highness then being at Greenwich ; the said Earl having ordained his own company to be in number, as follows : Six trumpeters clad in orange-colour damask, with clokes of cloth of the same colour, and banners of damask with his Honour's arms thereupon. Six footmen in orange-tawny velvet alike suited. Six pages, clad likewise in velvet of the same colour, with their clokes suitable. Thirty gentlemen with clokes of black velvet. Fourscore yeomen well apparelled with livery clokes of orange-tawny cloth, garded with silver and blue silk lace. The said noble Earl being thus prepared went with his said company from Nottingham House, the said Thursday about noon, and, so shooting the bridge, arrived at Greenwich immediately after dinner ; and there, presenting himself and his company unto his Majesty, was most acceptably and graciously entertained. After some time spent in receiving his Highness's commandment, as well concerning himself in his own particular, as also touching the conducting and presenting of Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight, who was appointed for to be his Majesty's Lieger Ambassador with the King of Spain : The said ambassadors, lords, knights, and gentlemen, humbly taking their leaves of his Highness, were for that night dismissed ; every one taking himself to his

lodging, there remaining and expecting his Lordship's further pleasure to be known when they should prepare to set forward on his journey.

His Lordship, having now dispatched his private counsels and intendments with his Majesty and the Lords of the Council, gave warning to his said company and followers to be ready against Tuesday morning, being the six and twentieth day of the said month of March. Which time he gave to prepare themselves; for that day he intended to set forward. On which said day, being both mindful and forward for his intended journey, he was early up in the morning, and, taking the time of the tide, and such company as were ready, being to the number of eighty persons, in divers barges and boats, passed from Nottingham House to Gravesend, and there dined, staying for much of the company, which followed. After dinner they rode from Gravesend to Chatham, where he lodged that night. The same night the Earl of Marr came from the Court, on purpose to congratulate with his Lordship, and do such like private offices of friendship. The next day being Wednesday, his Lordship would have gone to the ships, which were then fallen so low as Queensborough, there riding at anchor and staying our coming; but the weather fell out somewhat foul, and the wind contrary, so that he rested at Chatham that night. The next day being Thursday, the eight and twentieth of March, before seven of the clock in the morning, his Lordship having commanded to be ready divers barges and pinnaces, to carry himself and his followers a-board the ships, took his barge, and about ten of the clock the same day, entered the ship called the Bear, lying in Queensborough Road as afore is said, together with the Due-repulse, and the Waste-spight, which three ships kept company together, and lay of purpose to transport his Lordship, the Ambassador-Lieger, and the other lords, knights, and gentlemen, that were of the company and train.

Now what by reason of staying for some of the lords and gentlemen, as yet not come a-board, for the better disposing and ordering all things concerning the voyage, as also for placing and appointing to every man his room accordingly: The weather likewise being not very fair to put to sea, we anchored before Queensborough till Sunday morning, being Easter-day, and the last day of March. At which time, the wind coming about to the west, and standing fair to put to sea, his Lordship commanded to weigh, and to set sail, which was done accordingly: Sailing as far as the tide would give them leave, which was to a certain road betwixt the sands, near to the Shore-beak, where they rested that night. The next day being very foul, and the wind contrary, they were fain to ride it out till Tuesday morning, being the second of April. At which time the weather fell somewhat fair, and his Lordship, being desirous to take all advantage that might forward the journey, commanded to weigh again and put to sea; but, the wind being very slack, he was becalmed, and so driven to a flat near the Spits, where, for that the tide was much spent, and the flood coming on, they cast anchor about one of the clock in the afternoon, there staying, in expectation of wind, till Wednesday morning; when, although there was little or no wind stirring, yet his Lordship set forward, tiding it as far as they could that night. The next day, being Thursday, early in the morning, the wind coming somewhat towards the north, his Lordship caused to

weigh anchor; and so, with expence of time and much pains, the ships recovered Dover road, where they anchored as well for the receiving in of many of the company, as also for taking in fresh water and victuals. So soon as the fleet was discovered, and coming near Dover Road, as well the forts and block houses as the castle of Dover, saluted them with many shot, his Lordship answering them again, both out of his own ship, and out of the rest also with the like.

That night, the lords and gentlemen, for whom they made stay at Dover, came a-board; and that night also his Lordship minded to have set forward, had not the hoy called the *George*, by spending of her mast, in her passage from Queensborough to Dover, caused a longer abode.

Now for that the said hoy was appointed to carry provision and necessities for the fleet, and could not be so soon made ready again for service, as was desired; and for that the wind, standing at north-east, was a fair and fit wind for going forward, his Lordship advised with Sir Richard Lewson, the admiral of the fleet, that some course might be presently had to forward the journey; Sir Richard therefore, with great care and extraordinary pains, labouring all that night, being seconded by Sir John Trevor, Surveyor of the navy, unladed the said hoy of all such necessary provisions as they were like to use in the voyage; and having, that night and the next morning, dispersed her luggage, some in one ship, and some in another; and being returned to the ships, about ten of the clock, a warning-piece was given, and about two hours after they weighed, and sailed all that day, being Friday the fifth day of April, until the next day, being Saturday, and then, being becalmed, were fain to cast anchor again. That night the wind coming fair, they weighed anchor, and so sailed all that night, till the next day; the wind again altering, they lay at anchor till towards the evening; and then set forward, sailing until ten of the clock the next day, and then cast anchor. About ten of the clock in the evening they weighed anchor again, and so sailed, with a fair wind, that night and the next day. On Wednesday, as we sailed, his Lordship commanded to hale a bark, which was discovered to be a bark from Barnstable, in Devonshire, and came from Bayonne in France, who declared, for news, that there was a young prince born in Spain. Now it should seem his Lordship had received understanding, by letters from the Right Honourable Viscount Cramborn, his Highness's principal secretary of state, delivered to him whilst we lay at road before Dover, that his coming was expected, and provision made for him and his company, by the King of Spain, at St. Anderas. His Lordship having sent his provision of horses, coaches, litters, hangings, and other his rich furniture and necessities, together with his harbingers, and other officers, to the Groyne, in several hoys appointed for that purpose, the King's ship, called the *Advantage*, being their convoy: his Highness presents likewise, under the charge of Thomas Knoell, one of his Majesty's equeries, an appointed messenger, for the delivery thereof to the King of Spain, in their said company. And being uncertain, whether the King's designs were as well known to the said harbingers, and the rest, as to himself, he commanded Captain Morgan, and one Master Pett, a master shipwright, and a very good mariner, to go on board

the Resistance, being a ship of London, and one appointed for carriage of provision in this journey, to make what way they possibly could for the Groyne, to command the said ship's provisions and people to meet him in the mouth of the harbour, thence to bear in his company for St. Anderas: but the said ship was becalmed, as was the rest of the fleet likewise, and could make no way, but kept company with us till Sunday morning; after which time we had no more sight of her, till her coming to the Groyne, which was the next day after our arrival there.

On Monday morning early, the land was discovered by the fleet, and, about four of the clock in the afternoon, they arrived into the road of the Groyne, being a very safe and pleasant harbour.

We were no sooner descried from the land, but the governor of the town, Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, Seignior Peynte Corde de Carazena, and governor of Galicia, had commanded to make ready for entertaining his Lordship; which was most royally performed, being, upon entrance into the harbour, first saluted from a fort, on the north-side the town, with twenty great pieces of ordnance; then, from the fort lately built upon the rock, with six-and-twenty pieces of great ordnance; and, from the town and castle, with thirty great pieces of ordnance at least. His Lordship coming to anchor, with the rest of the ships, gave them their whole broadsides. Immediately upon his Lordship's arrival, the governor of the town sent the four principal officers, commanders of the town, together with his brother Don John de Pacheco, and Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, his only son, to give his Lordship the welcome; wherein they demeaned themselves so exceeding kindly, and with the most affable and respective speeches that might be, excusing their slender entertainment, by reason of their late understanding of his Lordship's coming to the Groyne, for that they had intelligence, his Lordship meant to have gone to St. Anderas. After a short time spent in compliment with these commanders, the governor himself, being accompanied with divers personages of worth, came a-board in a barge, which seemed to have been made of purpose for this use. The rowers and mariners thereof, being clad in blue silk cassocks and caps, and the barge covered with blue velvet, and newly painted, reported to his Lordship, that the King his master had especially written to him in these words: that he should have respect what person he was that was coming ambassador, from whom he was come, and to whom he was sent; and that he should do every thing for the honour of these three persons, without sparing any thing that might be fit for his Lordship's entertainment: and therefore, the governor intreated his Lordship to go on land, which he refused to do that night; but, being much importuned, he promised to go on shore the next day. During the governor's abode on the ship, there came many on board likewise, and they of all conditions; doctors of law, churchmen, friars, and of all other sorts of people; who all seemed much to wonder and admire the greatness and neatness of that galleon, as they termed her, exceedingly commending and applauding the same. At the departure of the said governor from the ships, his Lordship gave many pieces of ordnance, which were again received and answered from the town and forts; the whole town, indeed, being but a hold

and fort, but very strong. That night they sent from the town, unto his Lordship, a present of fish and fruit, bread, and such like commodities as the country yielded, excusing that they were not able to shew their love in better sort unto his Lordship, for that Monday, the day of his arrival, being St. Mark's-day with them, and the fishermen, as then, not going to sea, and also having feasted, as that day, for joy of the birth of the young prince, they were the more unfurnished of a better present, and more fit for his entertainment.

On Tuesday the sixteenth day of April, his Lordship prepared to go on shore to his lodging, which was prepared for him at the governor's house; which house is the whole pleasure of the town, for that it overlooketh the whole harbour, and is seated in the heart of the town. The governor likewise having taken great care to receive his Lordship in the most honourable manner; and therefore had, upon intelligence of our coming to the Groyne, caused to be built a bridge of timber above forty yards long, and painted the same yellow, red, and blue, and garnished the same with many pensils of silk, of like colours, very formally, and planted the way into the town with boughs of bays and orange trees, and strewed the same with rushes and flowers. The whole company of the town, and many more of the country, being, as was supposed, drawn thither for this purpose only, all ready to give his Lordship entertainment after the best fashion; when the time came that his Lordship might conveniently land, for until three of the clock after noon the flood was not, upon which he must of necessity land, the governor sent divers of the commanders of the town to give notice, that he, and other the magistrates of the town, would attend upon the bridge; his Lordship thereupon took his barge, carrying, in the head thereof, an ancient of white silk, with the picture of the sun in the upper part thereof, his motto or word being, *desir na repos*, written in manner of a beud, within the same, and so came, in a very honourable manner, to the bridge, where staid for him the said governor, judges, and magistrates of the town, entertaining the English as they landed, whilst the musick, being shagbots and hoboyes, and placed for that purpose upon the bridge, plaid sweet and delectable melody; and so the Spaniards intermingling themselves with the English, according to their degrees, ever giving the right hand to the English, passed into the town in order as follows: First went four of his Lordship's servants, who were appointed marshals for his train; after followed certain of his officers in his house and chamber, in their liveries; next after followed the gentlemen, his servants and especial officers, in their liveries of black velvet; then followed the esquires and knights, every one according to his degree; then, with our lords and nobles, divers Spanish commanders and judges of the kingdom of Galicia. At their entrance into the town, there was shot off an exceeding great volley of shot, both great and small, and so they passed all on foot to the conde's house; and, at the entrance of his Lordship into the house, there were shot off a great number of chambers, being for that purpose, as it should seem, planted over against the conde's gate. His Lordship, being thus received, was exceedingly well appointed and lodged. That night, what by reason of the littleness of the room, and the muchness of

the company, he was both lated, and could not but be much troubled at his supping; wherein the conde and his officers did make manifest their exceeding care and respect to have all things to content his Lordship, and the company, with so much attendance and observance, as it was rather a trouble and offence to any well-minded to see their extraordinary pains taken in their service, than cause of exception in any wise, especially for that it did appear, there was provided what the country could any way afford.

There his Lordship rested from that time forward, sometimes riding abroad to take the air on horseback, other times in his carroch, and ever with much applause and admiration of the people; so that it could not but give him much contentment to observe how welcome he seemed generally to the whole country. In his passages abroad he took occasion to shew his bounty to the poor, which in that place abound greatly, many of them being very miserable creatures to see, and wherewith his Lordship was in mercy and charity much moved, not sparing his purse one hour in the day; for, besides what he gave abroad, he never shewed himself in his gallery, but he provided good sums of money to give for relief of those miserable poor people, who indeed, during his abode there, made little account of other living, than of his relief.

Whilst we rested in the Groyne, a certain mariner, being one of the Repulse, and having, upon Wednesday the seventeenth day of the present month of April, brought on shore some company, and staying in town until, amongst lewd company, he became tippled, that thereby he gave offence in his behaviour, by violent striking of one of the churchmen of the town; although it was not directly complained of by any, either of the church or of the town, yet, by chance, came to his Lordship's knowledge, who, for that he received such extraordinary kind and liberal usage, both for himself and his followers, and that generally from all, if no other cause might move him but that, was much offended therewith, and therefore thought good to take due punishment of that so foul a fault, commanding that present inquiry should be made through all the ships, who of them had been on shore; at last finding the offender, he committed him presently to the bilboes, there to remain till the next day, which was Friday, at which time he appointed Sir Richard Lewson, his admiral and marshal, to call unto him the other admirals and captains of the fleet, and thoroughly to examine the offence, and accordingly to proceed without any respect or favour. They calling before them the said offender, and finding indeed that the fellow was drunk, and by no means could remember whether he had struck the said churchman or no; and although the manner of his striking was so slight, and the party said to be struck so vile in reputation of the whole city, as they generally pitied any man should once be called in question for so base a person; the said commissioners and jury proceeded, and, finding him guilty of striking the said churchman, being contrary to law and his Lordship's former decrees in that behalf, adjudged him to be presently hanged. Here it is to be understood, that the matter could not be so privately carried, but many of the town, and some churchmen also, had made means to get aboard, and

saw the proceeding so austere and resolute, that presently they solicited the conde, and the honourable condesse his wife, upon any condition to hinder the execution. Whereof, when the conde, but especially the condesse and her daughter, had taken notice, they never left intreating his Lordship to recall his averred sentence and judgment; and which to do, his Lordship could not, without offering much unkindness, refuse or deny. Many reasons were alledged by the conde and the condesse, that the party offended was a man vile in reputation, and esteemed as a man half lunatick; that the offence was not a malicious or determinate wilful offence, and therefore, the premises considered, his Lordship could not but with more judgment pass it over, than so severely prosecute the execution of justice upon so mean a cause, especially since no information or complaint was by the party offended, or by any other of the court, prosecuted on his behalf. His Lordship, thus urged, granted he should be delivered unto the conde, to be used as he thought good, and therefore commanded he should be brought on land, and delivered unto him; which was done, one of the masters going along with him, and the boatswain leading him with a halter about his neck; who, when he came before the conde, fell on his knees, and would have made much protestation; but the honourable conde took him up, took off the halter from his neck, and commanded him to be carried to eat in the buttery, for that the doleful looks of the man moved much pity in the conde.

On Tuesday, the three and twentieth day of April, according to the computation of England, his Lordship solemnised the feast of St. George; which was done in a very solemn manner, and with the more regard, for that the townsmen, taking notice of his intendment to feast, came in troops to see and observe the fashions of England: his Lordship, therefore, having desired sufferance of the conde to use his own officers for that day, appointed to be served after the fashion of England, both in service and diet. And, whereas the conde had, for his Lordship's state, set up a cloth of state with his proper arms, his Lordship commanded to set up a state of his own, being rich of bawdkin, without arms, other than the arms of his Highness with St. George's cross, as is the custom; his own arms was placed a good distance off, upon the hangings, and on the right-hand of the cloth of state, for that both the room was most convenient, as also it was thought the conde would have dined with his Lordship, as he was desired. After private prayers in his chamber, and that most of his company was come to him, and dinner being served in accordingly, his Lordship came forth, in his robes of St. George, to meet the conde: but the conde, fearing to do any thing that might impeach the honour of his master, or be present to hear any thing pronounced, which might offend him, in respect of the honour of his master, after that he had staid to see his Lordship wash, and sit at the table, prayed leave, and so went to his private lodging. At the coming in of the second course, according to the fashion of England, the King's stile was proclaimed, in three several languages, by Somerset-herald, crying, *Largesse*, who had a liberal reward for the same: and so his Lordship, being served very honourably by persons of the better sort, and very

richly in diet and in plate, ended his dinner, sitting alone at the table; but divers other lords, knights, and esquires, sitting in the same room, at two other tables by.

After dinner, the conde came to congratulate his Lordship, seeming much to repent him, that he kept not him company at dinner, since he had understood by his brother (who stood all dinner-time there, and well observing all) that there was not any thing that might give the least cause of offence, or exception: therefore the conde discovered, that he much desired to keep him company at supper; which he did, his Lordship sitting, as he did at dinner, under the escutcheon of his own arms, the conde on the same side, but on the left-hand of the cloth of state, and at the lower end of the table. Whilst they sat at table, much company came in to see them; divers ladies, and other gentlemen of the better sort, coming privately to observe the fashion of our state, which his Lordship performed most honourably and orderly, to the glory of our nation, and to no small honour of himself.

Wednesday, the four and twentieth day of the said month of April, about noon, there came a gentleman from the court, who gave notice to the conde and his Lordship, that, that night, Don Blasco de Arragon, nephew to the Duke of Terra Nova, one that had been formerly in England with the constable, would be there; who, indeed, about seven of the clock that night, came accordingly to salute his Lordship, from the King his master, and to give understanding, both of the preparation for his Lordship and his company upon the way, as also what order should be presently taken for their more speedy journey.

Tuesday, the thirtieth of April, there was appointed a communion on ship-board, to the which resorted divers knights and gentlemen, and as many as could conveniently come to the same.

On Wednesday and Thursday his Lordship treated with the conde, the said Don Blasco, and Don Jaspas de Bullion, the Aposentador, mayor to the King; which said Jaspas de Bullion was lately come from the court, of purpose to provide for his Lordship and his train, with commission from the King to see them furnished of all necessaries for their journeying.

In this conference (notwithstanding it had been formerly understood, there should be no want of means or necessaries for his Lordship and his people, in their journey to court) it appeared, that, the company being numbered by the poll to be six-hundred and fifty persons of all sorts, besides their carriages, which were very many, the country could by no means supply the whole number; therefore it was thought good to lessen them, as much as conveniently they might, resolving to leave divers of his Lordship's own people aboard the ships, till they return: some also were dispatched for England, with the carroches, litters, and mares, and such other his furniture, as, by Don Blasco was understood, he should have little use of. And for that, besides riding-mules, we understood there were sent thither by the King four litters, and four coaches, which staid for us at Villa Franca, for the more ease of his Lordship, when he pleased, and for the relief of any gentleman that might happen to be sick upon the way; which, in so long and tedious a journey, was likely to be: and indeed, as it happened, most of

them were put to use, one coach and one litter being appointed for his Lordship's own use; another coach and litter appointed to the ambassador-liege; and another serving sometimes one, and sometimes another, as occasion served, and they desired.

Thursday, the second day of May, there was prepared in the market-place a certain piece of ground, railed in square, the space of twenty yards, or more; with scaffolds built of purpose about the same, wherein the English were very sufficiently appointed and placed for the seeing of these sports. His Lordship and other noblemen were placed in several windows, in a very fair room in the King's state-house, being for that purpose hung with rich arras, and several cloths of state over the windows, on the wall on the outside the house. They being come to their standings, the ladies and better sort of the town being likewise placed in a convenient room for that purpose, they began their sports after this manner: First, there was brought in a castle, wherein a lady was inclosed, and kept by four monsters. The said castle being placed in the midst of the squadron, there appeared four knights armed, with their pages going before them with drums and fife, playing; who presently assailed the castle, surprised the monsters, relieved the lady, and so set fire to the castle; this device being, as we understood of it, as much to shew the strangeness of the fire-works, which indeed were many, as for any other reason, which we observed by the same.

Then came Venus, Pallas, Juno, Cupid, every one led severally by savages; after whom followed four other armed knights, in colours painted blue and white. Then came a third company, being four in number, in coloured armours likewise, with crosses on their breasts, in shew like knights of Malta; bringing in with them a chariot, wherein the chief sat, Peace, Plenty, and other virtues, being likewise planted in the same, with their several names written on their backs; after whom likewise followed four other knights armed, with trumpets sounding. When they had all appeared, they fell to barriers, according to the direction of certain gentlemen appointed to marshal the same. Some of our English lords and knights being intreated by the Spaniards to assist them therein also, they encountered one another single, first by two, after increasing their number, according to the pleasure of the judges and marshals; when they had broken their staves (or at least done their best to break them) retiring, fell to it again with their swords, according to the manner of barriers, five blows a-piece. In a scaffold, directly opposite against the place wherein the lords stood, sat the judges of these sports, amongst whom the Lord Howard, of Effingham, was intreated by the magistrates of the town to be one; which judges, upon every encounter, gave reward to the best deserver, as, scarfs, gloves, choppimors, ribbons, and such like, which were, by the knights, thankfully received, and bestowed as favours upon their mistresses; at last the knights encountered *pell-mell* one another, and, as it seemed, in a very furious manner. But, the bar being made in fashion like a trough, and many fire-works being cunningly contrived in the same, it duly took fire; and so with flame and smoke they were parted.

These sports ended, there was a banquet carried up to his lordship, and other the lords and ladies, which were in another room next adjoining, being indeed both plentiful and costly, and served in by the chief gentlemen of the country and town. The banquet ended, and night coming on, there were brought into the same place divers fire-works; one in the fashion of a chariot, another like the wheel of fortune, another like a castle, and such like, guarded and attended with divers wild-men, with clubs and wheels, with several fire-works; men riding with spears in their hands, all containing squibs and fire-works, with which they ran at one another, as in manner of tilt. The diversities of the fire-works were many, and, for the strangeness and manner of performance thereof, generally commended, and so well liked, as two hours, spent in that pastime, seemed but a moment.

Friday, the third day of May, his lordship, having his company furnished with convenient mules for riding, as also for carriage of their trunks and necessities, about eleven of the clock, accompanied with the governor and other the magistrates of the town, set forward on his Journey: Don Blasco de Arragon and Don Jaspar de Bullion, the chief harbinger for the King, accompanying his lordship, for the purposes aforesaid. In the passage from the town, the waits and shagbots were placed, playing all the while; at our departing from the town, and our leave-taking of the governor, they gave a small volley of shot out of the town. His lordship being half a mile out of the town, and yet within sight of the ships, as they lay at road, the said ships took their leave also of us, with many pieces of ordnance.

The said governor, as before is mentioned, is named Don Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, &c. and is of the country of Castile, but appointed here by the King, as governor of the Groyne and all the country of Galicia; a man of very mild and affable behaviour, very courteous, and most respectful of the English in general, as, by the great care and good usage of us, whilst we lodged in the Groyne, appeared.

That night, being, as is aforesaid, the third day of May, according to the computation of England, we rode to Bytaunce, being distant three leagues from the Groyne; where his lordship and his company were well entertained and lodged.

Saturday, the fourth day of May, we rode from Bytaunce to a certain town called Villa Alva, six leagues, where our entertainment was such as the town could afford, by reason of the means thereof.

Sunday, the fifth day of May, we rode forward to a very fair town, called Lugo, being distant from Villa Alva seven leagues. The alcaid, and other officers of the town, meeting his lordship, about half a mile without the gates, and accompanying us into the town, the street being decked with boughs, and the walls of their houses garnished with their best hangings and furniture. In the way coming thither, his lordship received letters of intelligence and congratulations from the conde at the Groyne, which he accepted very kindly.

The messenger being dispatched from Lugo, and rewarded with a chain of gold of good value, on Monday we rode to a certain town called Terra Castella, distant from Lugo eight leagues.

Tuesday, the seventh day of May, we travelled all the morning up to a high mountain by the space of six leagues, and dined at a little village called Cebreira, where we received such entertainment, unexpected, as was altogether in an arbour of green boughs, made of purpose, of such a convenient length, that it received his lordship and all the better sort of his train. And after dinner we rode to a certain town called Villa Franca, being distant six leagues, where his lordship was received with the townsmen, the streets, all the way where we passed, being garnished with boughs, and strewed with herbs and flowers; musick being likewise placed near the house where his lordship should lodge.

Wednesday, for that the company were somewhat weary, his lordship disposed himself chiefly to rest; chiefly, for that the ambassador-lieger complained of sickness, as also to relieve the mules, forbearing to travel in so foul weather as it fell out to be the same day.

Thursday, the ninth day of May, we rode by a town called Congusta, to Beubibre, to bed, where his lordship was lodged in a castle of the Conde de Alvalista, but very old and mean. The town being so poor, and mean also, as if the officers of his highness had not then, as indeed they did, taken more than ordinary pains and care, it had not been possible to have lodged half the company.

Friday, the tenth day of May, we came to Astorga, being a city walled, and standing in a pleasant and champaign country, and containing in it many churches, amongst which one is a cathedral, two friaries, and two nunneries. A mile without the town we were met with the alcaid and officers of the town; over the gates hung divers guidons and banners of silk; one of them being a large white banner of damask, in fashion of a guidon, and placed in the midst of the rest; musick likewise playing all the way as we passed, the houses garnished with their best hangings, and the street strewed with herbs and flowers.

Saturday, the eleventh day of May, his lordship having had understanding of the fairness of the castle there, belonging to the marquiss of Astorga, and being desired by Don Blasco, to take a view thereof, in passing out of the town, alighted to see the same: The house, indeed, being a very strong castle, and having in it a very fair gallery, with many goodly pictures and pieces of painting, both large and costly; and also a rich library, with many fine rarities in the same. After we rode four leagues to a certain town called La Ban'esa, where, in the way coming, we were met with divers gypsies (as they termed them) men and women dancing and tumbling, much after the Morisco * fashion, which continued till we came to the town.

Sunday, the twelfth day of May, we rode eight leagues to a town called Benavente, where, a mile without the town, the alcaid and chief officers of the town met us, bringing with them a company of gypsies likewise, singing and dancing, playing, and shewing divers

* Or Moorish.

feats of activity, conducting his lordship to the conde of Benavente's house, where he lodged that night.

Monday, we rode forward eight leagues, to a certain town called Villa Garcia, where we were received with a morrice dance of certain comely gentlemen, being in number eight; as also with eight boys, attired like satyrs or shepherds, with shepherds hooks, who, as they danced, played with the same after the fashion of Mattachyna.

In this town is a very fair college, wherein is only taught the rules of Grammar and grounds of the Latin tongue; it containeth about six hundred scholars: The church a very fair church, very richly set out, with many goodly pieces of painting; the altar and quire exceeding rich and fair. From hence his lordship received order, by the King's officers, to go to a certain town called Cimancas; which, though it was rather further in distance than Valladolid, yet, for that his Lordship should not come late, nor his company over wearied, this town was appointed to receive him before our coming to the court. Other reasons were given, that is, in the right way, between Villa Garcia and Valladolid, a bridge was lately broken, whereby of necessity we must have passed; and also that the King desired we should enter through the high street, and the best part of the town; which we did, and, therefore, appointed our way by Cimancas: accordingly we came to Cimancas on Tuesday, at night, somewhat late, being overtaken with extraordinary foul weather, and greatly annoyed with the same.

In the way between Villa Garcia and Cimancas, we passed by a very fair monastery of monks of the order of St. Benedict, being not long since built, but exceeding fair and rich, whereunto there is belonging, inclosed, as much ground as the wall thereof, being of stone, is in circuit, a league or better; within which is all kind of game royal, as pheasants, partridges, hares, conies, and such like. The church here is very curiously and workmanlike built, and garnished with many curious pieces of painting, with copes very rich and very curiously wrought.

That night, at supper, his Lordship had notice, that it was the King's pleasure we should rest at Cimancas all Wednesday, and not till Thursday come to the court.

On Wednesday, after dinner, there came from the court Don Juan de Suniga, eldest son to the conde de Villa Mediana, ambassador in England; as also, Don Pedro de Tassis, the new appointed ambassador for England, accompanied with divers others; who, having congratulated his Lordship, staying with him some half hour or thereabouts, departed.

That night we understood that it was the King's pleasure his Lordship should come to court on Thursday, whereupon every one, taking notice thereof, made preparation accordingly.

Thursday, being the sixteenth day of May, we staid till after dinner expecting to receive more particular directions from court; at which time there came, to attend his Lordship thither, the Marquis of Camerassa, Don Pedro de Suniga, Don Juan de Tassis, Don Blasco de Arragon, and divers other knights and gentlemen of the King's house and chamber, bringing with them divers coaches, so that his Lordship

was entertained by Don Blasco and the marquiss in the first coach; the ambassador-lieger, by some others in the second; other knights and gentlemen filling as well the other coaches, which came along from the Groyne, as those which were brought from court by these lords. After we had travelled about four English miles (for from Cimanças to court it was accounted but six) and having been met with many of the better sort in their coaches, his Lordship was moved by Don Blasco and the rest, to go into a certain banqueting house, which stood upon the highway, as well to see the delicacy of the orchards and gardens, as to taste of the variety of fruits within the same: but we rather suppose, to make stay for such nobles, as were appointed by the King to give meeting to his Lordship, and were not, as yet, come forward. During his Lordship's stay in this garden, there was a horse presented unto him from the King, which the King himself used to ride on. After they had staid there, by the space of a long hour or more, there came from the town divers noblemen, the chief whereof was the Duke of Fryas, Constable of Castile, the King's late ambassador in England; the Duke of Infantasgo, the Duke of Alberquerque, the Duke of Cea, the Duke of Sesa, the Duke of Pastrava, the Marquiss of St. Germain, the Conde of Chincou, the Conde of Punion en Rostro, the Marquiss de Lavanessa, the Conde of Aguillar, the Conde de Berosa, the Conde de Nieua, the Conde de Cornua, the Conde de Paredes, the Conde de Lodosa, the Marquiss del Carpio, the Marquiss de Tavera, the Marquiss de Villa Nueva, the Conde Apala, Conde de Salinas, Marquiss de Ceralva, Marquiss de Fuentes, Marquiss de Alcanes, Conde de Galves, the Admiral of Arragon, and many other lords and knights in great number. His Lordship setting forward in very good order, accompanied with a great multitude of nobles, knights, and gentlemen, as is aforesaid; the weather being all that time extraordinarily hot, suddenly, to the great disordering of all the company, there fell so great a shower of rain as the like was not seen of long time before, and continuing till the company could get to the town; notwithstanding which, his Lordship kept still on horseback, accompanied with many of the chief of the company, and riding forward to his appointed lodging, which was in a very fair house of the conde of Salinas, and not far from the Court; an infinite number of people, eight-hundred coaches, filled with ladies, were gotten out of the town to meet and see his Lordship and his company, all which took part of this great shower, to their no little discomfort.

The order of our going into the town was appointed as follows: First rode two trumpets, all the sumpter and carriages being about two hours before sent into the town; after whom followed certain gentlemen's servants to the knights and lords; as also the lieger ambassador's servants in liveries very fair to the number of sixty: then followed six trumpets of his Lordship's in suits of damask, holding their trumpets in their hands, but not sounding: then came divers gentlemen of good sort, with whom also followed his Lordship's gentlemen and principal officers in their liveries of black velvet, to the number of thirty: then followed the esquires, knights, and lords, every one according to their degree, being accompanied with several Spanish knights and lords;

after whom came his Lordship, accompanied with the nobles aforementioned; which order, for that the rain fell so exceedingly, could not be continued as was meant; but, by reason thereof, divers made what haste they could to their lodging, and yet were thoroughly wet before they could get thither: His Lordship accompanied, as before, and entering into the town at the gate called La Puerta del Campo, passed through the chief parts of the town and along by the court-gate; the King, Queen, and ladies (as it was said) standing in several windows to take view of the company; about six of the clock came to the place appointed for his Lordship's lodging.

That night came divers noblemen, as also the Mayordomo to the Queen, to visit his Lordship from her Highness, which was wondered at by the Spaniards themselves; for that (if they speak true) they never knew the like favour done to any ambassador whatsoever.

The next day, being Friday the seventeenth day of May, there came to visit his Lordship the Duke of Lerma, Don Francisco Govees de Sandoval, &c. a man of especial regard and account with the King, accompanied with divers dukes and condes.

Thither also, that day, came the Duke of Medina de Ryoseco, a youth of ten years of age, admiral of Castile by inheritance, accompanied with divers other lords and men of great account.

Upon Saturday, the eighteenth day of May, in the morning, the King sent the conde d'Guklues, and divers others of his privy chamber, to visit his lordship the same day.

The first audience somewhat before dinner, his lordship had intelligence, that the King's Majesty intended to give him audience in the afternoon; whereof the English lords, knights and gentlemen, taking notice, prepared themselves to give their attendance, although not in so good fashion as they desired, and would, had they had understanding thereof over night: his Lordship therefore staying his Highness's pleasure, about three of the clock in the afternoon.

The constable, accompanied with twenty noblemen, or more, whereof three or four of them were of the grandees of Spain; and divers other men of dignity and esteem in that court, bringing with them many coaches, came to conduct his Lordship, and the company, to the court; many people were gathered in the streets to see the passage of his Lordship and his company. The number of the coaches was about twenty; but, notwithstanding many of our noblemen and knights rode upon their rich foot-cloths, the King's guard waited even from the uttermost gate of the palace, to the presence-chamber door, being all newly suited in coloured velvet, yellow and red, but in several habits; that thereby they might be the better distinguished, being in number three-hundred, whereof there were one-hundred Switzers, one-hundred Spanish horsemen, and one-hundred Walloons. At the palace-gate stood divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, amongst whom was the Duke of Infantazgo, the Marquiss of Vellada, and others, all appointed to receive and give his Lordship entertainment, and to conduct and guide the company up into the presence, where the King sat under a rich cloth of state, and by him stood eight grandees

of Spain covered*. The care these lords took to give contentment to the English was so great, that we might easily perceive, they spared not to put out of the said room all manner of people of what condition soever, on purpose to make way, and give place even to the meanest of the English, which would press in to see the King, not keeping out any, of how mean condition soever.

His Lordship having delivered his mind in oration, by the mouth of Mr. Giles Porter, his interpreter, as also the King's Majesty's letters, into his Highness's own hands: The King, descending from his chair, gave entertainment to his Lordship with most kind and affable behaviour, appointing him to sit down by him, and that very near; which especial favour was much observed, and reported as a thing never used to any ambassador before that time. Some short time spent in conference with his Lordship, his highness was pleased to take notice of such nobles and gentlemen, as accompanied his Lordship in this his long and painful journey; and thereupon required they should draw near, which they did, each after other, to do their reverence, and, as they say, *Besar las manos*†, which was only in bowing low to the ground, without touching either hand or foot, or any other part of his garments: This done, his Lordship took his leave, and the King appointed the constable and others to conduct his Lordship and company to the Queen's side; where, in a very fair presence, sat her highness, with the infanta by her, under a rich cloth of state, accompanied with many ladies and maids of honour, divided on either side the same room, a good distance each from the other, standing close by the wall, almost from one end of the chamber to the other. The gentlemen, knights, and lords going along, and before his Lordship, were received by the Mayordomo to the Queen, and so conducted to her presence.

After some conference and compliment, his Lordship taking leave of her Majesty, for that it began to be late, all the lords, knights, and gentlemen were called up to the Queen, as formally they had been to the King; every one after other, bowing himself in obeysance, and kissing the skirt of her Highness's kirtle, departed; being conducted by the said dukes and lords which both brought them to the court, and accompanied them back again to his lodging.

Sunday, the nineteenth day of May, the King's Majesty went in procession, first going into the church near the palace, called St. Paul's, and after, through the town, to a church called St. Mary's, in manner as follows:

First went many friars singing, bearing among them divers crosses, banners, and other ceremonious relicks of the church, the sacrament being likewise carried by four church officers.

Then followed divers noblemen, according to their degrees.

Next, before the King's own person, went the younger of the princes of Savoy.

Then the King himself in person; after whom followed the cardinal, being archbishop of Toledo, and with him the prince of Savoy, the

* It not lawful for any to stand covered in the presence of the King, except he be a grandee.

† i. e. To kiss his hand.

elder brother. Then followed together the Prince of Morocco, the emperor's ambassador, the ambassador of France, and the ambassador of Venice; after whom followed divers gentlemen of the King's chamber, and the rest of the train. After dinner, there was preparation made for the christening of the Prince, and, for that the court stood from the church, there was set up, on purpose, for a more close and convenient passage, a very large scaffold adjoining to the end of a long gallery, and to the church likewise, the timber whereof was all covered with cloth of gold very rich, and the scaffold being high, was a good means to give sight to all the people. The manner of their coming to church was in this sort: The King's trumpets were placed near and before the church, in several companies, always sounding, and one answering the other: About four of the clock in the afternoon, there appeared, descending by the scaffold, aforementioned, to go into the church of St. Paul's, which, as is likewise said, adjoins to the scaffold, the knights, lords, and grandees, going before; and some dukes of especial name, bearing divers ceremonies * likewise; as the Salera or salt borne by one, the taper of wax by another, the chrism by another; then the crown, borne by the constable, before whom went the King at arms. The Prince was borne by the Duke of Lerma, in his arms, but tied to him with a rich scarf, or band; he was assisted by the Prince of Savoy, and the conde of Miranda. Then followed the infanta in a chair, as it should seem, made for that purpose, and borne by divers gentlemen of the King's bed and privy-chamber, on their shoulders, assisted by the younger Prince of Savoy. At the church door the cardinal staid for them in his Pontificalibus, accompanied with three bishops, and other special officers of the church, the singing-men going before, and so conducting them to the font, which was richly prepared, and covered with a canopy of cloth of gold; the cardinal performed all the ceremonies according to the order of their church; and so with church-musick, noise of trumpets, and many other wind instruments, they finished their ceremonies, returning in such manner as they went, being accompanied also with most of the great ladies of the kingdom, and those of the court.

He was christened Phillippe Domingo Victor.

His godfather was the elder prince of Savoy, of whom he took his name, Victor.

His godmother was the infanta, his sister.

His Lordship was placed conveniently in the house of the conde d'Rubadavia, in the morning, both to see the procession, as also the going of the prince to christening: but, so soon as they were passed by, he, with some others, were privately conveyed through a gallery, on the back-side of a monastery, into the church, to a place appointed on purpose for him and the lords that were of his company.

On Monday in the afternoon, the ambassador-lieger was, by his lordship, presented to the King, and by him graciously received and allowed. That day, in the afternoon, came divers ambassadors to visit his Lordship; as first, Don Francisco de Meschite, ambassador for

* To be used in the Romish form of Baptism.

the state of Venice; as also the French ambassador, Monsieur Baron de Barault Chevalier, who, after some short stay, departed. At the time of the French ambassador's being there, came likewise the ambassador resiaunt for the emperor. His Lordship ever shewing much affability and courtesy, and accompanying them on their way to their coaches, this kind behaviour of his, being greatly observed, caused an extraordinary respect, and an exceeding love of all men towards him.

That night also, came to visit his Lordship the Cardinal of Toledo; being a very stately prelate, well descended, very rich, in his carriage very courteous; and in his expence liberal, as by the apparelling of his pages and servants, and by his rich sumpter-cloths, hangings, and such like, might well appear.

Tuesday, the one and twentieth of May, his Lordship was conducted by Don Blasco unto the church called St. Mary's, to see the ceremony and state of the Queen's churching, whither the King and Queen came together, the King riding on horseback, and the Queen in a very rich chariot of cloth of gold, drawn by four horses, all trapped and harnessed with cloth of gold; in which chariot, likewise, sat the infanta. Next followed, in another chariot, the young prince, in the arms of an ancient lady. After followed two other carroches of black velvet, wherein sat divers duchesses, countesses, and other great personages, widows.

Then followed four other carroches, all of one fashion, wherein sat several ladies, the Queen's maids.

This was the first day of the Queen's going abroad, and, as we accounted it, her churching-day.

This day his Lordship was invited to dinner to the constable's, where he was accompanied by the Duke of Alberquerque, the duke of Cesa, and others. The manner of feasting being not usual in Spain, our company, being many, could not all receive that contentment which the constable desired to give in general. For, the country considered, it is much to be marvelled, how they could do what they did; but it plainly appeared, nothing was left undone for want of cost, and that all preparation was made, that the country could any way afford for their entertainment.

Wednesday, his Lordship was visted by the Conde de Lemos, accompanied with divers noblemen, and men of good quality.

That day, likewise, and Thursday, his Lordship visited as well the ambassadors, aforementioned, as also divers other lords and ladies in the town.

Friday, the four and twentieth day of May, Thomas Knocll, Esq. his Highness's servant and messenger for the delivery of certain presents to the King of Spain, expecting and attending the King's pleasure therein, was sent for by Don Blasco to come and bring the said presents into a private garden belonging to the Duke of Lerma, where the King and Queen came in person to receive the same. The presents were six horses (three for the King, and three for the Queen) with saddles and cloths very richly embroidered and costly; two cross-bows with sheaves of arrows; four fowling-pieces, with their furnitures, all very richly

garnished, and inlaid with fine plate of gold; and one couple of lime-hounds, of an extraordinary goodness: which presents were acceptably received, the King and Queen very much observing and admiring the richness and fashion thereof.

On Saturday, the five and twentieth day of May, there came to visit his Lordship the Bishop Salustius Taernsius, Bishop of Montepolitan in Hetruria, and ambassador for the Duke of Florence. After dinner came, likewise, to visit his Lordship, Don Juan do Bouch Conde de Figaroa, president of Portugal, with his four sons. That day, also, came to visit him, together with the constable, the Conde de Olivares, accompanied with divers marquisses and earls. This conde was one of them that was in England, in the time of Queen Mary. The same day, in the afternoon, his Lordship visited the Queen, and delivered her a fair rich jewel, as a token from the Queen of England.

Sunday and Monday, his Lordship went abroad to visit divers nobles that had formerly been with him, as also spending some part of the same time, in concluding with the council of Spain, of matters concerning his ambassage; and of all things necessary for the effecting and performing the same.

Tuesday, the eight and twentieth day of May, his Lordship, and all the rest of the company, were invited to dinner to the Duke of Lerma's, where they were most honourably entertained, receiving there all contentment that might be; for, besides the plenty of his chear, the manner of the entertainment could not be bettered. At the table, his Lordship was accompanied with the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Infantasgo, and the Duke of Alberquerque.

They were attended upon at this feast, by divers nobles, marquisses, and earls, with many knights and gentlemen of the King's privy-chamber, and few others.

And besides the several sorts of musick, during the time of dinner, his Lordship, and the rest, having received what could be possibly given at the table, they were carried down into a fair court, paved with square stone, in the midst whereof was a fountain of clear water: The whole court covered with canvas to defend and keep off the heat of the sun, which at that time shone extremely. In this court, was, of purpose, a stage erected, with all things fitting for a play, which his Lordship, and the rest, were invited to behold: The King and Queen being in private, likewise, spectators of that interlude. To write of every particular of the duke's entertainment, were too much; for he took exceeding care to perform all things with the greatest state, as well appeared in this: That, for that the kitchen was cross a square court, there were set up high posts of timber, with canvas strained, to cover and defend the same, in the passage of the meat from the dresser; the ground being likewise covered with hangings of leather, that no dust should arise, whilst the service passed by. At this feast, several healths were drank to the Kings of Great Britain and Spain, and to the happy continuance of the peace; begun by the Duke of Lerma, seconded by his Lordship, and performed by all the company at the table. Many ladies of great account came privately to see and observe his Lordship,

and the company, as they sat at meat, well allowing and applauding the plenty and bounty used at this feast, being, indeed, such a one, as the like was not seen in Spain many years before.

Wednesday, his Lordship concluded with the constable, and Alexander Roviá, senator of Millain, as concerning all matters touching the taking of the King's oath.

Thursday, the thirtieth day of May, being *Corpus Christi* day, the King went in procession, and, for that he would be seen by the English, the course was appointed by the gate where his Lordship lodged. The manner was as follows:

First, came eight great giants, three men, three women, and two Moors, with a taber and pipe playing, and they dancing. Then followed certain pilgrims clad in blue. After whom came many crosses, being in number twenty-five, or twenty-six, borne and attended by the officers of the several churches to which they belonged. Amongst whom were also mingled divers pictures of saints; as St. John, St. George, killing the dragon, St. Michael, St. Francis, St. Andrew, St. Dominick, St. Martin, the picture of Christ in several forms, Mary Magdalen, and our Lady in divers fashions also. Many holy and precious relicks, friars morrice-dancers, in manner of gypsies, beasts with fireworks, wild men, and such like toys, as it should seem to draw the people more readily with admiration. After these followed divers other church relicks, friars Augustines. Other friars of the order of St. Francis, with their relicks. Many churchmen with lighted tapers in their hands; the King's pages bearing torches: then the sacraments* borne by four churchmen in rich copes; then the lords and grandees of Spain: then followed the King, bearing a lighted taper of virgin wax; after whom followed the cardinal, the Emperor's ambassador, the French ambassador, and the Venetian ambassador; the Prince of Savoy, the Prince of Morocco, and others, all bearing their tapers lighted in their hands.

The same day his Lordship staid till four of the clock in the afternoon, until his Highness's pleasure were known, that he was pleased as that day to take the oath formerly agreed on between them. About which time there came to his Lordship Don Blasco de Arragon, who brought word that the King expected his Lordship's coming to the court as that day; and, therefore, for the more convenient passage of the nobles and gentlemen, that were to attend him thither, order was taken, that all should be supplied with gennets that wanted, and would send to the King's stable for the same. Every man being furnished, his Lordship set forward to the court, the constable, and Don Pedro de Suniga, being sent to accompany his Lordship thither, as also divers other knights and lords, whose names, for the suddenness of their coming, and the number of them being so many, could not be had. His Lordship's own gentlemen were in several coaches afore, and staid at the court-gate, expecting his Lordship's coming thither, where likewise great preparation was made; divers noblemen and others staying there to receive his Lordship and his company. Amongst whom were the Duke of Lerma and some other grandees, and those of the greatest lords in Spain.

* The Host only under a canopy, borne by four priests.

His Lordship, being thus received, was conveyed up through a long gallery into a presence, and so into another inner room; the gentlemen, knights, and lords ever going before in very good order. In which room his Majesty staid for the coming of his Lordship, receiving him with affable and kind congratulation, and took him along with him by his side: the King's serjeants at mace going first, after following all the grandees and lords of Spain, one among another; then the four Kings of arms in their coats of arms; then the Duke of Lerma, bearing the sword naked, wherein one thing is especially to be noted, that the Duke bare not the sword upright, as is the custom of England, but bare it lying upon his right shoulder; so the King and his lords went together into a very fair banqueting-house, very lately built, the ambassador-lieger, the lords, and divers others following.

The King sitting in his estate, his Lordship and the ambassador-lieger were placed upon his left-hand; the grandees and other noblemen of Spain being seated on the other hand, two degrees lower. Before the King was brought a little table, whereon lay the Bible and a crucifix upon it. The archbishop of Toledo read the oath with a reasonable loud voice; at one part of the oath, his lordship held the King's hands between his; to which oath the King swore kneeling, and laying his hand upon the book, and afterwards subscribed to the articles and agreements drawn and concluded by both Kings.

Friday, the one-and thirtieth day of May, his Lordship dined early, for that there was that day appointed a sport, which they call *Inego de Toro*, and also, *Inego de Canas*; and, for that his Lordship and all his company, from the meanest to the highest, should have the pleasure of the sights, there were some appointed to see every Englishman furnished of convenient room; which they did, Don Blasco himself taking an especial care and respect thereof. About the midst of the day came the King and Queen, riding on horseback, with many lords and ladies all on horseback likewise, after the Spanish fashion, every lady accompanied with one or other man of worth; his Lordship was placed in the standing with the King and Queen, and the other lords were placed not far off. There were that day killed fourteen bulls; the manner whereof was in this sort: First, the market-place; being very square and of a great largeness, was round built with scaffolds very strong; the ground covered very thick with sand, so that they were fain divers times to bring in many carts of water, both to allay the dust, as also to cool the reflexion of the sun upon the place, in which none were appointed to be, but such as were designed to play the sports. The bull being turned out, they shot sticks with sharp pins and pricks, which might stick fast in his skin, thereby the more madding him; he seemed to be most valiant that durst affray the bull in the face, and escape untouched; but some escaped not well, for it cost them their lives. There was another manner of striking the bull in the face with short spears, to the which went divers lords and gentlemen very well mounted, their pages following them with divers hand-spears for that purpose; wherein many shewed good valour, and struck the bull very cunningly and manly, but yet some of their gennets paid dear for it, being both hurt and killed. To this sport came

two gentlemen one after another, and, as it was reported, supplying the places of champions to the King, riding on horses blinded; and so taking their stand, waiting for the coming of the bull against them, very manly, with a spear of good length and strength, struck him in the head, and escaped without hurt, though not being without danger.

After this, began their sports of *Inego de Canas*, wherein the King himself was an actor. First came riding twelve drummers with kettle-drums playing; then followed thirty trumpeters all clad in red and white silk coats; then followed twelve *acemulaes*, or great mules, with coverings of red velvet, bearing bundles of canes, tied and chained with great hooks of silver; then followed the King's gentlemen, and pages, richly suited, being to the number of two and thirty or thereabouts. After them were led by several grooms six and twenty riding horses richly covered.

For the two Princes of Savoy were shewed: First two pages riding, bearing on their arms targets all white; after whom were led three horses covered with caparisons of black velvet, embroidered richly with pearl; then followed twelve other horses, clad likewise in black velvet, but embroidered with silver.

For the Duke of Lerma, were led six horses with caparisons of white and red; the grooms and pages attending, and all alike suited.

For the Constable were led four and twenty horses of service, covered with white and green, his pages and grooms also alike suited.

The number of horsemen, that shewed themselves in these sports, were fourscore, whose names hereafter follow, according to a note thereof delivered by one of good worth, and of especial respect with the King.

1. *Quadril.*

The King.	The Duke of Lerma.
Duke of Cea.	Conde de Gelves.
Marquis of St. German.	Don Hen. de Goseman.
Conde de Mayald.	Don Petro de Castro.
Marquis de la Venessa.	Don Garcia de Figueroa.

2. *Quadril.*

Don Diego de Sandoval.	Don Antonio de S. Fago.
Don Alonso Lopes de Mella.	Don Diego de Sebro.
Don Lewis de Alcarath.	Don Galvan.
Don Diego Nino.	Don Pedro de Arietta.
Don Diego de Lieva.	Don Hieronimo de Sandoval.

3. *Quadril.*

Duke of Infantasgo.	Don Diego Sarmiento.
Conde de Barusa.	Conde de Paredes.
Conde de Corunna.	Conde de Lodosa.
Conde de Nieva.	Don Juan de Tassis.
The Admiral of Arragon.	Don Lewis Enriques.

4. *Quadril.*

The Constable of Castile.	Marquis de Cuelar.
Conde de Aguillar.	Marquis del Carpio.
Don Bernardino de Velasco.	Don Francisco de Velasco.
Don Antonio de Velasco.	Don Alonso de Velasco.
Don Manuel de Cuniga.	Don Andreas Velasques.

5. *Quadril.*

The Duke of Alva.	Conde de Salinas.
Marquis de Villanueva.	Don Martin Valerio.
Don Pedro de Cuniga S. de Flores.	Don Manuel de Alencastro.
Marquis de Tarara.	Don Diego Pimentel.
Conde de Ayala.	Marquis de Cerralva.

6. *Quadril.*

The Duke of Pastrana.	Conde de Cosentagua.
Comendador Mayor de Montesa.	Don Carlos de Borsa.
Marquis de Fuentes.	Don Lewis Nino.
Don Pedro de Fonseca.	Don Ferdinando de la Cerda.
Don Bernardino de Rozas.	Don Juan Vicentela.

7. *Quadril.*

Conde de Alvalista.	Don Bernardino de Toledo.
Don Ferdinando de Toledo.	Don Antonio de Toledo.
Don Philippo de Valencia.	Don Francisco Congusta.
Don Lewis de Gozman.	Don Juan de Gozman.
Marquis de Alcanes.	Marquis de Fales.

8. *Quadril.*

The Prince of Savoy.	The Prior of Ivan.
Marquis de Doste.	Don Diego de las Marinas.
Don Francisco de Cordova.	Don Juan de Heredia.
Don Alvard de Mendoza.	Don Pero Mune.
Don Francisco Finca.	Don Pedro de Licamo.

At their first appearance, they came riding in by couples two after two, very swiftly, richly attired with their targets on their shoulders, holding and shaking long staves, such as the Moors or Arabians are described to use. When they were all come, they divided themselves to sides, every side into four squadrons, every squadron being ten in number: when they were ready, holding their staves in their hands, the King's side gave the first charge; the other side undertaking the same, and charging on them likewise; thus they continued still chasing one another, squadron upon squadron, throwing their canes one after other, by the space of a long hour or better; and so their sports ended.

Saturday, the first of June, his Lordship was invited by the King to see a muster of armed men, in a place, called El Campo, being lances, light horsemen, and carbines, to the number of two-thousand, whereof the Duke of Lerma was the general. His Lordship stood with the King and Queen; the rest of the English were placed in a scaffold, built for them of purpose, which said soldiers, being divided, made some shew of sallies each upon other, very pleasing and warlike; and, after a few skirmishes, drew themselves into a ring, and, marching along under the window where his Majesty stood, departed.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, were used as days of rest after their great feasts, and spent only in visitation and matters of compliment with one or other.

Wednesday, his Lordship dispatched Sir John Trevor for England, with letters of intelligence to his Highness, who took with them the Advantage, which lay at St. Anderas with the rest of the ships.

Thursday, the sixth day of June, his Lordship was appointed both to dine and sup early, which he did, because both his Lordship, as also all other the English lords and gentlemen, were invited to see a mask; about six of the clock, therefore, came Don Blasco to conduct his Lordship and the rest through a private gallery of the King's, which joined to his Lordship's lodging, to the appointed place, which was the new-built banqueting-house formerly spoken of, by them termed the *Gransala**, where was appointed very convenient room for his Lordship and the rest of his followers. The room was garnished with three hundred and twenty lights of wax, all set in standards of silver of divers fashions, some great and some small. After two or three several songs, sung by divers voices in parts, placed severally in the same hall for that purpose, the mask appeared, and began as follows:

First came thirty musicians, clad in long garments of taffaty, garnished well to the shew, playing on several instruments; after whom followed six virgins dancing, one bearing in her hand a sun, another a branch of olive-tree, another an anchor, another a sword with two points, on either point a bunch of flowers.

Then followed a chariot, made of an antique fashion, being drawn by two live horses, but exceeding little; in the upper part whereof sat the infanta, with a scepter of gold in her hand, with the picture of a dove on the upper end thereof; at her feet sat two virgins, who attended her; on either side went divers pages, bearing torches of white wax.

At the upper end of the hall was appointed a very rich state, all of mason's work, ascending up by degrees, richly gilded and garnished with divers statues, all gilt over; in which were planted three chairs, two great and one lesser, and that between the other two; in which middle chair the Infanta, being taken out from her chariot, was placed; the two virgins near her, and the other six upon the degrees at the foot of the estate. At the nether end of the said hall stood the maskers in a gallery contrived for the purpose, who, upon the drawing

* Or, Great Room.

of a curtain, appeared as it were in clouds; the number of them were eight and twenty knights and ladies, besides torch-bearers, whereof the King and Queen were two, the rest all grandes and men of great honour, the ladies were all the Queen's maids. The said gallery being built in manner of an arch, and fully set with looking-glasses, with the light of the torches shone as if it had been garnished with an infinite number of stars; the musick playing, the maskers descended by four and four at a time, on a stage made in fashion of a cloud, and so dancing to the upper end of the hall; before they could return back, other four appeared, and so joined altogether, until the number came forth, and then danced altogether in good form and measure.

After divers dances and measures appointed of purpose for this shew, the King and Queen, and so likewise all the company, unmasked themselves; the King and Queen taking their seats in the places and chairs before mentioned, before whom were divers galliards danced by the several lords and ladies unmasked; the Earl of Perth and the Lord Willoughby were invited, and danced likewise: The King and Queen divers times sallied out from their chairs of state, and danced openly. At last they began a calling dance, which was begun by the Duke of Lerma, holding a torch lighted in his left hand. The manner was, every man called forth two women, chusing one especial, conducted the other to her place, and left the chosen to call out two men, who, likewise delivering the torch to one especial, conducted the other to his seat. Thus it passed to and fro amongst many of the great lords and ladies; at last the King was called, and his Lordship likewise*; but, the torch being given to the King, his Lordship was again brought to his seat. The King called forth the Queen and another, and, after a few traverses, when the time came he should have chosen and delivered up his torch, he delivered it to a page standing by, and so the sports ended.

Friday, the seventh of June, his Lordship was appointed to take leave of the King, and so to set forward on his journey for England; therefore taking notice of his Lordship's desire of return, he ordered he should have audience in the afternoon. In the mean time his Highness sent, by Don Pedro Suniga and some others, divers chains of gold, to the number of fourteen, or thereabouts, to some of the King's servants, and his Lordship's chief officers; having likewise before sent, by Don Pedro Cuniga, unto the lords and many other knights, and especial men of his Lordship's company and train, several jewels and chains, very rich. About four of the clock in the afternoon, his Highness sent to his Lordship a very rich present of jewels, both for himself and his lady, which were presented to him by Don Blasco, and brought by the masters and officers of the jewel-house, who were by him well gratified and rewarded.

Not long after, the constable and others came to give his Lordship knowledge of the conveniency of the time for our coming to the Court; whereupon his Lordship, accompanied with the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his train, in several coaches, went to the Court, where

*The Earl of Nottingham.

they were received by divers lords and officers of the Court at the palace-gate, from whence the King's guard made a passage even to the King's chamber: The King staid to receive his Lordship in a gallery, which was long, but narrow, with whom his Lordship had conference in private, for the space of three quarters of an hour; and, fearing to give offence by tediousness, made motion to his Highness, that the lords, and others of his company, might likewise take their leaves; the King very well pleased therewith, the lords, knights, and gentlemen took their leaves, being generally well respected of his Majesty. To conclude all, his Lordship took his leave also, receiving many gracious and kind words from his Majesty, as also a ring with a diamond, said to be of the value of three-thousand pounds, which he put upon his Lordship's finger; and, as he said, in token of wedding him in true love perpetually, commanding the Duke of Infantazgo to conduct his Lordship and the rest to the Queen in like manner, to take their leave of her Majesty.

Being brought to the Queen, where she sat under a cloth of state, with the ladies and maids of honour about her, for that it was late, his Lordship made no long stay; after a short time spent in compliment, he took his leave of her Highness, as also did all other the lords and knights of the train, to whom the Queen most respectfully bowing herself, with much favour and grace, gave them a kind farewell.

His Lordship, now thoroughly furnished of all convenient means for his journey, about five of the clock the same day, being Saturday, and the eighth day of June, set forward, being accompanied in his coach with the constable, and divers other noblemen in other coaches, accompanying his Lordship a mile or more out of the town, where they, taking their leaves, departed. That night we rode six leagues, to a town called Duenas. The next day, being Sunday, we rode nine leagues, to a town called Fromista; where, for that Don Blasco and others were behind, his Lordship thought good to stay all Monday, lest the weather, being very hot, might too much trouble them in riding post, and that were to come after. That night Don Blasco overtook his Lordship at Fromista.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, his Lordship dined at Osorno, and somewhat late after dinner rode to Herrera to bed, where he was lodged in a fair house of the constable of Castile. Within this house are placed divers pillars, with letters engraven after the manner of the Roman inscription; and so they plainly appear to be monuments of the Romans, and left as relicks of their being in that country.

Wednesday, the twelfth of June, his Lordship rode from thence eight leagues, and lodged at a town called Aguillar de Campo; the Marquis of Aguillar being lord thereof.

Thursday, we rode forward seven leagues, to a town called Rynoso; a town seated in the midst of the mountains.

On Friday, his Lordship rode to Villa Concha to dinner, being three leagues, and very ill way; after dinner, we rode four leagues further, to a town called Villa Civil, to bed; being the worst way, and the worst place of entertainment, we had in the whole country of Spain, being indeed seated amongst mountains, which harbour many bears, wolves,

and other wild beasts, and wherewith the country round about is much troubled.

Saturday, the fifteenth day of June, we came to St. Anderas, being distant from Villa Civil seven leagues, where his Lordship was received by the magistrates and officers a mile out of the town. All the streets were strewed with rushes and herbs, and decked with boughs; and, at his entrance into the town, they gave him many great ordnance, with a volley of small shot.

That night the Ambassador-Lieger, Don Pedro de Cuniga, who accompanied the King to Burgos, came also to St. Anderas, where, during the time of his stay, his Lordship expressed his bounty, by rewarding Don Blasco, the Aposentador, and all the King's other officers and servants, with great chains of gold, fair jewels of good value, and large sums of money, to their general contentment.

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, his Lordship rested at St. Anderas, as well for that the horses sent by the King, his Lordship's own horses, and the Ambassador Lieger's horses, came not till Tuesday, as also for furnishing the ships with fresh water and victuals for his return for England: And on Sunday in the afternoon his Lordship invited the Aposentador, mayor, Don Blasco de Arragon, and others, aboard the ships, where he made them a very great banquet, and, at their going off, saluted them with many pieces of ordnance.

His Lordship having, on Wednesday the nineteenth of June, with all expedition that conveniently might be, shipped the horses, and supplied the ships with all needful provisions, about three of the clock in the afternoon came aboard his ship called the Bear, lying at Road a long English mile from the town, bringing also with him Don Pedro de Cuniga, who tarried and supped with his Lordship that night. After supper, his Lordship commanded his barge to convey him to his appointed lodging, which was in the Repulse, where he entered, the trumpets sounding, and being saluted with many shot of great ordnance.

In the same road his Lordship anchored till Thursday, and upon Thursday we put to sea; but, for that the tide was spent, and the wind falling out contrary, after an hour or two's sailing, we were driven to cast anchor, resting that night till the next tide; at which time his Lordship hoisted sail and put to sea, and, with scant wind, sailed Friday and Saturday. On Sunday the weather fell out very foul and stormy, insomuch as the Waste-spight spent in that storm her main-mast, but escaped further danger. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we sailed, but with very unconstant winds, being many times becalmed. On Thursday afternoon the land was decried, but very far off: That day and night we sailed within sight of land; and, upon Friday, about four of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor before Portsmouth, but somewhat far into the sea. That night also came the Waste-spight, who made great means to come so soon, having spent her main-mast, as is aforesaid. Some of our company made hard shift that night to go on shore, enduring the hardness of the weather, which fell out all that evening.

On Saturday morning early, his Lordship went in his barge to the Repulse, wherein Don Pedro was, and, knowing that the said Don

Pedro much desired to be on land, having indeed endured much sickness at sea, took him into his barge, and so, with the company of some other boats and pinnaces, came on shore at Portsmouth, before eight of the clock in the morning, where they were received with many shot of great ordnance from the castles, forts, and walls of the town. On the shore stood Sir Lewis Lucas, knight, accompanied with the mayor and officers of the town, ready to receive the said ambassadors, being, as it should seem, appointed so to do by the King and lords of the council. That day every one hastened to get off their luggage from the ships, preparing to go forwards likewise on their way toward London.

The next day, being Sunday, his Lordship rested there, went to the church, and heard a sermon publickly.

Monday, his Lordship having, as well by means of the King's officers and servants, who were sent for the purpose thither, as by his own care, provided for all necessaries to supply him in his journey towards London, about eleven of the clock set forward, riding in his carroch, and taking the said Don Pedro along with him; and so came that night to Alton, where they lodged.

Tuesday, the second of July, his Lordship rode from Alton, and lodged that night at Guilford, having taken special care, both that Don Pedro, the ambassador-lieger, whom his Lordship had brought along in company, should be respectively provided for himself, as was fitting; as also all other his followers most plentifully supplied for all necessaries in their travel, and that freely, without charge or expence to any of them.

Wednesday they rode forward towards Kingston, where the Conde de Villa Mediana and others staid, expecting the coming of the said ambassador; and where also his Lordship had bountifully provided for their entertainment in general.

Thursday, his Lordship having appointed the Lord Howard of Effingham, and some others of the better sort to accompany the said ambassador, and the Conde de Villa Mediana to London, he himself, with the rest of his company, rode for Windsor Castle, where as then the King lay, for his pleasure of hunting; who, there presenting themselves to his Majesty, were of him most graciously entertained and welcomed. At which time also his Lordship received further order from his Highness, when he would be pleased to give audience to the said ambassador, and to admit him to his royal presence, according to appointment; which was accordingly performed, at the Court at Whitehall, on Sunday, the fourteenth day of the said month of July following.

Now, for that it doth not fully appear by this former relation of his Lordship's travel and journey, how honourably and with what respect he and his whole company were received and entertained, ye shall understand, That, first, upon our landing at the Groyne, the governor of Galicia, as is afore rehearsed, and, as it should seem, by direct order from his Majesty, upon the former arrival of certain ships, wherein were the horses and other presents, sent from his Majesty to the King of Spain, had drawn together much people, and that of the better sort of the whole country, on purpose to make shew both of the

strength of the country, as also to be the more ready to do service, in supplying the English with all necessaries; and, for this purpose also, their greatest care was, that, during our abode there, there might appear no want of any thing. His Lordship, as is aforesaid, was lodged in the governor's house, which of itself was very little, and not able to give entertainment to so great a company. Therefore especial care was taken, that every man might, according to his estate, be lodged as conveniently, and as sufficiently, as the place would give leave; the town being much decayed, by reason of the late wars, nor as yet re-edified since the sackage thereof by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake: But we must acknowledge, that, for the greatest part, every man was lodged there, without exception. The care for lodging was not so much, as was their exceeding care they had for provision, victuals, and viands to serve the company, that country of Galicia being indeed very mountainous and unfruitful. And therefore, although his Lordship was very sufficiently provided for at the governor's house, and that since the room there, being little, could not by any means supply all, order was taken, that, in every house, wherein any Englishman lodged, provision of diet was made for him and his servants, at the King's proper cost; wherein of necessity we must observe both the great charge, as also the great care, that was taken to supply all necessaries in the best fashion: Notwithstanding which, there was daily provided so large a table, as conveniently could be, for all such knights and gentlemen, as would at their pleasure come to attend and keep his Lordship company at meat; this entertainment beginning the first day of our arrival at the Groyne, which was the sixteenth day of April, and continuing all the time of our being in the Groyne, which was till the third of May following: what time we set forward on our land journey, being then likewise furnished of mules, both for riding and carriage, all upon the King's charge.

The number of mules, sent to his Lordship for riding and carriage, were eight hundred, or thereabouts, whereof twenty-four were great ~~ass~~-mules, of the King's provision, and appointed for his Lordship's own carriages; besides the mules for the Spaniards themselves, and their necessaries, which were esteemed above four hundred. The muletters, to regard these mules, were numbered to be above three hundred.

The company of English were accounted six hundred and fifty. Besides these, the King sent many of every office in court, some with the Aposentador, mayor, aforementioned, as divers others Aposentadors, or harbingers; stewards, ushers for the chambers, sewers, and officers for the table; officers of the ewery, pantry, cellar, chaundry; forty of the Spanish guard to serve the table, pastry-cooks, and such like. Every of these being particularly furnished with such necessaries as belonged to his office, as we might well perceive; for that, through the whole journey, they were fain to carry by mules, from place to place, all the said necessaries for their service; as, plate, linnen, bedding, hangings, chairs, tables, forms, pastry-boards, kitchen furniture, racks, spits, pans, and such like; as also most of their provision of meal, wine, oil, vinegar, herbs, fruit, sweet-meats, and such other: Wherein the said officers did so carefully and wisely behave themselves, that it appeared there wanted

no will in them, either in care or pains, to give contentment to the whole company of the English. This charge of the King's endured until the return of his Lordship to the ships at St. Anderas, with very little difference, either of meats or service, at any time. Whither, for that the way from the Groyne was by experience found to be both long and ill, his Lordship had formerly directed the ships to go there to abide and stay his return, being indeed not above half the way from Valladolid, in comparison of his journey from the Groyne. Both in our going and return, we might well observe how joyful our coming seemed to the common people, both by their manner of behaviour, which was courteous, as also by their speeches, which were most kind; who, for that they found by experience the ill reports made heretofore of our nation altogether untrue, admiring our civility and good behaviour, being clean contrary to that which had been formerly preached unto them by their churchmen and friars, we received that kind congratulation and usage, that was possible for them to give, and us, as strangers and travellers, to receive. Insomuch as well we observed, as we passed, the country had taken exceeding care to make the ways both easy and pleasing for us to pass, digging down hills in many places, and mending the ways with timber, stones, and earth, no doubt, to their great pains and charge.

By which it most plainly appeared, with what joy and comfort they received the peace generally, manifesting the same as well by their deeds as words; and, no doubt, performed much more thankfulness to their King, for procuring it, than they would make shew of joy to us, for obtaining it.

And yet, what words might express, that might we daily hear; for we might observe, how they preached the same in pulpits, and spake of the same, even in their open plays and interludes, making, as they said, many feasts and joys for the blessed peace.

The bounty of the King in gifts, as well to his Lordship, as to divers other of his followers, together with the great charge his Highness was at, during our abode there, gave us not so good contentment in general, as did the good esteem and behaviour we found in all, from the highest to the meanest, upon every occasion ministered to them to shew the same, either in particular, or in general: His Lordship receiving all very thankfully, and not without a reciprocal shew of his bounty and good-will again, being indeed of his purse not sparing, and (with pardon be it spoken) as liberal, in his degree, as was necessary: Whose carriage and behaviour, during the whole journey, being such, and, upon good intelligence, sufficiently known to his Majesty, who employed him, and by him is both graciously allowed and accepted; he himself hath cause sufficient of gladness, and no other cause of exception in any sort. So, concluding with the blessing of our Saviour, *Beati Pacifici*, let us pray to Almighty God to make his Majesty as careless of war, as he, from time to time, in his great judgment, shall find peace to be necessary; his people and subjects ever obedient to all his designs and appointments, either in war, or peace; and his Majesty himself blessed with long life, health, and ability to undergo either, as it shall seem best to the Divine Majesty. Amen.

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